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British Property-Holders in the Douro

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*The Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century**

Por Norman R. Bennett

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"A great many English merchants are possessed of large estates on the Douro," claimed P. W. Buckham, a visitor to Porto in 1813.¹ He did not cite any specific details, and most scholars familiar with port wine history primary sources of that era have uncovered only a few possessors of property.² The situation remained the same during the first half of the nineteenth century. British merchants in general only became interested in the ownership of Douro vineyards as a result of the devastation caused by phylloxera beginning in the late 1860s. Nonetheless, several specialists in wine history advance different interpretations. Antonio Barreto suggests that, as early as the 1840s, wine exporting firms altered past practices by purchasing quintas.³ Harm de Blij, in an apparent variation of S. Sideri's conclusion that "Portugal's specialization in wine did not enhance her development and resulted in the corner stone of that country's dependence on England," postulated that the process was underway from the early eighteenth century. The conclusion appears to be part of an interpretation that British firms utilized their capital resources to work for control of the port wine system, a process which greatly contributed to the stifling of national Portuguese economic development.⁴ The conclusion may be influenced by some scholars' general interpretation of a trend, more present in regions outside of the Douro valley, of the movement of capital into Portuguese rural areas that stimulated the development of extensive holdings at the expense of smaller vineyard holders.⁵

This study will consider the actual involvement of British firms in vineyard and quinta ownership in the Douro wine region from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century. The firm of Bartholomew, Bearsly & Co., the owner in 1744 of lodges for wine storage at Salgueiral, near Regua, is the oldest known British property holder.⁶ Portuguese-born John Page in 1759 owned a small quinta.⁷ The first significant British-held property was the Quinta de Roriz, in Ervedosa do Douro. Robert Archibold, in the mid-eighteenth century, rented land from a religious order and began a vineyard. The quinta passed to his son, Diogo, before, in about 1770, its purchase by a major Porto wine dealer, Nicolas Kopke.⁸

* The research for this study was assisted by grants from the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

¹ P. W. Buckham, *Personal Adventures in the Peninsula during the War in 1812-1813* (London, 1827), 192.

² See Gaspar Manuel Martins Pereira, "Aspectos Sociais da Viticultura Duriense nos Fins do Século XVIII" I^{es} *Jornadas de Estudo Norte de Portugal/Aquitânia: Actas, Março de 1984* (Porto, 1986), 86; H.E.S. Fisher, *The Portugal Trade: A Study of Anglo-Portuguese Commerce, 1700-1770* (London, 1971), 132.

³ António Barreto, *Douro* (Lisboa, 1993), 65.

⁴ Harm Jan de Blij, *Wine: A Geographic Appreciation* (Totowa, 1983), 50, 105, 131; S. Sideri, *Trade and Power: informal Colonialism in Anglo-Portuguese Relations* (Rotterdam, 1970), 12, 46.

⁵ M. Villaverde Cabral, *O Desenvolvimento do Capitalismo em Portugal no Século XIX* (Porto, 1976), 40-1.

⁶ Wyndham Fietcher, *Port: An Introduction to its History and Delights* (London, 1978), 83.

⁷ Álvaro Moreira da Fonseca, *As Demarções Pombalinas no Douro Vinhateiro* (Porto, 1951), III, 24.

⁸ Visconde de Villa Maior, "Estudos Preliminares da Ampelographia e Oenologia do Paiz Vinhateiro do Douro", *AR*, 11 (1868-69), 478.

Although it was not unusual for Britons to purchase landed property for personal reasons - J.D. Harris in 1843 bought "uma morada de casas com quintal" near Guimaraes⁹ - most were not interested in investing in the Douro. Some properties came into British hands through debt collection, but resident merchants' distrust in the tedious processes involved in Portugal's legal system usually caused them to avoid that course. One agent, while discussing the Guedes case [mentioned below] advised against "pushing to extremitys [sic], for chicanery is such in this country & power so very fluctuating, that when possession appears almost secure, some means or other may remove it from reach."¹⁰ The hazards encountered by merchants traveling to the isolated port wine region are another convincing explanation for the very limited number of British property owners during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The internal political and economic disorder caused by the campaigns of the Peninsular War beginning in 1807, and the later internal civil strife, as Portuguese struggled until the mid-nineteenth century to achieve the political transition to a stable parliamentary regime, further discouraged foreign vineyard purchases.

