

Notes on Offley Forrester and the Forresters: 1779-1861

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With one notable exception¹, there is a significant lack of studies detailing the complex business labors of resident Porto wine firms. Since many of the copies of correspondence left by Porto agents are unsigned, and because the London and Porto branches of firms constantly reformed, and included many family members - "most of the Houses here have either Partners or Relations in your place, who act as agents for them" - explained a Porto resident in 1784,² it often is difficult at a specific moment to be sure of the identity of the partners or agents present in Porto. An effort to expand our limited knowledge of the individuals then making the decisions shaping the activities of the various components of the port wine system is a worthwhile endeavor. An examination of eighteenth and nineteenth sources relating to the firm now known as Offley Forrester [hereafter Offley], described in 1787 as "one of the most considerable English Houses at Porto,"³ can help fill one important gap in the overall picture of wine firm life. Founded earlier in the century by Charles Etty, Offley, from at least 1761, contained members of the Offley family. It appears in an 1769 listing of exports as Etty, Offley, and from 1773 to 1778 was known as Etty, Offley & Campion.⁴

Table I

firm name	Offley, Forrester Partners, 1779-1861 ⁵ partners
1779	Etty, Offley, Campion: Charles Etty, William Campion; William Offley; Richard Tydell; Thomas Tydell, William Brooks, James Etty, Edward Campion, Benjamin Webber ⁶
1779-1785	Offley, Campion & Brooks: William Offley (4/13), William Campion (4/13), Richard Tydell (3/13), William Brooks (1/13), Benjamin Webber (1/13) ⁷

¹ Gaspar Martins Pereira e Maria Luisa Nicolau de Almeida de Olazabel, *Dona Antonia* (Porto, 1996).

² H to Olive, Cutler & Colkett, 20 March 1784, HA 1.

³ Whitehead to Carmathen, 29 Dec. 1787, FO 63/10.

⁴ J. Alcino Cordeiro, *Quintas do Douro* (Regua, 1941), 137; Moreira da Fonseca, "Relacam geral dos verdadeiros commerciantes da Nassao Britanica, exportadores de Vinho do Porto, no ano de 1769," *O Tripeiro*, 5 (Maio 1963), 144; Memorial, Consul and British Merchants of Porto to Walpole, 24 Oct. 1776, FO 63/165; 0 to Corballis, 9 Dec. 1795, OA14; Charles Sellers, *Oporto Old and New* (London, 1899), 142.

⁵ For the monetary totals divided between partners from 1780 to 1806, Norman R. Bennett, "The Golden Age of the Port Wine System, 1781-1807," *The International History Review*, 12 (1990), 248, Table 5.

⁶ Ledger, 1 Jan. 1779, OA Share amounts not found.

⁷ End-of-year entries, Waste Book, 1 Jan. 1879 - 31 Dec. 1785, OA 1785 listing not found, but the same partners are presumed. In OA 4 correspondence the firm at times was referred to as Brooks & Co.; letters to the London firm often were addressed to William Offley.

- 1786-1804 Offley, Campion, & Hesketh⁸: (1786-89) Thomas Tydell (3/13), William Offley (3/13), William Campion (3/13), John Hesketh (1/13), Benjamin Webber (1/13), Charles Offley (1/13), Henry Campion (1/13)⁹; (1790-92) Thomas Tydell (3/13), William Campion (3/13), Charles Offley (2/13), John Hesketh (2/13), Benjamin Webber (1/13), Henry Campion (1/13)¹⁰; (1793-1796) William Campion (3/13), Charles Offley (3/13), John Hesketh (2/13), Henry Campion (2/13), John Offley (1/13), Roger Harries, (1/13), Benjamin Webber (1/13); (1797) William Campion (3/13), Charles Offley (2/13), John Offley (2/13), John Hesketh (2/13), Henry Campion (2/13), Roger Harries (1/13), Benjamin Webber (1/13); (1798-1804) William Campion (3/12), Charles Offley (2/12), John Offley (2/12), John Hesketh (2/12), Henry Campion (2/12), Benjamin Webber (1/12)¹¹; (1805-07) Charles Offley (1/5), John Offley (1/5), John Hesketh (1/5), Benjamin Webber (1/5), James Forrester (1/10)¹²
- 1808-1840 Offley Brothers Forrester; Offley; Webber, Forrester; or Offley, Forrester, Webber: (1812-29) Charles Offley (1/4), William Offley (1/4), James Forrester (1/4), Charles G. Webber (1/4),¹³; (1830-39) William Offley (1/3), James Forrester (1/3), Charles G. Webber (1/3); (1840) William Offley (1/2), Charles G. Webber (1/2)¹⁴
- 1841-1843 Offley, Webber, Forrester: William Offley Sr. (1/4), William Offley Jr. (1/4), Charles G. Webber (1/4), Joseph J. Forrester (1/4)¹⁵
- 1844-1845 Offley, Webber, Forrester: William Offley Jr. (1/3), Charles G. Webber (1/3), Joseph J. Forrester (1/3)¹⁶
- 1846-1851 Offley, Forrester, Webber & Cramp: (1846) William Offley Jr. (2/9), Charles G. Webber (1/3) Joseph J. Forrester (1/3), Francis Cramp (1/9); (1851) William Offley Jr. (1/3), Charles G. Webber (1/3) Joseph J. Forrester (1/3)¹⁷
- 1851-1857 Offley, Webber & Cramp: William Offley¹⁸, Francis Cramp

