

English presence in the Brazilian Empire: Edward Johnston & Co. and the exports trade, 1842–1852

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Abstract

This study aimed at analyzing the organization and the exporting activity of the British trade firm, Edward Johnston & Co. in Brazil, from 1842 to 1852. When arriving in Rio de Janeiro, in 1821, Edward Johnston worked at the British trade firm, F. Le Breton & Co. In 1827, as the manager of the trade firm, he married Henrietta, daughter of Charles Alexander Moke, owner of the Massau farm, coffee producer in the Tijuca forest, Rio de Janeiro. After returning from London and Holland, Edward Johnston quit the trade firm and became a broker. The growth in Brazilian exports, the knowledge about Rio de Janeiro, and the commercial contacts with England allowed Edward Johnston to organize the trade firm Edward Johnston & Co. in 1842. His partners were the traders William Joseph Havers and João Ignácio Tavares. Edward Johnston left the trade firm with his partners and returned to Liverpool. With João Ignácio Tavares leaving the trade firm and the death of Havers, in 1847, besides the commercial crisis in Liverpool in the same year, Johnston reorganized the society in Brazil. The improvement in business and the increasing expertise of the trade firm in coffee export allowed Johnston's children to be more present. This participation led to the creation of Edward Johnston, Son & Co. in 1854. But that is another story.

Keywords: Brazilian Empire; commerce; British trade firm.

A presença inglesa no Império Brasileiro: a firma Edward Johnston & Co. e o comércio exportador, 1842–1852

Resumo

O estudo teve como objetivo analisar a organização e a atividade exportadora da firma inglesa Edward Johnston & Co. no Brasil no período 1842 a 1852. Chegando ao Rio de Janeiro em 1821, Edward Johnston trabalhou na firma inglesa F. Le Breton & Co. Em 1827, gerente da firma, casou-se com Henrietta, filha de Charles Alexander Moke, proprietário da fazenda Nassau, produtora de café na floresta da Tijuca, no Rio de Janeiro. Depois de retornar da viagem para Londres e para a Holanda, Edward Johnston desligou-se da firma e virou corretor. O crescimento das exportações brasileiras, o conhecimento da Praça do Rio de Janeiro e os contatos comerciais com a Inglaterra possibilitaram a Edward Johnston organizar a firma Edward Johnston & Co. em 1842, tendo como sócios os negociantes William Joseph Havers e João Ignácio Tavares. Edward Johnston deixou a firma com seus sócios no Rio de Janeiro e retornou para Liverpool. A saída de João Ignácio Tavares da firma, o falecimento de Havers em 1847 e a crise comercial em Liverpool de 1847 fizeram com que Johnston reorganizasse a sociedade no Brasil. A melhora dos negócios e a crescente especialização da firma na exportação do café possibilitaram uma maior presença dos filhos de Johnston. Tal participação originou a Edward Johnston, Son & Co. em 1854. Essa é outra história.

Palavras-chave: Império do Brasil; comércio; firma inglesa.

La presencia inglesa en el Imperio Brasileño: la empresa Edward Johnston & Co. y el comercio de exportación, 1842–1852

Resumen

El estudio tuvo como objetivo analizar la organización y la actividad de exportación de la empresa inglesa Edward Johnston & Co., en Brasil, durante el período del 1842 hasta 1852. Al llegar al Río de Janeiro, en 1821, Edward Johnston trabajó en una compañía inglesa llamada F. Le Breton & Co. En el año del 1827, como gerente de la empresa, él se casó con Henrietta, hija de Charles Alexander Moke, lo propietario de la hacienda Nassau, una productora de café en la floresta de Tijuca, en Río de Janeiro. Después del regreso de viaje a Londres y Holanda, Edward Johnston se desligó de la empresa y se tornó un corrector. El crecimiento de las exportaciones brasileñas, el conocimiento de la Plaza del Río de Janeiro y los contactos comerciales con Inglaterra posibilitaron para Edward Johnston la organización de la empresa Edward Johnston & Co., en 1842, incluyendo como socios los negociantes William Joseph Havers y João Ignácio Tavares. Edward Johnston salió de la empresa con sus socios en Río de Janeiro y regresó a Liverpool. La salida de João Ignácio Tavares de la compañía, el fallecimiento de Havers en 1847, y la crisis comercial en Liverpool del 1847 hicieron con que Johnston organizase nuevamente la sociedad en Brasil. La mejoría de los negocios y la creciente especialización de la empresa en la exportación de café posibilitaron una mayor presencia de los hijos de Johnston. Esa participación originó Edward Johnston, Son & Co., en 1854. Pero eso es otra historia.

Palabras clave: Imperio del Brasil; comercio; compañía inglesa.

La présence anglaise dans l'Empire du Brésil: Edward Johnston & Co. entreprise et le commerce d'exportation, 1842-1852

Résumé

L'étude visait à analyser l'organisation et l'activité d'exportation de l'entreprise anglaise Edward Johnston & Co. au Brésil dans la période 1842 à 1852. En arrivant à Rio de Janeiro en 1821, Edward Johnston a travaillé au sein du cabinet britannique F. Le Breton & Co. En 1827, il était directeur de l'entreprise, a marié Henriette, fille de Charles Alexander Moke, propriétaire de la ferme Nassau, producteur de café dans la forêt de Tijuca, à Rio de Janeiro. Après son retour de voyage à Londres et en Hollande, Edward Johnston a démissionné de l'entreprise et se tourna courtier. La croissance des exportations brésiliennes, la connaissance de Rio de Janeiro place et des contacts commerciaux avec l'Angleterre a permis à la Edward Johnston organiser Edward Johnston & Co. cabinet en 1842, ayant comme partenaires concessionnaires William Joseph Havers et John Tavares Ignacio. Edward Johnston a quitté l'entreprise avec ses partenaires à Rio de Janeiro et est retourné à Liverpool. John Tavares des Ignacio La production de l'entreprise, la mort de Havers en 1847 et la crise commerciale en 1847 Liverpool ont fait Johnston réorganiser la société au Brésil. L'amélioration de l'activité et la spécialisation croissante de l'entreprise dans l'exportation du café a permis une plus grande présence des fils de Johnston. Cette participation origine Edward Johnston, Son & Co. en 1854. Ce est une autre histoire.

Mots-clés: l'Empire du Brésil; le commerce; Firme anglaise.

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Born in London, in 1804, Edward Johnston arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1821, at the age of 17, and started working at the British trade firm, F. Le Breton & Co., an important member of import/export business. He became a manager in 1827 and, in that same year, married Henrietta, daughter of the Dutch doctor who was established in Rio de Janeiro, Charles Alexander Moke, owner of the Nassau farm, coffee producer in the Tijuca forest, Rio de Janeiro. According to the commemorative books of Edward Johnston & Co., the wedding and the honeymoon, when he visited London and Holland, were important factors that made Edward Johnston leave F. Le Breton and start to work as a broker in the import/export trade of Rio de Janeiro.

The growth in coffee exportation, as well as that of other products in the port of Rio de Janeiro, the knowledge acquired in the commercial and financial market of Rio de Janeiro, and the commercial contacts with England, especially Liverpool, allowed Edward Johnston to organize the trade firm Edward Johnston & Co., in 1842, and his partners were the British trader William Joseph Havers and the Brazilian trader João Ignácio Tavares.

In 1844, Edward Johnston left the trade firm with his partners in Rio de Janeiro and returned to Liverpool; there, he joined the British trader Charles Ironside, at the (trade firm) trade firm Charles Ironside & Co. With businesses in Portugal and Brazil, in the latter, more precisely with the British trader Joseph Napier, in Salvador, Bahia, Charles Ironside played an important role in Edward Johnson's businesses ever since. With João Ignácio Tavares leaving the trade firm in Brazil, in 1845, and with Havers' death, in 1847, as well as the commercial crisis in Liverpool in 1847-1848, Johnston and Ironside reorganized the society in Brazil, and Joseph Napier started managing the trade firm in Rio de Janeiro. The improvement of businesses, when the trade firm began to specialize in coffee exports, allowed the participation of Edward Johnston's children in the administration of the trade firm. They were transferred to Brazil and to a new society in the USA, Johnston, Moke & Co., in New Orleans. This increasing participation of Johnston's children in business made the trade firm Charles Ironside & Co. to be closed in 1853. A new trade firm was created in Liverpool, Edward Johnston, Son & Co., in 1854. But that is another story.

Coffee expansion in the 1830s and 1840s in Vale do Paraíba and Rio de Janeiro

The victory of the conservative political project of the proslaver Empire State,¹ directed by Trindade Saquarema, from the Conservative Party, composed of Joaquim

¹Regarding the formation and consolidation of the Brazilian Empire States, there is extensive literature; cf. Ilmar Rohloff Mattos, *O tempo Saquarema*, São Paulo, HUCITEC, 1987; José Murilo de Carvalho, *A construção da ordem: a elite política imperial / Teatro das Sombras: a política Imperial*, Rio de Janeiro, EDUF RJ; Relume Dumará, 1996; Richard Graham, *Clientelismo e política no Brasil do século XIX*. Tradução de Celina Brandt, Rio de Janeiro, Editora da UFRJ, 1997; István Jancsó (org.), *Independência: história e historiografia*, São Paulo, HUCITEC, 2005; Keila Grinberg; Ricardo Salles (orgs.), *O Brasil Imperial (1808-1831)*, vol. 1, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2010; *Idem* (orgs.), *O Brasil Império (1831-1870)*, vol. 2, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2010.