Almost all port wine shippers then secured their wine by concluding multi-year contracts with a minority of growers and by purchasing the rest of their varying yearly needs from independent producers.¹¹ Any British presence in the wine region during the nineteenth century's early years was more a matter of chance than of formal planning. Offley, one of the principal British firms, offers an example. The strong British demand for wine during some seasons of the last decade of the eighteenth century led the firm to endeavor to guarantee adequate supplies through advancing funds to growers for vineyard expenses.¹² When wine demand declined Offley's agents had a difficult time securing repayment, and, when all other efforts failed, sought redress in the courts. Offley, beginning in the mid-1790s, sued to recover money advanced to Jose Botelho Guedes. By March 1801 Guedes had died, but, reported the agent, "before that even happened we took claim to an estate he had mortgaged to us." Still, the legal procedure dragged on, with the firm claiming in 1804 that "every engine has been set at work to overthrow us".¹³ The French invasion of 1807 drove British merchants from Porto before a settlement had been achieved. When the reorganized firm returned to the city and began contemplating "the sale of the vineyards up the country" then in its possession, the legal process continued.¹⁴

The issue disappeared from Offley's correspondence, but an 1835 reference to "nossa propriedade," held by the firm for over twenty years, and to other vineyards proves a conti-

⁹ PPP, 70 (23 Mar. 1843), 351.

¹⁰ OtoO, 16 Jan. 1802, OA 17.

¹¹ Norman R. Bennett, "Os mecanismos de comercialização e as estratégias empresariais, 1830s - 1908," forthcoming in *História do Douro e dos seus vinhos*.

¹² Norman R. Bennett, "The Golden Age of the Port Wine System, 1781-1807," *The International History Review*, 12(1990), 228-29.

¹³ O to O, 6 Jan. 1795, 22 Aug. 1795, 8 Dec. 1796, OA 13; O to O, 15 Feb. 1800, 22 Nov. 1800, 21 Jan. 1801, 28 Nov. 1801, 9 Jan. 1802, 13, Feb. 1802, 10 April 1804, 4 May 1804, 25 Aug. 1804, 13 Nov. 1804, OA 17; O para Pereira, 17 Mar. 1796, 16 Nov. 1799, OA 16; O para Pereira, 6 Set. 1800, 13 Dez. 1800, 7 Mar. 1801, OA 18.

¹⁴ PPP, 151 (29 Jun. 1841), 682; O to O, 12 Dec 1815, OA 21; O para Pereira, 22 Abr. 1815, OA 20.

ning presence in the Douro.¹⁵ During 1841 Offley's representative, Joseph J. Forrester, received authorization from the London partners to sell ownership of "nossos bens do Pezo," held since the first decade of the century. The Regua - based wine-growers and merchants, the Ferreiras, received all or most of the property in return for seventy pipes of wine.¹⁶ Offley's Douro vineyards certainly had not been either an important part of firm's business operations or of the general port wine trade. Forrester, or the firm, continued to have property in the Douro. Forrester left the firm in 1849 but continued as an independent wine grower and merchant. In 1852 he reported that he owned an estate and leased property from others "to a very large extent."¹⁷ According to the well-informed Cyrus Redding growers like Forrester held property because the inefficient and intrusive regulation of the port wine system by the Companhia Geral da Agricultura das Vinhas do Alto Douro had "driven British merchants even to purchase estates, and lease farms that they may as much as possible get the making of wines into their own hands"¹⁸.