⁸ Alternate designations used were Offley, Campion, Brooks, or Campion, Offley & Hesketh. London letters went to Charles Offley & Co., or William Offley & Son.

⁹ End-of-year entries, Waste Book, 1 Jan. 1786 - 31 Dec. 1789, OA

¹⁰ End-of-year entries, Journal, 1 Jan. 1790 - 31 Dec. 1792, OA Here, and in subsequent partner lists, the unlisted shares were designated as a "sinking fund."

¹¹ End-of-year entries, and entry of 19 June 1804, Waste Book, 1 Jan. 1793 - 31 Dec. 1804, OA The 1801 listing not found, but the same partners are presumed. In a 1797 tally of wine held by British Factory members the firm was listed as Campion & Co: O to Campion, 31 Jan. 1797, OA 17. Letters to London at times were addressed to Offley, Henry Campion, Offley & Campion.

¹² End-of-year entries, Waste Book and Journal, 1 Jan. 1805 - 31 Jan. 1808, OA John Offley, in *The Farington Diary by Joseph Farrington*, R.A. Games Greig, ed., London, 1923-28), III, 179, for 1806 gives John and Charles Offley (two shares each) and Forrester (one share) as partners.

¹³ Charles Offley died during February 1830: O to 0, 2 March 1830, OA 26.

¹⁴ End-of-year entries, Journals, 8 Jan. 1812 - 31 Dec. 1818, 11 Jan. 1819 - 31 Dec. 1825, 31 Jan. 1826 - 31 Dec. 1829, 14 Jan. 1830 - 31 Dec. 1835, 22 Jan. 1836 - 30 Dec. 1843, OA. 1808-11, 1816 listings not found.

¹⁵ Share listings not found, but a note at the beginning of Waste Book, 1 Jan. 1844 - 31 Dec. 1845, OA, lists the previous partners; shares probably were as listed.

¹⁶ End-of-year entry, Ledger, 31 Dec. 1845 - 31 Dec. 1846, OA 1844 listing not found.

¹⁷ Ledger, 31 Dec. 1845 - 31 Dec. 1846, Journal, 4 July 1850 - 30 June 1851, OA. 1847-1850 listings not found.

¹⁸ One William Offley died in November 1852, and another in March 1857. Wilcock para Pereira, 13 Nov. 1852 OA30; Wilcock to 0, 12 March 1857, OA 31. Partner shares not found for 1851-61.

1857-1861 Offley, Cramp: Francis Cramp, Alfred Cramp¹⁹
 1861 - Offley, Cramp, Forresters²⁰

Beginning our examination with the firm of Offley, Campion & Brooks, the Offleys, with family members active in the firm into the second half of the nineteenth century, mostly labored in London. William Offley, one of many bearing the same name, was the principal London partner until his death during 1789. Individual Offleys occasionally spent limited time in Porto. John Offley, a partner from 1794 to 1814, was present in 1797 and 1798. Henry Offley went to the wine country in 1786 and 1787, and died in Portugal "of an inflammatory fever" in January 1788. William Brooks, a Porto partner, then appears to have had primary responsibility for Douro visits, while Benjamin Webber, an individual apparently in Porto from the 1770s, and a partner until his death in 1810, concentrated upon lodge tasks.²¹ The Campions were members of a family present in Porto since the early eighteenth century. William Campion, active in Porto during the 1770s, later joined William Offley in London.²² When, in September 1785, Brooks unexpectedly died "de hua grande febre malinada," Webber carried on until January 1786 when joined by William Campion, his son Henry Campion, and John Hesketh, an experienced Porto merchant formerly with the firm of Swarbreck & Hesketh. The senior Campion returned to London, with Henry Campion and Hesketh remaining to work with Webber. Charles Offley, son of William Offley, and William Campion - he remained a partner through 1804 - were the London members of the reorganized firm.²³ For the rest of the decade, and during the 1790s, Hesketh and Henry Campion made most of the Douro visits, while Webber worked in Gaia and Porto. Henry Campion, a partner from 1786 to 1804, returned to Britain in 1795, with Hesketh carrying on the wine country trips.²⁴