José Rodrigues Torres (Viscount of Itaboraí), Paulino Soares de Souza (Viscount of Uruguay), and Eusébio de Queiroz Coutinho Matoso da Câmara,² allowed not only the growth and the conservation of the slave trade, even if illegal after the law from 1831,³ but also the legitimization of a proslavery policy, as mentioned by Tamis Parron.⁴ This policy was essential for the expansion of the coffee production in Vale do Paraíba in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo⁵, and with that coffee overcame sugar as the main Brazilian export product after 1830 (Table 1). However, from Steve Topic's point of view, these growing rates of exportation were a result of the income elasticity and price elasticity of demand for coffee in the USA and Western Europe since 1820, and not only related to the offer (production) and its decreasing costs in Brazil due to the availability of land and slave workforce.⁶ Then, in the 1830s, "Brazil was already the main producer, with about 650 thousand bags, followed by Cuba, Java (Asia/Holland) and Haiti, each of them ranging their levels of production from 350 thousand to 450 thousand bags"⁷

It is important to mention that, for the historians Dale Tomich, Rafael Marquese, and Ricardo Salles, the coffee production expansion in the period was related to the development of capitalism in the 19th century.⁸ This relationship allowed the appearance of a new proslavery structure called 2nd slavery⁹, which was prevalent in the Atlantic region including the South of the USA, Cuba, and Brazil.¹⁰

The increasing coffee exports continued in the 1840s, and only in the end of that period, because of the crisis of 1847 that affected Europe, with consequences

²Ricardo Salles, "O Império do Brasil no contexto do século XIX. Escravidão nacional, classe senhorial e intelectuais na formação do Estado", *Almanack Revista Eletrônica Semestral*, n. 4, nov. 2012. Available from: <<http://www.almanack.unifesp.br/index.php/almanack/issue/current>>. Accessed on: March 25, 2015.

³About the law of 1831, see: Beatriz Mamigonian; Keila Grinberg (orgs.), "Dossiê - 'Para inglês ver?' Revisitando a Lei de 1831", *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos*, v. 29, n. 1-2-3, 2007, p. 87-340; Rafael Cupello Peixoto, *O poder e a lei: o jogo político no processo de elaboração da "lei para inglês ver" (1826-1831)*, Master's thesis, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 2013.

⁴Tamis Parron, *A política da escravidão no Império do Brasil: 1826-1865*, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2011, p. 18 *et passim*.

⁵Stanley Stein, *Grandeza e decadência do café no Vale do Paraíba*, Tradução de Edgar Magalhães, São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1961; Pedro Carvalho de Mello, *A economia da escravidão nas fazendas de café: 1850-1888*, Rio de Janeiro, PNPE, 1984; Ricardo Salles, *E o Vale era o escravo: Vassouras, século XIX – senhores e escravos no coração do Império*, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2008; José Flávio Motta; Nelson Nozoe, "Os produtores eventuais de café: nota sobre os primórdios da cafeicultura paulista (Bananal, 1799-1829)", *Locus. Revista de História*, v. 5, n. 1, 1999; p. 51-84; Renato Leite Marcondes, *A arte de acumular na economia cafeeira: Vale do Paraíba, século XIX*, Lorena, Stiliano, 1998; Francisco Vidal Luna; Herbert S. Klein, *Evolução da sociedade e economia escravista de São Paulo, de 1750 a 1850*, São Paulo, EDUSP, 2005.

⁶Steven Topic, *The world coffee market in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from colonial to national regimes*. Working paper 04, UCLA, 2004, p. 25. Available from: <<http://www.lse.ac.uk/economicHistory/Research/GEHN/GEHNPdf/WorkingPaper04ST.pdf>>. Accessed on: March 20, 2015.

⁷Edmar Bacha, "Política brasileira do café. Uma avaliação centenária", In: ____; Robert Greenhill, *Marcelino Martins & E. Johnson: 150 anos de café*, 2. ed. rev., São Paulo, Salamandra Cons. Editorial, 1992, p. 20; Antonio Delfin Netto, *O problema do café no Brasil*, 3. ed., São Paulo, Editora da UNESP, 2009.

⁸Rafael B. Marquese; Dale Tomish, "O Vale do Paraíba escravista e a formação do mercado mundial de café", In: Keila Grinberg; Ricardo Salles (orgs.), *O Brasil Império (1831-1870)*, vol. 2, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2010, p. 339-383.

⁹Dale Tomich, *Pelo prisma da escravidão: trabalho, capital e economia mundial*, Tradução de Antonio de Pádua Danesi, São Paulo, EDUSP, 2011. Cf. também Edward E. Baptist, "A segunda escravidão e a primeira república americana", *Almanack*, n. 5, 1º semestre de 2013, p. 5-41. Available from: <<http://www.almanack.unifesp.br/index.php/almanack/article/viewFile/1001/pdf>>. Accessed on: March 20, 2015.

¹⁰Criticism against the theoretical-methodological perspective is in the recent book by João Luiz Ribeiro Fragoso, *Barões do café e sistema agrário escravista: Paraíba do Sul/Rio de Janeiro (1830-1888)*, Rio de Janeiro, 7 Letras, 2013.

Table 1. Brazil – external sector, 1820-1889.

Dates	Coffee	Sugar	Cotton	Rubber	Leather and fur	Tobacco	Cocoa	Others*	Total
1821-1830	19.2	27.8	21.0	0.0	13.8	2.6	0.5	15.1	100.0
1831-1840	43.8	24.4	10.6	0.4	7.9	1.8	0.5	10.6	100.0
1841-1850	42.6	26.3	7.4	0.5	8.6	1.9	0.9	11.8	100.0
1851-1860	51.7	19.5	5.8	2.3	7.2	2.6	1.0	9.8	100.0
1861-1870	44.3	12.7	19.1	3.6	5.9	3.0	0.9	10.5	100.0
1871-1880	56.8	11.8	8.4	5.5	5.3	3.4	1.3	7.5	100.0
1881-1890	62.2	9.8	4.4	7.8	3.2	2.7	1.6	8.3	100.0

*Others consisted of products such as mate, diamonds, gold, Brazil nut, wood, manioc flour, sugar-cane rum, and other products. There is no reliable statistics on them.

Source: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, "Anuário estatístico 1939/1940", *In*: Denio Nogueira, *Raízes de uma nação*, Rio de Janeiro, Forense Universitária, 1988, p. 342.

in the USA,¹¹ there was a fall in Brazilian coffee exports (Graph 1), reflecting on the economy of the time.¹² One interesting fact about the 1840s is that sugar and leather exports increased and interrupted the decreasing tendency of exports for these products (Table 1). Among the possible explanations for this improvement, there was the end of the British protectionism, with the Law from 1846,¹³ industrialization in Europe and in the USA, and the demand for dry and salted leather. Regarding leather exports, Manuel Llorca-Jaña mentioned that Brazil¹⁴ was the second largest exporter of untanned hide to Great Britain, after the region of the Prata River (Argentina and Uruguay).¹⁵

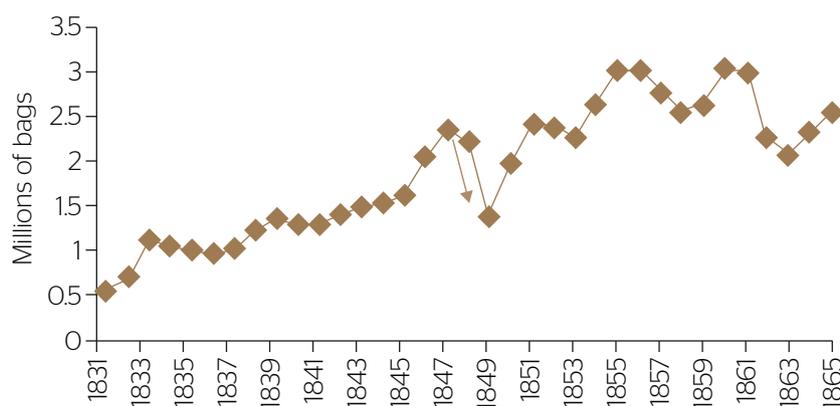
¹¹There is extensive literature on the crisis of 1847; cf. Karl Marx, *A crise monetária na Europa*. Available from: <<http://www.pucsp.br/neils/downloads/12-marx.pdf>>. Accessed on: March 20, 2015; Charles P. Kindleberger; Robert Z. Aliber, *Da euforia ao pânico: uma história das crises financeiras*, Tradução de Leonardo Abramowicz, São Paulo, Gente, 2009, p. 154-156; Gareth Campbell, *Two bubbles and a crisis: Britain in the 1840s*. Available from: <http://cliometrics.org/conferences/ASSA/Jan_11/Campbell.pdf>. Accessed on: March 20, 2015.

¹²Carlos Manuel Pelaez; Wilson Suzigan, *História monetária do Brasil*, 2. ed., Brasília, Editora da UnB, 1981; Dênio Nogueira, *Raízes de uma nação*, Rio de Janeiro, Forense Universitária, 1988.

¹³Philip D. Curtin, "The British sugar duties and west Indian prosperity", *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 14, n. 2, Spring, 1954, p. 157-164; Leslie Bethell; José Murilo de Carvalho, "Brasil (1822-1850)", *In*: Leslie Bethell (ed.), *História de América Latina*. América Latina Independiente, 1820-1870, volume VI, Barcelona, Crítica, 1991, p. 361, cf. nota 71.