Forrester's experience was not shared by many of his compatriots. The only other significant British Douro vineyard owner during the years before mid-century was John Alexander Fladgate¹⁹, an important port wine system participant deserving more attention in the recounting of nineteenth-century Douro history. Later described by a colleague as "one of the most respectable men on the Oporto market,"²⁰ Fladgate, like Forrester, was one of the many exceptions to the often asserted description of British Porto merchants as a closed community.²¹ He participated fully in the cultural and economic life of Portugal. Fladgate owned and resided in a house in the fashionable Foz do Douro district and was among its most important members.²² His son Francis P. G. Fladgate participated in the wine trade and died in Porto in 1888; his four daughters, following a common pattern, married in Porto members of the British resident community. Fladgate was appointed the Barao da Roeda in the early 1870s. Portuguese contemporaries characterized him as a "calvalheiro sympatico e illustrado, que apezar de ter nascido e vivido muito tempo na Inglaterra, nutre grande afeição a Portugal"²³ Fladgate died in England in 1901.²⁴

⁵ O para Pereira, 31 Ago. 1835, 5 Sept. 1835, 12 Set 1835, OA 27.

⁶ Forrester para Ferreira, 29 Maio 1841, 13 Jul. 1841, 18 Dez. 1841, Forrester para Pereira, 13 Jul. 1841, 18 Dez. 1841, OA 27.

⁷ Forrester in *PP*, v. 17 (1852), {Reports from Committees, XIII, *Import Duties on Wine*}, 1.

⁸ Cyrus Redding, *Wine Duties Reduction* (London, 1852), 5.

⁹ Both Forrester and Fladgate are mentioned briefly in Miriam Halpern Pereira, *Livre Câmbio e Desenvolvimento Económico: Portugal na Segunda Metade do Século XIX* (Lisboa, 1971), 163.

²⁰ Lorenz Feuerheerd, in *PP* (1878-79) [Report from the Select Committee on Wine Duties], XIV, 100.

²¹ For example, Jorge M. Martins Ribeiro, "La Communauté Britannique de Porto au Début du XIXe Siècle", in *Uldentité Regionaie: Uidée de Région dans l'Europe du Sud-Ouest* (Paris, 1991), 98.

²² I. de Vilhena Barbosa, "S. João da Foz", *Arquivo Pittoresco*, 8 (1865), 311; Alberto Pimentel. *O Porto Ha Trinta Annos* (Porto, 1893), 252.

²³ *CP*, 10 (13 Jan. 1874), 1-2; Américo Costa, *Dicionário Corográfico de Portugal Continental e Insular* (Porto, 1948), X, 379.

²⁴ *CP*, 240 (7 Out. 1901), 2; *Ridley*, 492 (12 Oct. 1888), 499.

Born in 1809, Fladgate, after experience in the wine business in England, arrived in Poito in 1836 where he replaced the retiring John Procter of Joseph C. Taylor & Co., a moderately-important firm importing many commodities and exporting wine. During 1836 Taylor ranked twelfth on the list of port wine exporters with over 850 pipes; during 1838 it stood seventeenth with over 708.²⁵ Taylor died during January 1837, with the firm continuing under his name until July 1837. It became Taylor, Fladgate until 1839 when Morgan Yeatman joined the business; Yeatman died in 1849, but his son, who only occasionally visited Porto, was part of the firm from 1846 to 1889. In February 1843 the company became Taylor, Fladgate, & Yeatman, with Fladgate as senior partner. Fladgate remained active in the Porto marketplace until his retirement from the firm during the late 1880s.²⁶

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Although Fladgate continued the normal dual importing and exporting activity common in the British mercantile community,²⁷ he, like many of his peers, became more absorbed in the many activities of the port wine system.²⁸ But, unlike most of that community, he soon looked beyond Porto's neighborhoods to the Douro wine country. In November 1843 Fladgate announced his intention to purchase the Quinta da Roeda, located near Pinhao on the Douro's right bank.²⁹ The quinta, founded in 1811 by Manuel Antonio Pinto de Soveral, was then in decline. Fladgate's firm had bought its wine for many years. The new owner, becoming one of the few individuals to both produce and export wine, immediately began to improve the quinta.³⁰ Shortly thereafter Forrester, while visiting the region, praised Roeda, among other quintas, for its "perfeicao do grangeio." An 1856 reference to an unnamed quinta, most likely Roeda, called it "uma das mais belles propriedades no Douro."³¹

The devastation brought to Douro vineyards by oidium's appearance during the 1850s amply demonstrated why most British merchants did not want to become involved in the intricate business of producing and perfecting an annual vintage. Roeda's average yield fell, its owner reported, from between 150 and 170 pipes to about two or three.³² Despite the problems Roeda still, during the late 1860s, was regarded as "um dos melhores predios do Douro." Over sixty-six hectares of the estate were vineyards. In addition the quinta produced about 700 liters of olive oil, as well as almonds and various fruits. Experiments in silk production were underway.³³ Fladgate immediately became one of the leading growers

²⁵ *Noticiador Commercial Portuense*, 4 (9 Ago. 1836), 16; 15 (25 Out. 1836), 59; 29 (31 Jan. 1837), 114; and 27 (15 Jan. 1839), 106.