Changes occurred in the London branch of the firm at the end of 1804, with the Porto organization reforming as Offley, Hesketh, Webber. Hesketh, Webber, and their relatives - Charles G. Webber and Robert Hesketh were there in 1806 - remained active until the British community fled before the 1807 French occupation of Porto.²⁵ When business resumed in 1808, Hesketh, a partner from 1786 to 1807, had left the firm. Charles G. Webber, a partner from 1812 until 1851, was present at times during the continued troubled war years, while Portuguese colleagues, notably Manuel Jose de Amorim and Alexandre de Campos Silva, directed the reduced operations during British absences. Benjamin Webber died in London in 1810, with Charles leaving Porto soon afterward.²⁶ Portuguese agents acted for the firm until the commercial disruption caused by the French invasions ended. Among the British merchants returning to Porto to rebuild their former flourishing commerce was James Forrester. He first appears among the partners in 1805. Charles Sellers states that Forrester arrived in Porto 1803. There are references to Forrester in England in 1804,

¹⁹ Albert Cramp, a partner, visited Porto during 1858; he died in 1865. Wilcock to 0,15 Oct. 1858, OA 31; Atkinson to 0,21 Sept 1865, OA 34.

²⁰ In 1861 Francis Cramp took Forrester's two youngest sons into the firm; the two eldest were already in the London branch. Cobb to S, 9 Aug. 1861, SA12.

²¹ O to 0,30 Nov. 1782,23 Sept. 1786,13 Jan. 1787,21 April 1787, OA 3; O to Whitehead, 7 Jan. 1783, OA 2; O to Evans, Offley & Sealy, 2 Feb. 1788,15 Aug. 1789, OA 6; O paraPereira, 16 Jun. 1810, OA 20; O to 0,1 Nov. 1814 OA 21, refers to "the late Mr. J.O."

²² O para Pereira, 22 Abr. 1797,23 Set. 1797, OA 16; O to 0,6 Oct. 1798, OA 13; Virginia Rau, "O Movimento da Barra do Douro durante o Seculo XVIII: Uma Interpretacao," *Boletim Cultural (Camara Municipal do Porto)*,²¹ (1958), 23-5; H to Holdsworth, 3 Nov. 1781, HA 1; Sellers, *Oporto*, 93,142,186; *Farington Diary*, III, 277,1814, OA.

²³ O para Carvalho, 27 Set. 1785,14 Jan. 1786,0 para Meneses, 27 Jan. 1786, OA 4;; O to Evans, Offley & Sealy, 5 Nov. 1785,14 Jan. 1786, OA 2; O to 0,18 Jan. 1783,21 Jan. 1786,23 Jan. 1786, OA 3; H to Allen, 3 Nov. 1781, HA 1; H to Olive, Cutler & Colkett, 29 Jan., 1785, HA 2; O to Evans, Offley, & Sealy, 21 Jan. 1786, OA 1; Receipts, 1791-1793, SA; British Factory, Oporto letter, 9 Oct. 1799, in Crispin to Grenville, 28 Oct. 1799, FO 63/31. The data on Hesketh in Paul Duguid, "Tudo em detalhes: instantaneos sobre o comercio do vinho do Porto em 1777 e 1786," *Douro*, 8 (2000), 68, is clarified in my text.

²⁴ O to O, 22 July 1795, OA 13; O para Pereira, 23 Set. 1797,18 Dez. 1797, O para Mesquita, 19 Jan. 1799, OA 16; O to Evans, Offley & Sealy, 1 Oct. 1798, OA 14.

²⁵ O para Pereira, 13 Jan. 1802,20 Nov. 1802, OA 18; O to 0,27 April 1804, OA 17; Consul and British Factory to Fitzgerald, 24 Oct. 1805, FO 179/4; O para Pereira, 5 Set. 1806, 7 Out, 1807, OA 20.

²⁶ O para Almeida, 30 Dez. 1808,0 para Pereira, 12 Jun. 1809,5 Out 1809,16 Jun. 1810, Amorim para Pereira, 5 Jul. 1809,0 para Mansilha, 15 Ago. 1810, OA 20; Jorge Martins Ribeiro, *A Comunidade Britdnica do Porto durante as Invasoes Francesas, 1807-1811* (Porto, 1990), 221. Silva continued an active firm member: entry of 31 Dec. 1813, Journal, 8 Jan. 1812 - 31 Dec. 1818, and 1824 end of year entry, Journal, 11 Jan. 1819 - 31 Dec. 1825, OA. For Amorim, see fn. 34.