¹⁴Regarding cattle breeding products from Rio Grande do Sul and the participation of Rio de Janeiro, cf. Gabriel Berute, *Atividades mercantis do Rio Grande de São Pedro: negócios, mercadorias e agentes mercantis (1808-1850)*, Tese de doutorado, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, 2011; Jonas Moreira Vargas, *Pelas margens do Atlântico: um estudo sobre elites locais e regionais no Brasil a partir das famílias proprietárias de charqueadas em Pelotas, Rio Grande do Sul (século XIX)*, Tese de doutorado, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 2013; Alan Ribeiro dos Santos, *The leading commission-house of Rio de Janeiro. A firma Maxwell, Wright & Co. no comércio do Império do Brasil (c.1827-c.1850)*, Master's thesis, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 2014; Renato Leite Marcondes, "O mercado brasileiro do século XIX: uma visão por meio do comércio de cabotagem", *Revista de Economia Política*, vol. 32, n. 1 (126), p. 142-166, 2012. Available from: <<http://www.scielo.br/pdf/rep/v32n1/09.pdf>>. Accessed on: March 20, 2015.

¹⁵Manuel Llorca-Jaña, *Britain's exports of textiles to Argentina and Chile during the first half of the nineteenth century: return remittances*, p. 3-4. Available from: <<http://www.ehs.org.uk/dotAsset/calee2e4-3ba2-4f54-88a6-89c580c6cecl.doc>>. Accessed on: March 20, 2015.



Source: Edmar Bacha, "Política brasileira do café. Uma avaliação centenária", *In*: Edmar Bacha; Robert Greenhill, *Marcelino Martins & E. Johnson: 150 anos de café*, 2. ed. rev., São Paulo, Salamandra Cons. Editorial, 1992, p. 324-325 (statistical appendix, table 1.6).

Graph 1. Brazilian coffee exports, 1831-1865.

Leather, especially salted, and other cattle farming products, such as jerky¹⁶ and fat, were the main export products of Argentina until the mid-19th century, when they were overcome by wool export, with major participation of British exports companies, as it happened in Brazil.¹⁷ It is interesting to mention that Edward Johnston & Co. exported to Gothenburg, in Sweden, in 1842, a shipload of 1,818 leathers from Buenos Aires.¹⁸

By analyzing the provinces that produced coffee in the 1840s, "Rio de Janeiro responded for almost 80% of the total exportation, with 16% corresponding to São Paulo, and about 6%, Minas."¹⁹ These regions, with different historical colonization, which internally presented changes regarding the concentration of land and slaves in the 19th century, had something in common: they were directly or indirectly bathed by the river Paraíba do Sul. So, they belonged to Vale do Paraíba (Map 1).

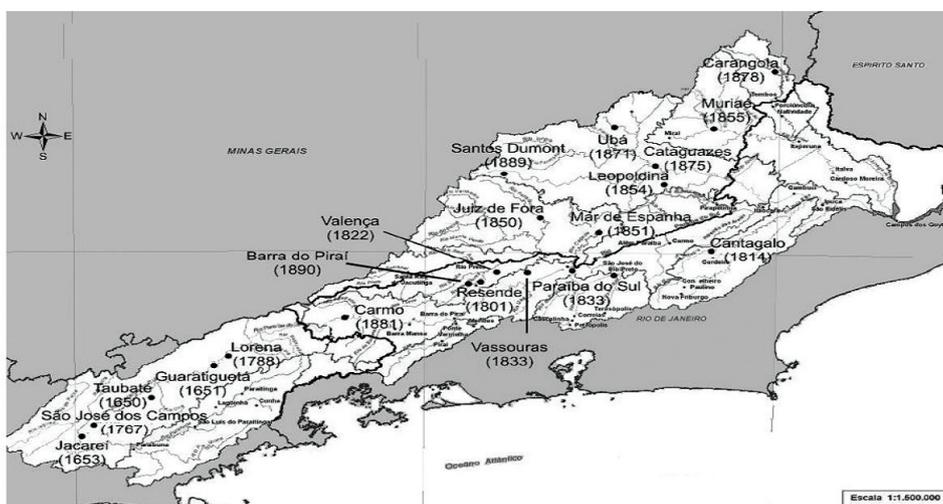
Because the coffee production concentrated in the region of Vale do Paraíba and the coffee routes — in the Old West paulista, in Paraíba from Rio de Janeiro,

¹⁶About the jerky trade ("jerked beef" or "*tasajo*") and the Atlantic Slavery System, *cf.* Andrew Sluyter, "The Hispanic Atlantic's *Tasajo* Trail", *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 45, n. 1, 2010. Available from: <http://lasa-4.univ.pitt.edu/LARR/prot/fulltext/Vol45no1/Sluyter_98-120_45-1.pdf>. Accessed on: March 25, 2015.

¹⁷Vera Blinn Reber, *British mercantile houses in Buenos Aires, 1810-1880*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1979, p. 25-27; Collin M. Lewis, *British business in Argentina*, London, London School of Economics & Political Sciences. Working Papers in Economic History, n. 26, 1995.

¹⁸Commercio. Exportação. Embarcações despachadas no dia 4", *Jornal do Commercio*, 05 de outubro de 1842, p. 3, coluna 2. The survey of sources about the trade firm Edward Johnston & Co., in the *Jornal do Commercio*, was made by the scholarship student Daiana Torres Lima (PIBIC/UFF).

¹⁹Marcelo de Paiva Abreu; Luiz Aranha C. do Lago, *A economia brasileira no Império: 1822-1889*. Texto para discussão n° 584, Departamento de Economia/PUC-RJ, p. 7. Available from: <<http://www.econ.puc-rio.br/pdf/td584.pdf>>. Accessed on: March 20, 2015.



Source: Luiz Fernando Saraiva, *O império das Gerais: café e poder na Zona da Mata mineira, 1853-1893*, Tese de doutorado, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 2008, p. 223.

Map 1. Cities in Vale do Paraíba from Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Zona da Mata from Minas Gerais per date of foundation (1801-1890).

or in *Zona da Mata*, from Minas Gerais —,²⁰ were directly or indirectly connected to the port of Rio de Janeiro, it was mainly through that *entrepôt city*²¹ that exports took place in the analyzed period.²² Even though coffee had been exported with other products from the end of the 18th century,²³ the port of Santos grew as an exporter of this product in the 1840s and, especially, in the 1850s (Table 2 and Graph 2). After 1870, exports of coffee from Santos were close to those in Rio de Janeiro, overcoming them in the 1890s.²⁴

²⁰Regarding the production and commercial structure in these regions, amongst several studies, cf. Rômulo Garcia de Andrade, "Escravidão e cafeicultura em Minas Gerais: o caso da Zona da Mata", *Revista Brasileira de História*, vol. 11, n. 22, 1991, p. 93-131; Renato Leite Marcondes, *A propriedade escrava no Vale do Paraíba paulista durante a década de 1870*. Available from: <<http://www.anpec.org.br/encontro2001/artigos/200101028.pdf>>. Accessed on: March 20, 2015; Anderson Pires, "Minas Gerais e a cadeia global da 'commodity' cafeeira – 1850/1930", *Revista Eletrônica de História do Brasil*, vol. 9, n. 1, 2007. Regarding the coffee terrestrial paths, cf. Adriano Novaes, *Os caminhos do café*. Available from: <http://www.sebraerj.com.br/custom/pdf/cam/cafe/O2_OsCaminhosDoCafe.pdfNOVAES>. Accessed on: March 25, 2015.

²¹Regarding the concept of *entrepôt city*, cf. Patrícia Gomes da Silveira, *A Metrópole é aqui: redes de abastecimento e o porto do Rio de Janeiro no comércio de cabotagem, 1799-1822*, *Master's thesis*, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 2012.

²²About the port of Rio de Janeiro in the 19th century, cf. Eulália Maria Lahmeyer Lobo, *História do Rio de Janeiro*. Do capital comercial ao industrial e financeiro, Rio de Janeiro, IBMEC, 1978, 2v; Maria Cecília Velasco e Cruz, "O porto do Rio de Janeiro no século XIX: uma realidade de muitas faces", *Tempo*, n. 8, 1999. Available from: <http://www.historia.ufrj.br/tempo/artigos_livres/artg8-7.pdf>. Accessed on: March 20, 2015.

²³About the importance of Santos in the import/export colonial trade and in the early 19th century, cf. Denise Aparecida Soares de Moura, *O Porto de Santos como polo redistribuidor de mercadorias coloniais no funcionamento do organismo colonial português (1765-1822)*, Anais do II Encontro Internacional de História Colonial, *Mneme – Revista de Humanidades*, v. 9, n. 24, 2008. Available from: <www.cerescaico.ufrn.br/mneme/anaes>. Accessed on: March 20, 2015; Ricardo Felipe Di Carlos, *Exportar e abastecer: população e comércio em Santos, 1775-1836*, *Master's thesis*, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2011.

²⁴Edmar Bacha, "Política brasileira do café. Uma avaliação centenária", In: ____; Robert Greenhill, *Marcelino Martins & E. Johnston: 150 anos de café*. 2. ed. rev., São Paulo, Salamandra Cons. Editorial, 1992, p. 388-389; Maria Cecília Velasco e Cruz, *op cit.*, p. 2-3.