²⁶ CP, 240 (7 Out. 1901), 2; PPP: 34 (9 Fev. 1843), 163; 154 (1 Jul. 1836), 4; 153 (1 Jul. 1837), 1; 175 (25 Jul. 1840), 1; 503 (12 Set 1889), 448; *Siege Lady: The Adventures of Mrs. [Dorothy Proctor]... during the Siege of Oporto...* (London, 1938), 281; Charles Sellers, *Oporto, Old and New* (London, 1899), 133, and, for portraits of Fladgate, 126, 129; *Noticiador Commercial Portuense*, 5 (11 Jul. 1837), 208.

²⁷ The ship arrival and departure listings of *Noticiador Commercial Portuense* record the firm's activity.

²⁸ For examples, S to S, 21 Sept. 1841, SA 6; Cobb to S, 29 May 1877, 20 Oct. 1880, SA 17.

²⁹ *A Coallisaõ*: 182 (20 Nov. 1843), 1 and 205 (18 Dez. 1843), 1; PPP, 300 (20 Dez. 1843), 1433.

³⁰ "Preliminares de Ampelographia do Douro pelo Visconde de Villa Maior," AR, 11 (1869), 561.

³¹ Joze James Forrester, *Considerações a'cerca da Carta de Lei de 21 d'Abril de 1843...* (Porto, 1849), 30; CP, 194 (26 Ago. 1856), 3.

³² Barão da Roeda, "O Phylloxera no Alto Douro," AR, 14 (1872-73), 232.

³³ "Preliminares de Ampelographia pelo Visconde de Villa Maior," 561-65.

attempting to find a remedy for the vineyard malady. By 1857 his pioneering and successful use of sulphur to check oidium was recognized in Porto's marketplace. A late 1860s account praised Roeda: "e uma que produz os vinhos mais generoso de toda aquella regio." ³⁴

At about this time Offley decided once again to hold Douro property. In February 1866 the partners purchased the Quinta da Boa Vista, in Covas do Douro,. "We may congratulate ourselves," said agent John Atkinson, "on possessing one of the most complete properties in the Alto Douro, & one that is admitted by all to produce a first growth wine."³⁵ Sandeman's Frederic Cobb was unimpressed. He reported total purchase costs at 20,000\$000 for a property producing thirty-five pipes in good seasons, and twenty-five in normal years. "I do not see what can have induced such a purchase," he opined when thinking about the annual costs of operating the quinta, especially since "there is plenty [of wine] to be had in the Douro quite as good."³⁶ Sandeman's holdings in 1868 were limited to lodges in Vila Nova de Gaia and the firm persisted in a belief that investment in Douro property was not worth the trouble and expence of ownership. In 1872 the firm declined the offer to invest in a Pinhao building usable for wine storage. In 1875 it rejected an opportunity to buy land near the new Douro railway suitable for a erecting a lodge, and in 1879 Sandeman declined an offer to consider purchasing the Quinta de Roriz. When, in 1883, the owner became dissatisfied with the price Sandemen gave for rent of a house during vintage time, the firm quickly responded by leasing a different location. As earlier in the century, merchants secured most of their wine through contracts with independent growers³⁷ H. Warner Allen during the 1930s, probably reflecting Sandeman's opinions after participating in its vintage activities, categorized owning vineyards as "a troublesome privilege." Sandeman obtained its first vineyards only in 1974.³⁸