1806 and 1810, but the first clear Porto reference to him I have found in Offley's correspondence occurs in June 1811; he also then attended a British Factory meeting. During the next year Forrester was reported in the wine country.²⁷ Following the death of Charles Offley, a partner since 1786, the firm in 1830 became Offley, Forrester and Webber. "The business in London is managed entirely by Mr. Webber," Forrester explained in 1838. Charles Webber remained in charge until retiring in 1857; he died in 1860.²⁸

An able manager, James Forrester effectively directed the multiple tasks essential for regaining the firm's former predominate position in the wine community.²⁹ He faced a formidable challenge. Offley had been one of the foremost wine purchasers and exporters. By the beginning of October 1785, during one very busy season, 6085 pipes had been purchased in the Douro and Gaia. Until 1801 Offley consistently had ranked among the leading exporters; that year's 5278 pipes was one of the firm's four totals above 5000 since 1781. In 1803 it was reported that Offley possessed in Porto wine and property worth £70,000. The situation was very different in 1811. Porto shippers exported 18,536 pipes of wine, 3912 of them from British merchants. Offley's share was only 162 pipes.³⁰ Forrester and his Portuguese colleagues slowly succeeded in restoring the firm's fortunes.³¹ They purchased and exported significant amounts of wine. At the close of 1826 the firm placed twelfth, with 956 of a total of 48,704.5 pipes, in a listing of the largest holders of first-class wine in Gaia. For 1827 Offley stood thirteenth, with 803.5 of a total of about 40,000 pipes.³² From 1825 to 1828 Offley ranked third among exporters, advancing to second in 1829 and 1830, and gaining first place in 1831. In succeeding years, the firm ranked between third (1848) to tenth (1844).

Table II
Offley Exports, 1811-1861
[Pipes, almudes, canadas³³]

	total	rank
1811	162	21 ³⁴
1814	856 ³⁵	
1816	400to500 ³⁶	
1819	613.10.6	16 ³⁷
1821	708 ³⁸	
1822	1028	8 ³⁹
1823	1210 ⁴⁰	
1824	1121 ⁴¹	

²⁷ Table I; Sellers, *Oporto*, 141-42; *Farington Diary*, III, 10, IV, 49, VI, 94; John Delaforce *Joseph James Forrester: Baron of Portugal* (Maia, 1992), 17; O para Mansilha, 19 Jun. 1811, 0 para Mourao, 8 Ago. 1812, OA 20; Elaine Sanceau, *The British Factory, Oporto* (Oporto, 1970), 67.

²⁸ O to 0.2 March 1830, OA 26; Forrester to J. Reay Jr. & H. Reay, 15 May 1838, OA 29; CP, 20 (26 Jan. 1857), 3; Wilcock to 0.5 April 1860, OA 33.

²⁹ For the various activities concerning wine-growers and the firm's Douro agents, see the correspondence in OA 20.

³⁰ For Offley's earlier operations, Bennett, "Golden Age," 221-48; O to 0.1 Oct. 1785, OA 4; a document on exports from Porto, 1798-1811, in FO 63/165, gives 5270 pipes as Offley's total for 1801; *Farington Diary*, II, 109. For different 1811 totals, Conceicao Andrade Martins, *Memoria do Vinho do Porto* (Lisboa, 1990), 200. See m. 34.

³¹ See Table II.

³² O to O: 7 Feb. 1827, OA 24; 22 Jan. 1828, OA 25.

³³ Some of the totals in the sources were given only in round figures (pipes).

³⁴ The listing available in Pereira e Olazabel, *Dona Antonia*, 27, records Manuel Jose de Amorim, a long-time employee of the firm, as the exporter. Amorim died in 1813: O para Pereira, 19 Jan. 1813, OA 20.

³⁵ O to 0.27 Dec. 1814, OA 21. Later 1029 pipes was given as the total shipped and disposed of: O to 0.25 Feb. 1815, OA 21.

³⁶ An estimate given in November by Charles Offley. *Farington Diary*, VIII, 95.

³⁷ CP, 9 (13 Jan. 1859), 1.

³⁸ Offley reported that the annual shipping list recorded 725 pipes, but the total included seventeen "belonging to a Mend of ours ... not having a lodge of his own." O to 0.6 Feb. 1821, OA 23.

³⁹ O to 0.3 Jan. 1823, OA 23; *Borboleta Duriense*, 6 (9 Jan. 1823), 95.

⁴⁰ The firm reported that the customs house listing of 1174 pipes was incorrect. O to 0.5 Jan. 1824, OA 23.

⁴¹ The customs house listing was 1131. O to 0.28 Dec. 1824, 4 Jan. 1825, OA 24.