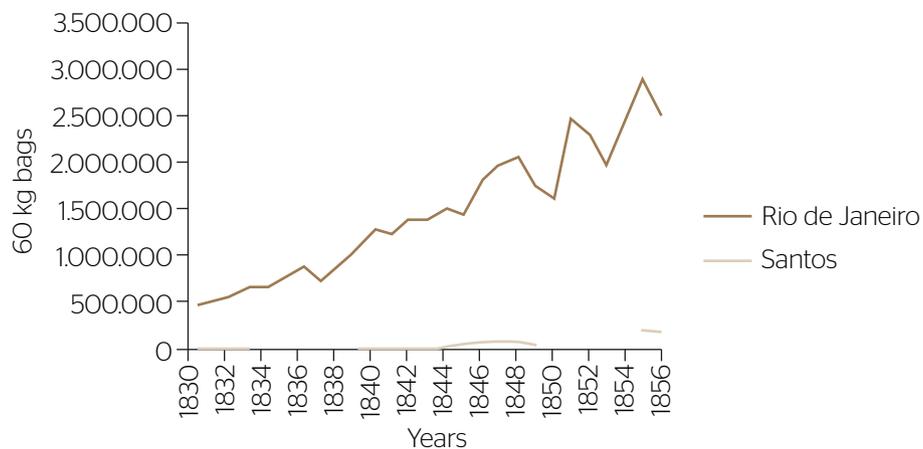
Therefore, in this national and international context, the British trade firm, Edward Johnston & Co. was organized in Rio de Janeiro — the Neutral city of the Court since 1834 in 1842. We will approach its organization in the next section.

Table 2. Coffee export trade. Export per port (1830-1856). 60 kg bags.

Years	Rio de Janeiro	Santos	Years	Rio de Janeiro	Santos
1830	473,900	-	1844	1,491,348	26,617
1831	542,198	-	1845	1,441,399	52,978
1832	579,334	-	1846	1,827,810	57,819
1833	679,418	-	1847	1,985,618	60,783
1834	678,290	-	1848	2,069,267	59,318
1835	783,136	-	1849	1,765,966	34,466
1836	865,938	-	1850	1,625,068	NA
1837	734,337	-	1851	2,468,058	NA
1838	927,389	-	1852	2,306,053	NA
1839	1,075,719	3,839	1853	1,981,566	NA
1840	1,292,350	5,375	1854	2,404,907	NA
1841	1,243,906	5,345	1855	2,913,007	192,654
1842	1,394,185	1,106	1856	2,538,102	180,634
1843	1,409,938	217			

NA: not available.

Source: Edmar Bacha, "Política brasileira do café. Uma avaliação centenária", *In*: Edmar Bacha; Robert Greenhill, Marcelino Martins & E. Johnston: 150 anos de café, 2. ed. rev., São Paulo, Salamandra Cons. Editorial, 1992, p. 388.



Source: Table 2.

Graph 2. Coffee export trade. Export per port: Rio de Janeiro and Santos (1830-1856). 60 kg bags.

The organization of Edward Johnston & Co. in Brazil

On September 14, 1942, in the city of Santos, São Paulo, the 100th anniversary of the British trade firm Edward Johnston & Cia. Limited was celebrated. It was one of the largest coffee exporters in Brazil.²⁵ With the presence of the British ambassador, Sir Noel Charles, and many politicians and traders, that is, from the export/import trade in Santos,²⁶ this event had political and economic significance, as mentioned in the title of the publication “One century of activities in the approximation of British-Brazilian relations”.

The so-called ephemerides, celebrated by the publication that was historically connected with the coffee production in São Paulo,²⁷ aimed at celebrating not only politics, but also the economy because of the scenario of the time.²⁸

However, the (trade firm) trade firm Edward Johnston & Co. only opened a branch in Santos in 1881, when the production and export of coffee from São Paulo was growing, especially from the New West. Before Santos became the trade firm’s headquarters, its business center was in Rio de Janeiro, where it was founded in September 14, 1842, on Rua do Sabão, n. 10.²⁹

Organized by the British trader Edward Johnston, together with the British trader William Joseph Havers³⁰ and the Brazilian trader João Ignácio Tavares,³¹ the British (trade firm) trade firm stood out in the early days of

²⁵“Um século de atividade no estreitamento das relações anglo-brasileiras”, *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 15 de setembro de 1942; Edward Johnston & Co., *Rio de Janeiro 1842. Um século de café*, Londres; Rio de Janeiro; Santos; Paranaguá, Edward Johnston Ltda, 1942 [this book was edited by the trade firm itself in 1842].

²⁶About the port of Santos and importing houses, cf. Cesar T. Honorato, *O porto e o pólvora*, Santos, HUCITEC, 1996; Carina M. Ferreira, *Casas importadoras de Santos e seus agentes: comércio e cultura material (1870-1900)*, Master’s thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2010.

²⁷About the coffee structure in São Paulo, cf. Flávio Azevedo M. de Saes, *A grande empresa de serviços públicos na economia cafeeira, 1850-1930*, São Paulo, HUCITEC, 1986; Sonia Regina de Mendonça, *O ruralismo brasileiro: 1888-1931*, São Paulo, HUCITEC, 1997.

²⁸The newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* (OESP) was one of the representatives of the liberal side of São Paulo since the First Republic. Maria Helena Capelato, *Os arautos do liberalismo: imprensa paulista (1920-1945)*, São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1989. Sobre a política externa do Estado Novo, cf. Gerson Moura, *Autonomia na dependência: a política externa brasileira (1935-1942)*, Rio de Janeiro, Nova Fronteira, 1980, cf. also Francisco L. Corsi, *Estado Novo: política externa e projeto nacional*, São Paulo, UNESP, 2000.

²⁹*Almanak Administrativo Mercantil e Industrial do Rio de Janeiro para o ano bissexto de 1844*. Primeiro Anno, Rio de Janeiro, Eduardo e Henrique Laemmert, 1844, p. 223; Robert Greenhill, “E. Johnston: 150 anos em café”, In: Edmar Bacha; Robert Greenhill, *Marcelino Martins & E. Johnston: 150 anos de café*, 2. ed. rev., São Paulo, Salamandra Cons. Editorial, 1992, p. 135-172; Richard Graham, *Grã-Bretanha e o início da modernização no Brasil*, Tradução de Roberto Machado de Almeida, São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1973, p. 83-84.

³⁰William Joseph Havers was the second child of William Joseph Havers, “squire of Thelton Hall”. John Burke, *Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of England and Ireland*, vol. I, A to L, London, Henry Colburn Publisher, 1847, p. 551.

³¹João Fragoso pointed out that João Ignácio Tavares was not an “archaic” trader, because instead of mobilizing his capital on land and slaves, “something completely will happen with João Ignácio Tavares and the Count of Ipanema (José Antonio Moreira), capitalists removed from the list in 1876. When they died, respectively, in 1875 and 1880, 10 to 9% of their fortune was constituted of shares, stocks and currency”. João Luiz Ribeiro Fragoso, “Para que serve a História Econômica? Notas sobre a história da exclusão social no Brasil”, *Estudos Históricos*, n. 29, 2002, p. 28. Available from: <<http://bibliotecadigital.fgv.br/ojs/index.php/reh/article/viewFile/2157/1296>>. Acesso em: 20 de março de 2015. João Ignácio Tavares had partners in many businesses of the Viscount of Mauá. Cf. Carlos Gabriel Guimarães, *A presença inglesa nas Finanças e no Comércio no Brasil Imperial: os casos da Sociedade Bancária Mauá, MacGregor & Co. (1854-1866) e da firma inglesa Samuel Phillips & Co. (1808-1840)*, São Paulo, Alameda, 2012.

activities as an import/export (firm) trade firm, not specialized in only one product.³² Regarding the trader Edward Johnston, he arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1821, at the age of 17, and worked as a clerk in the British import/export trade firm, F. Le Breton & Co.³³ In the meantime, Edward Johnston became a manager and married Henrietta Marie, in 1827. She was the daughter of Charles Alexander Moke, doctor and coffee farmer in Tijuca, Rio de Janeiro.³⁴

After 1870, coffee exports from Santos were similar to those in the port of Rio de Janeiro, overcoming them in the 1890s

The marriage of Edward Johnston and the coffee farmer's daughter was important for his commercial career.³⁵ After a period in England and Holland, being the latter the homeland of his father-in-law, and returning to Rio de Janeiro in 1830, Edward Johnston left F. Le Breton and started his own "broker business" in 1832.³⁶ As mentioned by Johnston, in a letter addressed to his brother James, because of the little capital he had at the time, "eventually, I'll be a broker, because I will probably succeed at this, and will not need a lot of capital."³⁷ According to Greenhill, Johnston "bought primary products or worked for commission, which required little capital and minimized the risks."³⁸

³²As we will see in the section "Edward Johnston & Co. in the export trade, 1842-1852", the trade firm moved from diversification to specialization in exports.

³³In the judgment of the British Conservatory, Edward Johnston was the attorney of F. Le Breton, and sued the trader from Rio de Janeiro, Francisco Lins da Costa Guimarães, who did not pay a loan of 2:000\$000 (two contos de réis). Arquivo Nacional (AN), "Juízo da Conservatória nº 11164", Maço 2.330, GAL A, Slide 027-040. I would like to thank professor Luiz Fernando Saraiva for the information. In 1846, F. Le Breton was one of the seven houses responsible for 52.5% of the total coffee exports from the port of Rio de Janeiro. *Anuario Politico, Historico e Estatístico do Brazil*. 1846. Primeiro Anno, Rio de Janeiro, Casa de Firmin Didot Irmãos, 1846, p. 404.

³⁴Charles Alexandre Moke was born in Thourot, Flandres, and was a doctor graduated in the University of Leyden. Coffee farmer in Tijuca, his farm, Nassau, was close and right above the farm of Louis Lescene, in Gávea Pequena". Sir Graham Eden Hamond, *Os diários do Almirante Graham Eden Hamond, 1825-1834/38*, Rio de Janeiro, JB, 1984, p. 68.