The successful, though expensive, battle against oidium did not end the difficulties facing port wine growers. A much more devastating malady, phylloxera, struck Douro vineyards during the 1860s. By then Roeda was producing, depending upon the comments of various observers, from eighty-five to 240 pipes of wine. Olive oil averaged from five and one-half to eight pipes, with a production of twelve pipes in 1871. Some commentators described Fladgate as the first vineyard owner to call attention to phylloxera's appearance; he thought it present from 1863.³⁹ Cobb was a frequent visitor to Roeda during this period. By 1874 he reported it as "very much attacked," and in 1876 found Fladgate "most downhearted about his quinta." During 1878 he described Roeda as "one of the worst [quintas] afflicted

³⁴ "Enxoframento", *O Nacional*, 192 (27 Ago. 1857), 2, and 193 (28 Ago. 1857), 1; *CP*, 166 (27 Jul. 1858), 2; *Segunda Memória sobre os Processos de Vinificação Empregados nos Principaes Vinhateiros do Continente do Reino Apresentada ao ...Ministro das Obras Publicas, Commercio e Industria...* (Lisboa, 1868), 10-1.

³⁵ Atkinson to O, 25 Feb. 1866, OA 34.

³⁶ Cobb to S, 26 Feb. 1866, SA12.

³⁷ Cobb to S, 24 Jan. 1868, 20 April 1872, SA 12, 3 Feb. 1877, 29 July 1879, 11 Oct. 1883, SA 17; Henry Vizetelly, *Facts about Port and Madeira...* (London, 1880), 141.

³⁸ H. Warner Alien, *The Romance of Wine* (New York, 1932), 177; Andrew Jefford, *Port* (New York, 1968), 68.

³⁹ "Quinta de Roeda." *CP*, 10 (13 Jan. 1874), 1-2; M. C. Rodrigues de Moraes in *O Agricultor Portuguez*, 6 (1883-84), 546.

by the insect plague"; Fladgate reported production of only twenty-five pipes. Cobb commiserated that, when "calculating his cultivation expenses, [and] interest of money, you can imagine what this cost him per pipe". Fladgate once again reacted vigorously. He became one of the leaders in the struggle to check the infestation; in 1879 Cobb observed Fladgate "trying all sorts of applications in the way of insecticides." Fladgate learned that a sulfate of carbon mixture checked, but did not halt, vine destruction, but by then most of the quinta's growth had died. He persisted, utilizing the chemicals to lengthen the productive existence of newly planted vines.⁴⁰ Fladgate's attitude to the struggle against phylloxera demonstrates his identification as a Portuguese wine grower - an "irmao-lavrador": "algumas nacoas colhem a sua principal riqueza das minas; outras, do commercio, - outras das manufacturas - nos - dos nossos olivaeas, dos nossos campos de milho, e de trigo, e das nossas vinhas." But it was a losing battle. In 1884 the vintage was nine pipes, in 1885, thirteen. Nonetheless, in 1879, an impressed *Times* correspondent, Henry Vizetelly, still could report that "if the Douro wine district is a gold ring, Roeda is its gem." But, he concluded, with yearly cultivation costs reaching between £1000 and £2000, "Roeda is a hobby," not a satisfactory investment.⁴¹

Fladgate was among the growers of the Douro appointed to the Comissão Executiva de Estudo e Tratamento das Vinhas do Douro, a group seeking to discover remedies for phylloxera, and of equal importance, convincing conservative and financially-weak vineyard owners to try them. The commission also established a sulfur-producing factory to help meet grower needs.⁴² In 1878 Fladgate rented his ruined quinta to the commission as a site for phylloxera-combatting experiments. Roeda, with Fladgate's active participation, also joined in the experiment to produce another crop, tobacco, in the Douro.⁴³ Fladgate retired during 1884 and put Roeda up for sale, but remained busy on the quinta until its purchase in 1889.⁴⁴

By the 1880s the effects of the phylloxera infestation, plus an often unfavorable international market, had brought widespread economic distress to Douro growers. Many could not afford the costs of maintaining their vineyards and either sold or abandoned their holdings. During 1880 Antonio Teixeira, the discouraged owner of the Quinta de Ventuzelo, lamented that, because of the destruction of his vineyards, "he was taking to sheep farming." Visconde de Villar de Allen, in an 1881 example, reported the sale of a quinta, formerly with annual sales of 9,000\$000, for 3,000\$000.⁴⁵ The destruction stimulated a surge of quinta

⁴⁰ Cobb to S, 10 Nov. 1876, 11 Dec. 1878, 21 July 1879, 26 June 1874, 23 Jan. 1880, SA 17, and 26 Nov. 1879, SA 18; CP, 81 (31 Mar. 1884), 2; Henry Vizetelly, Porto letter, 8 March, *The Times* (8 Nov 1879), 5.