1825	2408	342
1826		343
1827		344
1828		345
1829		2 ⁴⁶
1830		2 ⁴⁷
1831		1 ⁴⁸
1832	1129 3/4 ⁴⁹	
1835		5 ⁵⁰
1836	1632.2.9	5 ⁵¹
1838	1360.1.9	5 ⁵²
1840	1234.13.10	6 ⁵³
1842	809.18.6	10 ⁶¹
1843	642.7.4	
1844	1011.20.10	10 ⁶⁵
1845	1333.4	7 ⁵⁷
1847	1362	5 ⁵⁸
1848	1885	359
1849	1381	7 ⁶⁰
1850	1176.11	061
1851	1280.1.5	762
1852	966.11.9	6 ⁶³
1853	2304	6 ⁶⁴
1854	1768.0.8	6 ⁶⁵
1855	1479.8.6	566
1856	1848.10.6	4 ⁶⁷
1857	1402.3.6	568
1858	1046.6.11	2 ⁶⁹
1859	1183.1.4	470

⁴² 0 to 0,3 Jan. 1826, OA24; *Correio do Porto*: 13, (16 Jan. 1826), 50; 14 (17 Jan. 1826), 55.

⁴³ 0 to 0,2 Jan. 1827, OA 24, reports the "same rank" as 1825.

⁴⁴ The firm reported the same rank "as for some years past" 0 to 0,1 Jan. 1828, OA 25.

⁴⁵ The firm again reported ranking the same as the previous year. 0 to 0,4 Jan. 1829, OA 25.

⁴⁶ The Company stood first. 0 to 0,5 Jan. 1830, OA 26.

⁴⁷ 0 to 0,4 Jan. 1831, OA 26, reported matching the previous year's rank.

⁴⁸ 0 to 0,3 Jan. 1832, OA 26.

⁴⁹ Duty was paid on 58 additional pipes blocked from shipment by the siege: 0 to 0,10 March 1833, OA 28.

⁵⁰ "We shipped as many in 1835 as we did in 1834": 0 to 0,5 Jan. 1836, OA 29.

⁵¹ PPP, 28 (3 Feb. 1837), 4.

⁵² NCP, 27 (15 Jan. 1839), 105.

⁵³ NCP, 27 (11 Jan. 1841), 90. The list records Offley, Forrester & Webber with 760.10.11 and Offley & Webber with 474.2 pipes.

⁵⁴ PPP, 17 (20 Jan. 1843), 82, gives a combined total for Offley, Forrester & Webber and Offley & Webber.

⁵⁵ PPP, 9 QOJan. 1844), 36.

⁵⁶ PPP, 9 (10 Jan. 1845), 33.

⁵⁷ PPP, 13 (15 Jan. 1846), 50-1.

⁵⁸ PPP, 13 (15 Jan. 1848), 52.

⁵⁹ PPP, 7 (8 Jan. 1849), 28.

⁶⁰ PPP, 6 (7 Jan. 1850), 24.

⁶¹ PPP, 6 (7 Jan. 1851), 24.

⁶² PPP, 8 (9 Jan. 1852), 32.

⁶³ PPP, 7 (8 Jan. 1853), 28.

⁶⁴ BT, 17 (21 Jan. 1854), 2.

⁶⁵ PPP, 4 (4 Jan. 1855), 16.

⁶⁶ CP, 2 (3 Jan. 1857), 2.

⁶⁷ O National, 3 (5 Jan. 1857), 3.

⁶⁸ PPP, 7 (8 Jan. 1858), 31.

⁶⁹ CP, 2 (4 Jan. 1859), 1; Wilcock to 0,28 Dec. 1858, OA31, gives 10461/2.

⁷⁰ Wilcock to 0,26 Dec. 1859, OA 31; CP, 1 (2 Jan. 1860), 1.

1860	1504.10.3	4 ¹	
1861	10651/2	7 ²	
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1860	1504.10.3	4 ¹	
1861	10651/2	7 ²	