³⁵Edward Johnston & Co., *Rio de Janeiro 1842*. Um século de café, Londres; Rio de Janeiro; Santos; Paranaguá, Edward Johnston Ltda, 1942, p. 13.

³⁶*Ibidem*, p. 13. In *Almanak Geral do Império do Brasil*, from 1838, Edward Johnston appears as a broker, living at Rua da Alfândega nº 3. *Almanack Geral do Império do Brazil publicado por Sebastião Fábregas Surigué*, Rio de Janeiro, Typographia de S. F. Surigué, 1838, p. 180.

³⁷"Edward Johnston para James Johnston, 11 de janeiro de 1833", *Coleção de Cartas de Veronica Johnston*, p. 35, *apud* Robert Greenhill, "E. Johnston: 150 anos em café", *In*: Edmar Bacha; Robert Greenhill, *Marcelino Martins & E. Johnston: 150 anos de café*, 2. ed. rev., São Paulo, Salamandra Cons. Editorial, 1992, p. 146.

³⁸*Ibidem*, p. 152.

In 1838, Edward Johnston went to Liverpool again, which used to be the main British slaver port³⁹ and important exports center of thread and fabric (dry farms) from the textile factories in Manchester, as well as importer of “colonial products”, such as coffee, sugar, cotton, and others in the 1830s.⁴⁰ In *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, from July 4, 1838, an ad was published about the auction of furniture and other utensils belonging to Edward Johnston, who was “moving to Europe”. The ad was:

Baker Campbell & Greenwood will have an auction today, at 10 thirty, at Mr. Edward Johnston’s house, street Bella da Princeza, n. 5, of the rich, valuable furniture, silver, crystals, china, paintings etc., belonging to this gentleman who is moving to Europe. There is a dinner table for 30 people, mahogany sideboard, chairs, mirrors, [...] drawings, horses, crossbows etc.⁴¹

It is important to mention that, in Liverpool, there was the Brazilian Association of Liverpool, which defended the interests of British traders who imported Brazilian products, such as coffee and sugar, and exported thread and cotton fabric from the factories in Manchester.⁴² This Association sent requests to the House of Commons, such as the one from 1833, “The Petition of undersigned Merchants and Ship owners of Liverpool Trading to Brazil, and Members of the Association”, requesting the reduction of fares charged on products imported from Brazil, especially sugar.⁴³ In 1839, the Association, together with the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, pressured the House of Commons to revise the fares on sugar and coffee. In 1840, there was a petition in Manchester that “emphasized

³⁹There is extensive literature on the slave trade of Liverpool, cf. David Richardson; Suzanne Schwarz; Anthony Tobbles (eds.), *Liverpool and transatlantic slavery*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2007.

⁴⁰D. M. Williams, “Liverpool merchants and the Cotton Trade 1820-1850”, In: John R. Harris (ed.), *Liverpool and Merseyside*. Essays in the economic and social history of the port and its hinterland, London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1969, p. 182-211; Graemme J. Milne, *Trade and traders in mid-Victorian Liverpool*. Mercantile business and the making of a world port, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2000; Mary B. Rose, *Firms, networks and business values: the British and American cotton industries since 1750*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

⁴¹“Leilões. Leilão de ricos moveis, prata em obra, vidros, cristaes, porcelanas, etc.”, *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 04 de julho de 1838, p. 3, coluna 1. Street Bela da Princesa is the current street Correia Dutra, located in the neighborhood Catete, city of Rio de Janeiro.

⁴²Based on the source *Gore’s Liverpool Directory 1842, 1848, 1851*, Marika Sherwood listed the following names from the board: James Peter, James Powell, and John North (1842) and J. B. Moore, C. Saunders, and John North (1848 and 1851). Marika Sherwood, *After abolition: Britain and the Slave Trade after 1807*, London; New York: I. B. Taurus, 2007, p. 206 (note 19).

⁴³J. J. Sturz, *A Review, Financial, Statistical, & Commercial, of the Empire of Brazil and its resources: together with a suggestion of the expediency and mode of admitting Brazilian and other foreign sugar into Great Britain for refining and exportation*, London, Effingham Wilson, 1837, p. 132-136. According to Marika Sherwood, in 1833, a leaflet was published, called “Some remarks and observations on a Petition to Parliament from the merchants and ship owners of Liverpool praying for the admission ... of the products of Brazil”, by an unknown member of the Brazilian Association of Liverpool, mentioning that “the petitioners carry on extensive commerce with Brazil in the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom ... export value is Three million Sterling. The imports listed are sugar, coffee, cocoa and rum”. Marika Sherwood, *op cit*, p. 32.

the urgency of the matter”;⁴⁴ which was only solved with the Law from 1846 and its consequences. On May 15, 1841, Charles Saunders, president of the Association, published in the newspaper *The Tablet* an article called “*The reasons why Brazil produce should be at once admitted into this country for consumption on more reasonable terms*”, and there he continued to defend the reduction of fares on Brazilian products, reinforcing the importance of Brazil for Great Britain’s commerce.⁴⁵

Back to Edward Johnston, the date he returned to Brazil is not known; however, *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, on January 11, 1840, announced a session of “Banco Commercial do Rio de Janeiro”;⁴⁶ in which Edward Johnston, who was a shareholder, participated in the Accounts Commission. The original note was:

Banco Commercial do Rio de Janeiro, sessão do dia 10 de janeiro de 1840

Abriu-se ás 11 horas a sessão tomando a cadeira da presidência o Sr. Ignacio Ratton, o qual apresentou á assemblea o relatório dos trabalhos da direcção durante o anno de 1839. Procedeo-se a eleição da mesa, e sendo 180 os votantes pouco mais ou menos sahirão leitos [...].

Passou-se á nomeação da Comissão de exame e contas, e sahirão eleitos os Srs. Drs. Pereira da Silva com 155 votos; Santos Jr. com 143 votos; Barbosa Guimarães com 120 votos; *Eduardo Johnston com 96 votos*; [...] (grifo nosso).⁴⁷

Regarding the trade carried out by the broker Edward Johnston, it is worth to highlight two issues of leather export to New York and Malta (English protectorate), in 1841 and 1842.⁴⁸ However, when Edward returned to Rio de Janeiro, he signed a petition among important British traders and companies, besides other foreign (American and Swedish, for instance) and national traders. This demonstrated and legitimated the trader’s — as well as one of the main

⁴⁴Arthur Redford, *Manchester merchants and foreign trade, 1794-1858*, vol. 1, reprinted, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1973, p. 146-147, cf. also Lucy Brown, “The board of trade and the tariff problem, 1840-1842”, *The English Historical Review*, vol. 68, n. 268, 1953, p. 394-421.

⁴⁵*The Tablet*, May 15, 1841. Available from: <<http://archive.thetablet.co.uk/article/15th-may-1841/3/brazil-produce>>. Accessed on: June 20, 2014. Charles Saunders was listed by Marika Sherwood as the CEO in 1848 and 1851 (note 43). Regarding Charles Saunders, the source Edward Johnston & Co., *Rio de Janeiro 1842*. Um século de café pointed out he had been named manager at F. Le Breton & Co. in Rio de Janeiro, in 1827, “simultaneously to Edward Johnston”. It was probably Francis Saunders’ father, who worked at Edward Johnston in Rio de Janeiro, who was replacing James Napier when the latter became a partner at Edward Johnston, Son & Co., in 1855, cf. Edward Johnston & Co., *Rio de Janeiro 1842*. Um século de café, Londres; Rio de Janeiro; Santos; Paranaguá, Edward Johnston Ltda, 1942, p. 16.

⁴⁶About Banco Commercial do Rio de Janeiro, created in 1838, cf. Maria Barbara Levy, *História dos bancos comerciais no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, IBMEC, 1972.

⁴⁷Parte Commercial. Banco Commercial do Rio de Janeiro”, *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 11 de janeiro de 1840, p. 3, coluna 1. Ignacio Ratton was an important trader from Rio de Janeiro, who participated in several commissions of traders, like the project of the Commercial Code from 1838. He was the president of the Society of Signatories in Rio de Janeiro (Future Chamber of Commerce of Rio de Janeiro, in 1867) from 1840 to 1846.

⁴⁸The issues of 4,609 leathers to New York and 500 leathers to Malta are, respectively, in: (1) “Despachos de exportação em 8/03”, *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 10 de março de 1841, p. 2, coluna 3; (2) “Despachos de exportação em 22/01”, *Idem*, 24 de janeiro de 1842, p. 2, coluna 4.

slave dealers in the post-1831 illegal trade —, the Portuguese Manoel Pinto da Fonseca, as the customs signatory in Rio de Janeiro.⁴⁹ This document, as well as other petitions from traders, reinforced the thesis regarding the participation of British traders in the slave trade, even with the prohibition in 1831.⁵⁰

*Edward Johnston arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1821,
at the age of 17, and worked as a clerk*

As aforementioned, Edward Johnston & Co. was founded on September 14, 1842, on Rua do Sabão n. 10, with a capital of 30 *contos de réis*.⁵¹ However, whereas there is not much information on William Joseph Havers,⁵² for João Ignácio Tavares there were other documents that led to information on the presence of this trader and national capitalist. In *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, from August 9, 1834, João Ignácio Tavares appeared as a shareholder of Caixa Econômica do Rio de Janeiro, founded in 1834,⁵³ together with other important traders from Rio de Janeiro, such as João Pereira Darrigue Faro (second baron and first viscount of Rio Bonito).⁵⁴ In 1838, João Ignácio Tavares was mentioned as one of the capitalists who bought titles from the public debt in the Amortization

⁴⁹Robert Edgar Conrad, *Tumbeiros*. O tráfico escravista para o Brasil, Tradução de Elvira Serapicos, São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1985 (especially the chapter: "Colaboradores estrangeiros: os britânicos e americanos"); Luiz Henrique D. Tavares, *O comércio proibido de escravos*, São Paulo, Ática, 1988 (especially, chapter V); Carlos Gabriel Guimarães, *A presença inglesa nas Finanças e no Comércio no Brasil Imperial: os casos da Sociedade Bancária Mauá, MacGregor & Co. (1854-1866) e da firma inglesa Samuel Phillips & Co. (1808-1840)*, São Paulo, Alameda, 2012, p. 247.