⁴¹ *Sbid.*; CP, 262 (25 Oct. 1885), 1; *Ridley*, 369 (12 Sept. 1878), 285; Roeda, "O Phylloxera no Alto Douro," 232, 264.

⁴² Allen to Blagden & Prince, 22 Nov. 1878, 13 Feb. 1879, 11 March 1879, M. J. Valente Allen Correspondence, SA; Cobb to S, 22 Feb. 1881, SA 17.

⁴³ Allen in *O Agricultor do Norte de Portugal*, 1 (1877-78), 380, and succeeding issues for continuing details; "Exposição de Tabaco do Douro," CP, 19 (24 Jan. 1883), 2, and 24 (26 Jan. 1883), 2; José Taveira de Carvalho Pinto de Menezes, "Relatório dos Serviços a Cargo da Comissão Central Anti-Phylloxerica do Norte," *Boletim de Ampelographia e Oenologia*, 1 (1885), 239-42.

⁴⁴ Cobb to S, 6 Feb. 1884, SA 17; J.G. Sandeman to S, 21 Sept, 1888, SA 24; CP, 172 (12 Jul. 1884), 3.

⁴⁵ Cobb to S, 17 March 1880, SA 17; "Estado da Região do Douro," *O Agricultor do Norte de Portugal*, 4 (1881), 351.

buying to satisfy the demand for more satisfactory Douro wine. Both Portuguese and British firms and individuals purchased formerly flourishing vineyards. A few sought to develop a secure supply of fine wine; others, who invested capital gained in non-wine activities, desired to acquire the prestige accompanying quinta ownership. In both instances considerable financial investment was required to restore ruined vineyards.⁴⁶

A few examples illustrate the magnitude of the task. Prominent Porto businessman Antonio Jose da Silva bought the Quinta do Noval. Observers marveled at the large sums he expended to counter the ruin brought by oidium and phylloxera. During a three-month drought in 1898 water was carried up from the Douro to sustain the vines. One admiring visitor thought that Noval "mais parece um jardim do que uma propriedade." Another thought, because of its "grandes muros caiados, um enorme casario, parece mais um pequena povoação que uma quinta."⁴⁷ Portuguese wine merchant Miguel de Sousa Guedes secured the Quinta do Carvalhas in 1880. Its vineyards by 1883 produced only eight pipes. Guedes restored and expanded the quinta, pushing production by 1892 up to 112 pipes. He also rebuilt the Quinta de Baratas. Guedes' efforts, said a Pinhao writer, proved that "so quern dispoe de grandes recursos pecuniarios e que hoje pode ser lavrador no Alto Douro."⁴⁸ Among other Portuguese quinta-acquirers were the bankers Borges & Irmao, with two quintas, each bought for 8,000\$000, Soalheira in 1904 and Junco in 1906. By 1908 the firm had spent about 30,000\$000 to rebuild them.⁴⁹

The Quinta da Boa Vista, held since 1866 by Offley, was a prominent example of British ownership. The firm expanded operations with the purchase of the nearby Cachucha quinta in 1889, quickly beginning extensive replanting with phylloxera-resistant American vine stock. In 1896 the firm added the neighboring Quinta do Ujo. Their combined vineyards were in a state of advanced degeneration and did not contribute for many years in any substantial fashion to the firm's wine quality. By 1902, after years of intensive labor, Offley's properties produced from eighty to 130 pipes of wine.⁵⁰

Fladgate's once-prosperous Quinta da Roeda, known as the "Diamond of the Douro" was obtained by Croft & Co. in 1889. It sold for 13,000\$000, or about £2500, "a sum insufficient we should imagine," thought *Ridley's* Porto correspondent, "to cover the mere value of the house, lodges, lagares &c..." The quinta produced only twenty pipes of wine.⁵¹ By 1892 vigorous replanting elevated the yield to thirty-five.⁵²

⁴⁶ See Gaspar Martins Pereira, *O Douro: A Vinha, o Vinho e a Região de Pombal a João Franco* (Porto, 1990), 39-42.