James Forrester's nephew, Joseph James Forrester, joined his uncle in Porto in 1830. As the junior staff member he initially received salaries of 400\$000 (1831) and 500\$000 (1832); two experienced Portuguese colleagues in 1831 earned 700\$000 and 500\$000.⁷³ Joseph Forrester would have participated in the learning experiences common to inexperienced wine firm employees. As Sandeman's Frederic T. Cobb later reported concerning new colleague Fred Blake: "he is only beginning to see into the most important part of the management of a business here, which is the purchasing in the Douro & here ... laying this in to the best advantage is the principal part of the business."⁷⁴ Joseph Forrester's early experiences included participation in the dramatic events related to the struggle for Portugal's throne between Branganca dynasty brothers Miguel and Pedro. Porto, occupied by Pedro in 1832, was besieged by Miguel into 1834. Porto exporting firms were cut off from their wine stocks in Gaia, while city residents experienced constant danger from Miguelist fire. "Any one of the inhabitants," noted one soldier, "might... in crossing the street be hit by a musket-ball, or whilst asleep at night be blown into the air by a shell." James Forrester reported that "the upper three stories of his house [in Ceidofeita were] destroyed by a shell, and one fell into that of his next door neighbour which passed through the ceiling & reached the ground floor, although the house is from five to six stories high."⁷⁵ The firm's Gaia lodges experienced minor stock pilfering during 1832, "the soldiers having carried off only twelve almudes of wine ... and six bottles of brandy". When in early 1833 the Porto men had been without news of their property for seven weeks, Joseph Forrester was sent to assist the Portuguese staff in supervising the lodges. James Forrester reported that until that moment they had "escaped with little or in fact no loss," even though "the soldiery are at times strolling about in bands of forty or fifty & set bars or bolts, & doors or thick walls at defiance." He explained that "the general uses his utmost exertions to restrain them and to prevent those excesses," and that "a piquet of five men ... with which we keep on the best of terms" stood ready to join the lodge men in resisting "any attack that may be made on the armazen." The lodges survived the siege without loss. James Forrester by then had evaluated his nephew's capabilities and advised the London office that "even if the worst should happen, the business of the House will be taken care of by ... [Joseph Forrester] who is fully acquainted with it & is in every way as fit to take the management of the concern as the writer."⁷⁶ During succeeding years, although there are few references to his nephew in Offley's business correspondence, it is evident that the young man gained increasing responsibilities in Offley's operations. In 1835, for example, he was despatched to Lisbon to seek from the government the return of duties imposed on brandy utilized during the siege.⁷⁷

James Forrester died suddenly in 1840, with his nephew lamenting the loss of "meo tio e meo bemfeitor," especially since "que as 2 horas ignorava o seu perigo." "Esta digno tio," reported the thirty-one year old Forrester, "nomeou-me test&menteiro como o prova maior da sua estima," with a legacy of £2000. He became "chefe da caza" of Offley's Porto business.⁷⁸ Forrester was assisted by long-time firm employee Joao Francisco de Assis - an 1824 entry records his salary as 700\$000.⁷⁹ When William Of fley Sr. retired from the firm at the close of 1843, it reorganized in 1844 with Forrester becoming a partner. In 1846 Forrester's brother-in-law, Francis Cramp (1820-1875), entered as a

⁷¹ Wilcock to O, 26 Dec. 1860, OA 33, gives 1504 1/4; CP, 1 (2 Jan. 1861), 3.

⁷² Wilcock to O, 2 Jan. 1862, OA 33; CP, 2 (3 Jan. 1862), 2.

⁷³ Entries, 31 Dec. 1831 and 15 Dec. 1832, Journal, 14 Jan. 1830 - 31 Dec. 1835, OA.

⁷⁴ Cobb to S, 6 Dec. 1873, SA17.

⁷⁵ Forrester to J. & T. Ashton, 3 Jan. 1833, OA 28; Alexander Tolmer, *Reminiscences of an Adventurous and Checkered Career at Home and in the Antipodes* (London, 1882), 1, 23.

⁷⁶ Forrester to O, 26 Sept 1832, 17 Feb. 1833, 18 Feb. 1833, 23 Feb. 1833, 23 March 1833, 20 Aug. 1833, OA 28.

⁷⁷ Forrester to O, 7 April 1835, 23 June 1835, OA 28; Forrester para Peixo, 2 Jan. 1835, OA 29.

⁷⁸ Forrester para Ferreira, 20 Jun. 1840, Forrester para Monteiro, 27 Jun. 1840, OA 27; end of year 1840 entry, Journal, 22 Jan. 1836-30 Dec. 1843, OA.

⁷⁹ Sellers, *Oporto*, 143; end of year 1824 entry, Journal, 11 Jan. 1819 - 31 Dec. 1825, OA Assis died in 1848: entry, 31 Dec. 1848, Journal, 14 Jan. 1847 - 30 June 1850, OA.

partner. Both were based in Porto.⁸⁰

Under Joseph Forrester's direction, Offley continued on the sound pattern established by James Forrester. It bought a significant portion of the annual Douro vintage -1300 pipes in 1844, and ranked from third to tenth among exporters.⁸¹ Forrester was one of the very few British merchants to become both a Douro wine producer and land owner.⁸² He sold wine to Offley from his own vineyards, and from others worked under agreement - 900.25 pipes of old and 20.75 "curious lots of wine" in 1843. Antonio Barreto concludes that such numbers - he gives an annual figure of about 2000 pipes - made Forrester one of the principal Douro producers.⁸³ Forrester held property in S. Cristovao do Douro and S. Joao de Covas, the latter including his Quinta da Boa Vista. Thus when Forrester became embroiled in arguments concerning the working of the port wine system, he countered an oponent's dismissal of his opinions because he was a foreigner: "A minha posicao, como proprietario, tambem me convide a promover o mais possivel os interesses d'este mesmo paiz, que eu, por duplicados motivos, tenho chamado adoptivo."⁸⁴