⁵⁰Carlos Gabriel Guimarães, "O comércio inglês no Império brasileiro: a atuação da firma inglesa Carruthers & Co., 1824-1854", in: José Murilo de Carvalho (org.), *Nação e cidadania no Império: novos horizontes*, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2007, p. 371-393; Marcia Naomi Kuniuchi, *Tráfico e enriquecimento: o Porto de Rio Grande, em meados do século XIX*. Available from: <<http://www.escravidaoeliberdade.com.br/site/images/Textos/6/marciakuniuchi.pdf>>. Accessed on: March 20, 2015.

⁵¹With a capital of £3,529, it was a small trade firm for English standards; cf. Stanley D. Chapman, *Merchant enterprise in Britain*. From the Industrial Revolution to World War I, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 104-105. Unfortunately, because most of the documents from the British Conservatory were not found, except for a few documents that are mixed with others in the National Archives (note 33), we could not find the organization of the society between Edward Johnston, William Joseph Havers and João Ignácio Tavares.

⁵²Until now, we only found information on William Joseph Havers, as a passenger in a trip with the British ship *Linnet* to Falmouth (port in Great Britain). "Movimentação do Porto. Sahidas no dia 21", *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 22 de fevereiro de 1843, p. 4, coluna 4.

⁵³"Declarações", *Idem*, 27 de janeiro de 1834, p. 1, coluna 2. This bank for belongings, a "deposit bank" was part of the changes defended by Law n. 59, from October 8, 1833; cf. Carlos Manuel Pelaez; Wilson Suzigan, *História monetária do Brasil*, 2. ed., Brasília, Editora da UnB, 1981, p. 56-57. This bank had nothing to do with Caixa Econômica, from 1861, which was also created in Rio de Janeiro; cf. Renato Leite Marcondes, *Caixas econômicas públicas e depósitos populares no Brasil (1861 a 1840)*, text provided by the own author; Keila Grinberg, "A poupança: alternativas para a compra da alforria no Brasil (2.ª metade do século XIX)", *Revista de Índias*, vol. LXXI, n. 251, 2011, p. 137-158.

⁵⁴The Viscount of Rio Bonito was a coffee farmer and was a shareholder and director at Banco do Brasil, organized by the Baron, then Viscount of Mauá, in 1851. About the Faro family, cf. Fania Fridman, *Planejamento e rede urbana no sertão oeste fluminense*. Available from: <www.anpur.org.br/revista/rbeur/index.php/anais/article/download/2265/2213>. Accessed on: March 20, 2015.

Bank (created in 1827),⁵⁵ in a conflict situation between Rio de Janeiro and the decision of the finance minister, Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida (marquis of Abrantes), of suspending the public debt auction in 1838.⁵⁶ To sum up, the trader and capitalist João Ignácio Tavares stood out in Rio de Janeiro in the 1830s and 1840s, with important knowledge and information for the commercial society organized by Edward Johnston.⁵⁷

In 1844, Edward Johnston went back to Liverpool,⁵⁸ and left his partners in charge of the trade firm in Rio de Janeiro, in a scenario of changes in the relationship between Brazil and Great Britain due to the Alves Branco fare, from 1844 (decree n. 376, from August 12, 1944), which raised the import tax on some foreign products and others.⁵⁹ When he definitely returned to England, comparing the auction of furniture and utensils from Johnston's house in 1844 and 1838, the richness accumulated by the British trader in the past years became very clear. In *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, from April 17, 1844, the following was reported:

Campbelle & Greenwood fazem leilão hoje, quarta-feira, 17 do corrente, ás 10.horas e meia em ponto, na casa da residência do Sr. Eduardo Johnston, rua da Princesa n. 5 (no Catete) de toda a sua *mui elegante* mobília de mogmo maciço, mandada fazer de encomenda na Inglaterra, havendo entre ella um magnifico apparador de sala de jantar, mesa de jantar para 18 pessoas, mesas redondas e de jogo, cadeiras, espelhos grandes, toucadores, sofás, divans, commodas, guarda-roupas, com espelho grande de vestir (psyche), um superior piano forte do autor Broadood de Londres, um soberbo chiffonier, camas entre ellas uma de casados, de armação com cortinados, relógio com corda para 3 dias, um telescópio grande, um rico serviço de porcelana de mesa e outro de chá, um dito de dita branco, um plateaux de bronze, um riquíssimo lustre de 18 luzes, ricos candelabros, etc. todos pertencentes ao dito Sr. (grifo nosso).⁶⁰

⁵⁵About the Amortization Bank, cf. Anderson C. Silva, *Origem e história da dívida pública no Brasil até 1963*. Available from: <http://www3.tesouro.gov.br/divida_publica/downloads/Parte%201_1.pdf>. Accessed on: March 20, 2015.

⁵⁶"Comunicado", *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 07 de maio de 1838, p. 1, coluna 4. It was the response of the empire government, via *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, to the article published at *Revista Mensal do Jornal do Commercio*, from May 5, 1839.

⁵⁷From an institutional perspective, the British trade firm had been organized to minimize the costs of transaction from the agents (traders) facing the asymmetry of information from the market in Rio de Janeiro. About the trade firm's institutional approach, cf. Ronald H. Coase, "The nature of the firm", *Economica*, vol. 4, n. 16, 1937, p. 386-405; Oliver E. Williamson; Sidney G. Winter (eds.), *The nature of the firm: origins, evolution, and development*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991.

⁵⁸"Sahidas no dia 29. Falmouth, paquete inglês Senft, comenadante Douglas, passageiros os ingleses Eduardo Johnston, sua Sra., 4 filhos e 2 criados. Movimento do Porto", *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 30 de abril de 1844, p. 4, coluna 4.

⁵⁹There is extensive literature on the effects of the rates on the empire's economy and politics; cf. among several studies, Celso Furtado, *Formação econômica do Brasil*, 19. ed., São Paulo, Nacional, 1984; Nícia Vilela Luz, *A luta pela industrialização do Brasil*. Prefácio de João Cruz Costa, São Paulo, Alfa-Ômega, 1978; Geraldo de Beauclair M. de Oliveira, *Raízes da indústria no Brasil. A pré-indústria fluminense 1808-1860*, Rio de Janeiro, Studio F & S Ed., 1992; André V. Villela, "Política tarifária no II Reinado: evolução e impactos, 1850-1889", *Nova Economia*, vol. 15, n. 1, p. 35-68, 2005.

⁶⁰"Leilões. Leilão de moveis, porcelanas, cristaes etc.", *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 17 de abril de 1844, p. 3, coluna 4.

In the British city, Edward Johnston was associated with the trader Charles Ironside, in the trade firm Charles Ironside & Co., in 1845. Charles Ironside, from 1820 to 1830, became an important British trader in Lisbon, with business with Brazil and England, especially Liverpool.⁶¹ A ship from this trader was “imprisoned” in the Brazilian port of São Luís in the troubled post-independence period in Brazil. The document was:

Henry Chamberlain, Squire, General Consul S. M.

[...]

Translation n. 2: The American Schooner Ghest master Josuah Folger arrived from Lisbon on 28/02/1825, bringing, on behalf of Mrs. Edward T Eyton & C., British trader of this region, merchandise loaded by C. Ironside & C., from Lisbon, of British property, as shown by the attached consul certificate.

[...]

This property was detained under the pretext that it came from an enemy port. R.H. Note of the load shipped by Charles Ironside & C. from Lisbon in the American Schooner Guest, master Josuah Folger, even if knowing it was a risk, as described in the consul certificate.⁶²

We do not know when Charles Ironside went back to Liverpool.⁶³ However, he also made business with the British trader in Bahia, James Napier, in the trade firm Ironside, Napier & Co.,⁶⁴ and rescission took place on March 4, 1845.⁶⁵

When João Ignácio Tavares left the society in Rio de Janeiro, in 1845, “to be a broker, which Johnston thought would be incompatible with the firm, that is, to concentrate on coffee”,⁶⁶ the difficulties in the administration of the trade firm in Rio de Janeiro, after the death of William Joseph Havers in

⁶¹In 1824, Charles (Carlos) Ironside's house in Lisbon was at street Magdalena 50. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), “Negociantes britânicos residentes na cidade de Lisboa”, *Junta do Commercio*, maço 61, caixa 199.

⁶²*Revista Marítima Brasileira*, Ano XXXIX, n. 7-8, 1920, p. 206. Sir Henry Chamberlain was the general consul in charge of business with England in the court of Rio de Janeiro, between 1815 and 1829.