⁴⁷ Letters, Alijo, 18 M, *CP*, 171 (20 Jul. 1895), 1, and 17 Out, *CP*, 248 (19 Out. 1898), 1; letter, Provesende, 2 Feb. *CP*, 30 (4 Feb. 1900), 1; Amilcar de Souza, "Resurreição," *ilustração Transmontana*, 3 (1910), 14748.

⁴⁸ Letter, Alijo, 17 Out, *CP*, 248 (19 Out. 1898), 1; letter, Provesende, 2 Feb., *CP*, 30 (4 Feb. 1900), 1; letter, Pinhão, 27 Jul., *CP*, 186 (6 Ago. 1892), 1.

⁴⁹ Fernando de Sousa, *Banco Borges e Irmão, 1884-1984: Uma instituição Centenária* (Porto, 1984), 63-6.

⁵⁰ Detailed accounts of Boa Vista activity are in "Quinta da Boa Vista, 1890-1901," and "Quinta da Boa Vista, 1902-1920," OA, and letters in OA 38.

⁵¹ *CP*, 156 (18 Jun. 1889), 1; J.G. Sandeman to S, 3 Dec. 1889, SA 23; *Ridley*, 494 (12 Dec. 1888), 578-79.

⁵² Feuerheerd report, *Ridley*, 542 (12 Dec. 1892), 674.

Robertson Brothers acquired the Quinta da Roncao in 1893. By the vintage of 1899, with 10,000 vines planted, the firm secured five pipes. Excessive rain and flooding of the Douro brought extensive damage in 1900, but did not hinder development efforts. In 1902 Roncao produced over twenty-one pipes of grapes, and the agents calculated that the firm turned a profit of 13% on sums expended in the quinta during the past year.⁵³ In 1905 Robertson bought the nearby Quinta de Murca at auction for a total cost of 9,500\$000. Robertson's properties yielded a loss of 672\$000 on investment in 1903 and a gain of 93\$000 in 1904; 1905's forty-three pipes gave the firm a 5.5% profit.⁵⁴ Among other quintas purchased by British wine firms were Tua and Lobasim (Cockburn), Bomfim, Sabordella, and Zimbro (Silva & Cosens), Senhora de Ribeira (G.A. Warre), Malvedos (Graham), Eira Velha (Hunt, Roope & Teague), and Vargelas (Taylor, Fladgate & Yeatman).⁵⁵

The heavy expenses required to restore quintas significantly altered the conditions of their management. The necessity of grafting local stock on to American roots was costly and, said one grower, done only by those who "nao vivem do cultivo da vinha." The owner of the Quinta do Cachao recalled former days "quando a vinha, uma vez plantada, era abandonada aos cuidados de um caseiro ignorante e desmazelado." Constant and informed direction now was required. Even so, commented a skeptical observer when judging the lack of investment return, the result was that "o vinho do Douro das regioes finas so e faz hoje como um *sport*, e isto nao e segredo nenhum."⁵⁶

The redevelopment process in newly-purchased vineyards became embroiled in the effort of some Portuguese, stimulated by the African crisis leading to the British Ultimatum of 1890, to secure a larger share of the port wine market.⁵⁷ When a Ridley correspondent on an 1889 annual visit to the Douro noted "the application of British capital and enterprise," for successful quinta reconstruction, the Conde de Samodães and other involved Portuguese reacted strongly, even though the writer had mentioned the equal efforts of prosperous Portuguese owners. "E preciso nacionalisar o commercio e a industria, e dispensar o auxilio dos aliados fidelissimos," fumed Samodães.⁵⁸ When tempers cooled, a decade later, a similar report received a more realistic response. An *O Commercio do Porto* correspondent calculated that the production of all British-owned quintas was about 500 pipes of first-class wine, only one-tenth of the Douro's total vintage.⁵⁹

⁵³ Newton & Kendalito RB, 7 Oct 1899, RB 20, and 3 March 1900, RB 21; Kendall to RB, 15 Oct. 1902, RB 22.