The frustrations stemming from the continuing necessity of laboring within the regulations imposed by the Companhia Geral da Agricultura das Vinhas do Alto Douro [hereafter the Company], especially the process of securing the required approval of wines as suitable for export to Britain,⁸⁵ certainly helped motivate Forrester to resign from Offley.⁸⁶ The port wine system was built upon a well-known foundation of transactions undercutting assertions that the Company's regulations were designed to guarantee wine quality. Wine not qualified for export to Britain could become so by the purchase of a qualifying document (a *bilhete* or *guia*). An Offley transaction during 1846 simply stated that the firm "paid [107\$500] for converting 160 pipes of tavern wine into wine legalized for embarcation to England." After once again enduring what Cobb described as the "usual absurdities" in the qualifying process, wines Forrester judged among the best he had produced since arriving in Porto were rated as second class. Forrester sorrowfully reported the results of the 1849 wine evaluation, "onde achei todos os meus vinhos na 2a. 3a. e refugo, e de mais dobrada a quantia que eu esperava ou com que eu tenho contado. Ora, meo amigo, bilhetes nao posso compara. O vinho pr. America nao serve,⁸⁷ e a Compa. apenas compara-hums 10 pipas @ 14\$." "Que havia eu, pois, de fazer?", he continued. "Nao tenho outro remedio se nao distillalo. Meo amigo, este humo acabo com todos meos contractos - porque alias pederei toda a minha fortuna."⁸⁸ Forrester decided in 1850 to become an independent grower and merchant.⁸⁹

The 1851 departure from the Offley organization occurred without rancor.⁹⁰ Forrester hosted former partner William Offley at a large gathering in July 1851, and during the following seasons he sold wine and recommended growers to his former partners. Forrester bought from the firm in early 1852 "all the stock in Pezo" -133 1/2 pipes of 1844 and 1850 wine - for 9315\$000. In 1853 he sold Offley 120 pipes of 1851 wine. Forrester also frequently drew currency sums from the firm.⁹¹

⁸⁰ Table I; *EP*, 77 (2 Jan. 1850), 4; *Ridley*, 328 (12 April 1875), 110.

⁸¹ Visconde de Santa Martha para redactor, 16 Out., *PPP*, 164 (21 Out. 1844), 260; Table II.

⁸² See Norman R. Bennett, "British Property-Holders in the Douro," *Estudos em Homenagem a Joao Francisco Marques* (Porto, 2001), 1,203.

⁸³ Entry, 30 June 1843, *Journal*, 22 Jan. 1836 - 30 Dec. 1843, OA; Antonio Barreto, *Douro* (Lisboa, 1993), 139.

⁸⁴ Forrester letter, 21 Fev., *CP*, 46 (27 Fev. 1857), 2; "Uvas perfeitas," *CP*, 199 (4 Set. 1857), 3; letter, urn entendedor de vinhos, 26 Out, *PPP*, 257 (31 Out. 1851), 2045; Joze James Forrester, *Consideragdes a'cerca da Carta de Lei de 21 d'Abril de 1843...* (Porto, 1849), 6.

⁸⁵ See Forrester para Camaraes Municipaes do Alto-Douro, 25 Nov., *PPP*, 199 (30 Nov. 1844), 407, for a full statement of his opinions of the *provas*.

⁸⁶ Rumors of a partner's resignation were current as early as 1847, but were denied. *EP*, 152 (15 Dez. 1847), 602.

⁸⁷ Wine, to decrease duty payments, was sent to non-British destinations before going to Britain.

⁸⁸ Joseph James Forrester, *Portugal and Its Capabilities* (3d ed., London, 1856), 220-22,245; entry, 31 Oct. 1846, *Ledger*, 31 Dec. 1845 - 31 Dec. 1846, OA; Cobb to S, 1 Feb. 1862, SA12; Forrester para Brandao, 3 Mar. 1849, Forrester para Pereira, 7 Abr. 1849, OA30.

⁸⁹ Forrester para Pimentel, 8 Ago. 1850, OA 30.

⁹⁰ Bennett, "British Property-Holders," 203, mistakenly gives the departure date as 1849.

⁹¹ *BT*, 23 (26 Jul. 1851), 3; entries, 25 Jan. 1852 and 23 Sept. 1853, *Journal*, 1 July 1851 - 31 Dec. 1856, OA; Wilcock to Forrester, 24 Jan. 1857, Wilcock para Mourao, 12 Set. 1861, OA 32; OA 31 includes frequent references to the currency transfers. For some details of Forrester's independent business activity, "Venda de vinhos," *BT*, 422 (22 Nov. 1852), 3.