⁶³In 1831, Charles Ironside and other British traders in Lisbon sent a petition to the English general consul in Portugal, Richard Belgrave Hoppner, so that their interests could be protected in Portugal facing the critical situation regarding the Civil War, cf. “The British Merchants of Lisbon to R. B. Hoppner, Esq. Lisbon, 25th August, 1831”, *British and Foreign State Papers: 1830-1831*, London, James Ridgway, 1833, p. 315-316.

⁶⁴The trade firm Ironside Napier & Co. had connections with Manoel Francisco Lopes, the greatest slave trader in Bahia, cf. Luiz Henrique D. Tavares, *O comércio proibido de escravos*, São Paulo, Ática, 1988, p. 133; Louise Guenter, *British merchants in nineteenth-century Brazil: business, culture and identity in Bahia, 1808-1850*, Oxford, Centre for Brazilian Studies, 2004, p. 49.

⁶⁵The newspaper *The Law Times* (March 15, 1845), quoting *The Gazette*, announced: “Partnership dissolved. Gazette, March 4. [...] Ironside, C. and Napier, J., Bahia, January 8 [...]”, cf. *The Law Times, and journal of property, from October 1844 to March 1845*, vol. IV, London, Publisher at the Office of The Law Times, 1845, p. 468.

⁶⁶Robert Greenhill, “E. Johnston: 150 anos em café”, in: Edmar Bacha; Robert Greenhill, *Marcelino Martins & E. Johnston: 150 anos de café*, 2. ed. rev., São Paulo, Salamandra Cons. Editorial, 1992, p. 154. It was not exactly like that, because the trade firm continued to export leather until 1848. Besides, until 1846, Edward Johnston & Co. was a broker located at Rua do Sabão, 10, cf. *Almanak Administrativo Mercantil e Industrial do Rio de Janeiro para o anno de 1846*. Terceiro anno, Rio de Janeiro, Eduardo e Henrique Lammert, 1845, p. 259.

1847, and with the manager Andrew Steele,⁶⁷ as well as the crisis 1847, which affected Liverpool,⁶⁸ made so that the association of Edward Johnston with Ironside and Napier was consolidated, and a new trade firm with the three associates appeared in Bahia, named Johnston, Napier & Co., with a capital of £12,000. Therefore, Edward Johnston participated in three companies: Edward Johnston & Co. (Rio de Janeiro), Charles Ironside & Co. (Liverpool), and Johnston, Napier & Co. (Salvador).⁶⁹ Regarding the businesses of Charles Ironside & Co., Marcus Guedes Vaz Sampaio mentioned that this trade firm built steamships for the trade firm Santa Cruz, organized in Bahia, and for cabotage.⁷⁰

The merge of the (trade firms) companies from Rio de Janeiro and Bahia in the early 1850s led Joseph Napier to go to Rio de Janeiro, where he became the director of Edward Johnston & Co. With the increasing demand for coffee, especially in the USA, main importer of the Brazilian product,⁷¹ Edward Johnston and his associates opened two (firms) companies in New York and in New Orleans: Napier, Johnston & Co. and Johnston, Moke & Co., respectively.⁷² These two cities/ports were the main imports centers of coffee in the USA and, in the case of New Orleans, this was the “entrance gate” of the coffee into the Mississippi valley.⁷³

The increasing specialization of the British trade firm in coffee exports, as well as the factors regarding the associates, promoted changes in the society with Edward Johnston, privileging his children in the board of the companies

⁶⁷On June 27, 1847, William Joseph Havers died in Rio de Janeiro, cf. “Deaths”, *Dolman’s Magazine and Monthly Miscellany of Criticism*, vol. VI, jun.-dec. 1847, London, Charles Dolman, 61, New Bond Street, 1847, p. 275; Robert Greenhill, “E. Johnston: 150 anos em café”, In: Edmar Bacha; Robert Greenhill, *Marcelino Martins & E. Johnston: 150 anos de café*, 2. ed. rev., São Paulo, Salamandra Cons. Editorial, 1992, p. 154.

⁶⁸Many companies and banks in Liverpool were shut down with the crisis of 1847-1848, like the Royal Bank of Liverpool, created in 1836, affecting the credit in the region and making it difficult for businesses like the ones of Edward Johnston, who had an account in the mentioned bank, cf. Robert Greenhill, *op cit.*, p. 165-167; D. Morier Even, *The commercial crisis 1847-1848; being facts and figures illustrative of the events of the important period, considered in relation to the epochs of the railway mania, the food and money panic and the French revolution. To which is added; an appendix containing an alphabetical list of the English and foreign mercantile failures, with the balance sheets and statements*, London, Letts, Son and Steer, 1848.

⁶⁹Edward Johnston & Co., *Rio de Janeiro 1842. Um século de café*, Londres; Rio de Janeiro; Santos; Paranaguá, Edward Johnston Ltda, 1942, p. 15; Robert Greenhill, *op cit.*, p. 147.

⁷⁰Marcos Guedes Vaz Sampaio, *Uma contribuição à história dos transportes no Brasil: a Companhia Baiana de navegação a vapor (1839-1894)*, Tese de doutorado, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2006, p. 104.

⁷¹Paulo Nogueira Batista Jr., “Política tarifária britânica e evolução das exportações brasileiras na primeira metade do século XIX”, *Revista Brasileira de Economia*, vol. 34, n. 2, 1980, p. 203-239; Stephen H. Harber; Herbert S. Klein, “As consequências econômicas da independência brasileira”, *Novos Estudos CEBRAP*, n. 33, 1992, p. 236-248.

⁷²Edward Johnston & Co., *op cit.*

⁷³Edmar Bacha, “Política brasileira do café. Uma avaliação centenária”, In: ____; Robert Greenhill, *Marcelino Martins & E. Johnston: 150 anos de café*, 2. ed. rev., São Paulo, Salamandra Cons. Editorial, 1992, p. 20-22; Rafael de Bivar Marquese, *Capitalismo, escravidão e a economia cafeeira do Brasil no longo século XIX*. Available from: <<http://people.ufpr.br/~lgeraldo/textomarquese.pdf>>. Accessed on: March 20, 2015; Carlos Eduardo Valencia Villa, *A economia dos negros livres no Rio de Janeiro e Richmond, 1840-1860*, Tese de doutorado, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 2012.

in Brazil and New Orleans.⁷⁴ When Charles Ironside left the trade firm in Liverpool, in 1853⁷⁵, Edward Johnston started a society with his third son, Francis Johnston, in the trade firm, and changed its name to Edward Johnston, Son & Co., in 1854.⁷⁶

Edward Johnston & Co. in the Export Trade, 1842–1852

Analyzing the exports of Edward Johnston & Co. from 1842 to 1852, from a total of 324 issues, only eight were not identified.⁷⁷ From that total (Graph 3), we verified that cattle breeding products, especially leather from Rio Grande and some exports from the Prata river, were prevalent in 1842, 1843, 1844, and 1845.⁷⁸ Even if there were records since 1842, only in 1846 coffee became the main product, and, still, with very irregular movement in the following years, facing the problems already analyzed in the period. In 1851, there was expressive growth, and, in 1852, there was a new decline.

With the increasing demand for coffee, especially in the United States, main importer of the Brazilian product, Edward Johnston and his partners started two companies in New York and New Orleans

The exports of Edward Johnston & Co. were very similar to those of other foreign companies, such as the British-American Maswell Writ & Co. and the British Carruthers & Co., and Samuel Phillips & Co.,⁷⁹ demonstrating that, at first, they were not specialized in one product; they were diversified, which was in

⁷⁴About the family presence in trade companies, cf. Andrea Colli; Paloma F. Pérez; Mary B. Rose, "National determinants of family firm development? Family firms in Britain, Spain, and Italy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries", *Enterprise and Society*, vol. 4, n. 1, 2003, p. 28-64.

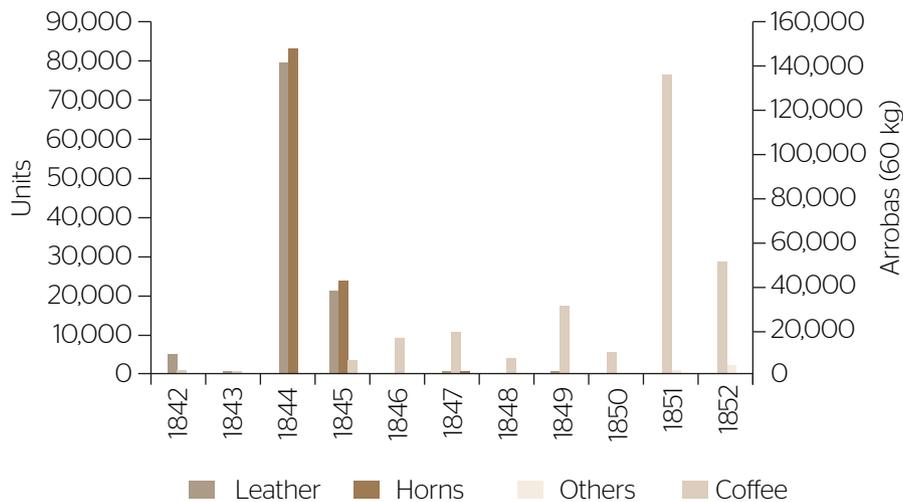
⁷⁵Charles Ironside, with the title of "squire", had other businesses alone, as a shareholder and director of the cabotage steam trade firm *South Eastern & Continental Steam Packet Trade Firm*. This trade firm was associated with the railroad South Eastern Railway (SER), cf. Adrian Gray, *The South Eastern Railway*, West Sussex, Middleton Press, 1990.