⁵⁴ Kendall to RB, 30 Nov. 1904, 12 Dec. 1904, 10 April 1905, 2 May 1905, RB 25, 25 Oct. 1905, RB 26.

⁵⁵ J. Alcino Cordeiro, *Quintas do Douro* (Régua, 1941), 22f; letter of A.B., 25 Dez., Provesende, CP, 309 (30 Dez. 1906), 2; CP, 280 (25 Nov. 1908), 2. Manuel Monteiro, *O Douro: Phncipaes Quintas...* (Porto, 1911), 15f.

⁵⁶ Letter, Penaguião, 15 Out, CP, 247 (19 Out. 1897), 1; Guilherme Franqueira, letter, 15 Set, *A Vinha Portuguesa*, 5 (1890), 262; A.G., "O Douro Superior e a Cultura da Vinha," CP, 141 (16 Jun. 1899), 1; CP, 282 (28 Nov. 1905), 2.

⁵⁷ Norman R. Bennett, "The Port Wine System in the 1890s," *The International History Review*, 16 (1994), 257-63.

⁵⁸ "The Port Wine Trade," *Ridley*, 506 (12 Dec. 1889), 598; Conde de Samodães, "O Douro na Opinião das Inglezes," *Boletim da Liga dos Lavradores do Douro*, 4, 29 (1 Jan. 1890), 3-4.

⁵⁹ CP, 280 (25 Nov. 1908), 2.

British merchants were far distant in vineyard holdings to their Portuguese counterparts. All the quintas owned by British firms probably did not match the many quintas held by the principal Douro holder, the Portuguese firm of Antonio Adelaide Ferreira and its successors.⁶⁰ The British role in the Douro thus was very far from the opinion advanced by de Blij and other commentators.⁶¹ The British then had major influence in the marketplace because their nation was the leading consumer of port wine. But most of the wine shipped to British consumers was produced on quintas owned by Portuguese growers.

⁶⁰ See Gaspar Martins Pereira e Maria Luisa Nicoiau de Almeida de Olazabel, *Dona Antónia* (Porto, 1996).

⁶¹ Barreto, *Douro*, 60, recognizes that very little wine then came from firm-owned quintas.

Abbreviations:

AR	<i>O Archivo Rural</i>
CB	Copy Book
CP	<i>O Commercio do Porto</i>
LB	Letter Book
O	Offley Forrester
OA	Offley, Forrester Archives, Vila Nova de Gaia
OA13	CB, 5 Jan. 1793- 12 Jan. 1799
OA 16	LB, 4 Junho 1796-10 Maio 1800
OA 17	CB, 19 Jan. 1799 - 28 Dec. 1804
OA 18	LB, 17 Maio 1800-31 Dez. 1803
OA34	LB, 5 Jan. 1865-20 June 1868
OA38	LB, 21 March 1890 - 22 Dec. 1898
PP	Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers
PPP	<i>Periódico dos Pobres do Porto</i>
RB	Robertson Brothers Correspondence, SA
RB20	LB, 22 May 1899- 1 Feb. 1900
RB 21	LB, 4 Feb. 1900 - 26 Nov. 1900
RB 22	LB, 6 Nov. 1901 - 15 Nov. 1902
RB 25	LB, 28 Oct. 1904 - 26 Sept. 1905
RB26	LB, 27 Sept. 1905-17 Jan. 1907
Ridley	<i>Ridley & Co.'s Monthly Wine & Spirit Trade Circular</i>
S	Sandeman & Co.
SA	Sandeman Archives, Vila Nova de Gaia
SA6	LB, 15 May 1838 - 30 Dec. 1844
SA 12	LB, 26 Oct. 1860 - 29 Nov. 1872
SA 17	LB, 7 Feb. 1873 - 30 Oct. 1884
SA 18	LB, 17 Feb. 1877-8 Jan. 1881
SA23	LB, 30 Nov. 1886-21 Oct 1891
SA24	LB, 16 July 1888 - 12 Fev. 1889