Reliant on his own capital, and pursuing many other time-consuming activities, Forrester, until his drowning in the Douro in 1861, secured only a modest place among port exporters.⁹² The old company, known initially as Offley, Webber & Cramp, was directed in Porto until his death in 1864 by the capable Henry Wilcock - he had worked in Porto since 1828, with Cramp traveling from London to Portugal at vintage and other times. The firm, without Forrester, maintained through 1861 about the same previous market rank.⁹³

Table III
Joseph J. Forrester Exports
pipes, almudes, and canadas

1851	297.41 ⁹⁴
1852	454.210 ⁹⁵
1853	1646.11.1 ⁹⁶
1854	659.14 ⁹⁷
1855	471.5 ⁹⁸
1856	407.1.4 ⁹⁹
1857	483.10.8 ¹⁰⁰
1858	128.12.8 ¹⁰¹
1859	160.10.7 ¹⁰²
1860	284.20.1 ¹⁰³
1861	259 ¹⁰⁴

Abbreviations

<i>BT</i>	<i>0 Braz Tisana</i>
<i>CB</i>	Copy Book
<i>CP</i>	<i>0 Commercio do Porto</i>
<i>EP</i>	<i>0 Ecco Popular</i>
<i>FO</i>	Foreign Office, Public Record Office, London
<i>H</i>	Hunt, Roope Archives, Arquivo Historico AAF, Vila Nova de Gaia
<i>HA1</i>	Copiador, 1781-1784
<i>HA2</i>	Copiador, 1785-1786
<i>LB</i>	Letter Book
<i>NCP</i>	<i>Noticiador Commercial Portuense</i>
<i>O</i>	Offley
<i>OA</i>	Offley Forrester Archives, Arquivo Historico AAF, Vila Nova de Gaia
<i>OA1</i>	<i>CB</i> , 8 Nov. 1782-29 July 1786
<i>OA2</i>	<i>CB</i> , 26 Nov. 1782 -18 Feb. 1786
<i>OA3</i>	<i>CB</i> , 20 Sept. 1782 - 9 Jan. 1790
<i>OA4</i>	<i>LB</i> , 18 Jan. 1783 - 21 Marco 1788

⁹² See Table III.

⁹³ *PPP*, 157 (7 Jul. 1851), 645; entry, 1 July 1851, *Journal*, 1 July 1851 - 31 Dec. 1856, *OA*; Wilcock para Pereira, 24 Set 1853, Wilcock para Rebello, 22 Jun. 1854, Wilcock para Pimentel, 3 Jul. 1857, *OA* 30; Atkinson para Lages, 14 Abr. 1864, *OA* 32; Table II.

⁹⁴ *PPP*, 8 (9 Jan. 1852), 32.

⁹⁵ *PPP*, 7 (8 Jan. 1853), 28.

⁹⁶ *ET*, 17 (21 Jan. 1854), 2.

⁹⁷ *PPP*, 4 (4 Jan. 1855), 16.

⁹⁸ *CP*, 2 (3 Jan. 1857), 2.

⁹⁹ *CP*, 1 (2 Jan. 1857), 1.

¹⁰⁰ *PPP*, 7 (8 Jan. 1858), 31.

¹⁰¹ *CP*, 2 (4 Jan. 1858), 1.

¹⁰² *CP*, 1 (2 Jan. 1860), 1.

¹⁰³ *CP*, 1 (2 Jan. 1861), 3.

¹⁰⁴ *CP*, 2 (3 Jan. 1862), 2.

QA 6	CB, 24 Feb. 1786 - 9 Jan. 1790
QA14	CB, 2 Jan. 1793 - 21 Jan. 1800
QA 16	LB, 4 Junho 1796 -10 Maio 1800
QA 17	CB, 19 Jan. 1799 - 28 Dec. 1804
QA 20	LB, 17 Maio 1800 - 31 Dez. 1813
QA 21	CB, 25 Oct. 1814 - 5 Aug. 1817
QA 23	CB, 12 Dec. 1820 -10 Aug. 1824
QA 24	CB, 17 Aug. 1824 - 7 Sept. 1827
QA 25	CB, 13 Sept. 1827 - 21 Dec. 1829
QA 26	CB, 5 Jan. 1830 - 30 June 1832
QA 27	LB, 15 Feb. 1830 - 4 Jan. 1842
QA 28	CB, 3 July 1832 -11 Sept. 1835
QA 29	CB, 5 Sept. 1835 - 5 Nov. 1838
QA 30	LB, 29 Jan. 1849 - 22 Junho 1854
QA 31	LB, 18 Oct. 1854 - 26 Dec. 1859
QA 32	LB, 1 Nov. 1854 - 28 Marco 1864
QA 33	CB, 5 Jan. 1860 - 26 Dec. 1864
PPP	<i>Periodico dos Pobres no Porto</i>
S	Sandeman
SA	Sandeman Archives, Vila Nova de Gaia
SA12	LB, 26 Oct. 1860 - 29 Nov. 1872
SA 17	LB, 7 Feb. 1873 - 30 Oct. 1884