⁷⁶Edward Johnston & Co., *Rio de Janeiro 1842. Um século de café*, Londres; Rio de Janeiro, Santos; Paranaguá, Edward Johnston Ltda, 1942 p. 15.

⁷⁷"Commercio", *Jornal do Commercio*, 1842-1852. I would like to thank the students Daiana Torres Lima and Thiago Boamorte Lima for the data gathering.

⁷⁸In 1843, only at *Jornal do Commercio* there was an export issue, which was: "Trieste, E. Johnston, 470 couros e 11 sacas de café", cf. "Commercio. Exportação. Embarque de hoje", *Idem*, 14 de março de 1843, p. 4, coluna 1. Trieste, until the First World War, was the main port of the Austrian-Hungarian empire. With Austria's defeat, Italy conquered Trieste, and Austria lost its exit to the sea.

⁷⁹Carlos Gabriel Guimarães, "O comércio inglês no Império brasileiro: a atuação da firma inglesa Carruthers & Co., 1824-1854", *In*: José Murilo de Carvalho (org.), *Nação e cidadania no Império: novos horizontes*, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2007; *Idem*, *A presença inglesa nas Finanças e no Comércio no Brasil Imperial: os casos da Sociedade Bancária Mauá, MacGregor & Co. (1854-1866) e da firma inglesa Samuel Phillips & Co. (1808-1840)*, São Paulo, Alameda, 2012; Alan Ribeiro dos Santos, *The leading commission-house of Rio de Janeiro. A firma Maxwell, Wright & Co. no comércio do Império do Brasil (c.1827-c.1850)*, Master's thesis, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 2014, p. 43-63.



Coffee: 60 kg bags; leather and horns: in units; others: in units.

Others: products such as jacaranda wood (thick wood to be unfolded or sided), cedar boards and casks of tapioca.

Source: "Commercio", *Jornal do Commercio*, 1842-1852.

Graph 3. Export products of Edward Johnston & Co., 1842-1852.

accordance with Graeme Milne's analyses on the diversification of commerce in Liverpool companies in the 19th century.⁸⁰

Concerning the main ports/cities receiving the exports from Edward Johnston & Co. (Graph 4), some stood out in number of trips, as is the case of the North-American ports of Baltimore, with 55; New York, 46; New Orleans, 24; in Europe, the ports of Antwerp, in Belgium, with 20; Cowes, a port city in the Isle of Wight, in England,⁸¹ with 19; and Copenhagen, Denmark, with 16. The ports of Liverpool and London had 14 and 12, respectively, and were not amongst the six main importing ports of the trade firm at the time. The trade firm also exported to ports in Asia, such as in Goa, with one trip,⁸² and Constantinople, now Istanbul, with two trips.⁸³

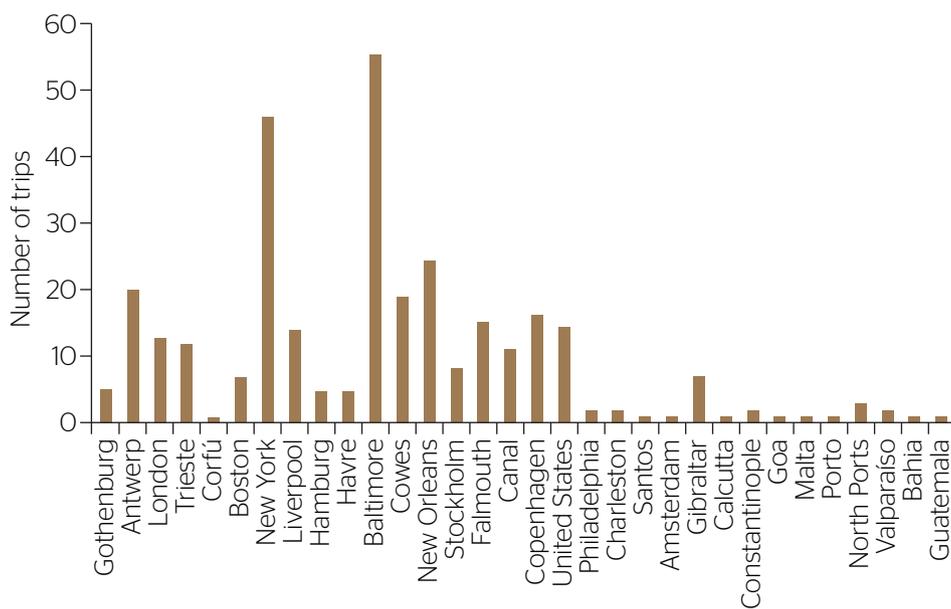
By crossing the information of ports and products, we found interesting data. The North-American ports of Baltimore and New York received leather

⁸⁰Graeme J. Milne, *Trade and traders in mid-Victorian Liverpool*. Mercantile business and the making of a world port, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2000, p. 46-64. This strategy was not only British, cf also Denise de Matos Monteiro, *O capital mercantil estrangeiro no Brasil do século XIX: a atuação da casa Boris Frères no Ceará*. Available from: <http://www.rcs.ufc.br/edicoes/v25n12/rcs_v25n12a6.pdf>. Accessed on: March 20, 2015.

⁸¹In the 18th century, Cowes was an important port for the import of rice produced in the British American colonies. In the 19th century, its shipyards built fast ships and schooners for the opium trade in China, cf Hunt Janin, *The India-China opium trade in the nineteenth century*, Jefferson, McFarland, 1999, p. 87; 90.

⁸²Goa: Edward Johnston e C., 2.666 couros secos do Rio Grande. *Commercio*. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 23", *Jornal do Commercio*, 25 e 26 de janeiro de 1844, p. 2, coluna 4.

⁸³Constantinopla: consignatário Edward Johnston & C., manifestou 2.150 sacas. *Commercio*. Exportação. Embarcações despachadas no dia 21", *Idem*, 22 de novembro de 1851, p. 2, coluna 6; "Constantinopla: consignatário E. Johnston e C. manifestou 2.170 sacas café. *Commercio*. Exportação. Embarcações despachadas no dia 24", *Idem*, 25 de novembro de 1851, p. 2, coluna 6.



Source: Graph 3.

Graph 4. Export ports of Edward Johnston & Co. (1842-1852).

shipments in 1844⁸⁴, and only in 1846 and 1849, respectively, began to receive coffee.⁸⁵ In New Orleans, its first import took place in 1845 and only received coffee.⁸⁶

This relationship of the trade firm with the North-American ports of Baltimore, New York, and New Orleans clarified the reading about the Atlantic Trading System and the Second Slavery.⁸⁷ Richmond, capital of Virginia, and New Orleans, capital of Louisiana until 1849,⁸⁸ were cities/ports of two important North-American proslavery states.⁸⁹ Carlos Eduardo Valencia Villa mentioned the connection of Rio de Janeiro with the proslavery South of the USA, through

⁸⁴We believe it is about dry and clean leather coming from Rio Grande, which was different from salted leather (Prata river). The first shiploads of exports to New York and Baltimore consisted of 593 leathers and 5,077 clean leather, respectively. Data extracted from: "Commercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 11", *Jornal do Commercio*, 12 de janeiro de 1844, p. 3, coluna 2; "Commercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 06", *Idem*, 07 de maio de 1844, p. 2, coluna 3. About the type of leather, cf. Roberto C. Simonsen, *História econômica do Brasil: 1500-1820*, 4. ed., Brasília, Senado Federal, Conselho Editorial, 2005, p. 217-222.

⁸⁵The first shiploads (exports) of coffee to New York and Baltimore were of 250 and 2,100 bags, respectively. Data extracted from: "Commercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 25", *Jornal do Commercio*, 26 de fevereiro de 1846, p. 3, coluna 2; "Commercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 26", *Idem*, 27 de outubro de 1849, p. 2, coluna 4.

⁸⁶N. Orleans – E. Johnston & C, 2000 sacas de café. *Commercio. Despachos de exportação no dia 28*, *Idem*, 29 de outubro de 1845, p. 3, coluna 3.

⁸⁷Notes 8 and 9.

⁸⁸In 1849, the capital of Louisiana was Baton Rouge. In 1865, until 1880, the capital was New Orleans again, and, finally, in 1880, it was definitely Baton Rouge.

⁸⁹Ira Berlin, *Slaves without masters. The free negro in the Antebellum South*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1979; *Idem*, *Many thousands gone. The first two centuries of slavery in North America*, Cambridge; London, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003.

the commerce of coffee with bread, that is, Brazilian coffee exported from Rio de Janeiro to Richmond and the wheat flour produced in Richmond, in the south of the USA, and exported to Baltimore, Maryland, to Rio de Janeiro. It was from the port of Baltimore, which was not located in the South, but in the North, that Richmond exported wheat flour and imported coffee. This dependence of Richmond in relation to the North became even clearer with the non-realization of the expansion of the James River and the Kanawha Canal, which would enable the expansion of the port of Richmond to the Atlantic. It became one of the “elements that created tension between Richmond and the North” in the 1850s, before the Civil War.⁹⁰

By analyzing the ports and products exported by the trade firm to Europe, Antwerp received the first load, in 1842, which consisted of 1,000 leathers from the Prata river.⁹¹ Only after 1846, Antwerp started receiving coffee, and the first load had 300 bags⁹²; after that, this product became prevalent. Regarding the ports of Cowes and Copenhagen, the former received 1,000 salted leathers, and 15,444 horns in 1844,⁹³ and these products continued to be exported there until 1847, when, for the first time, it received coffee, with 1,400 bags.⁹⁴ Regarding Copenhagen, the first load of the trade firm arrived only in 1849, with 2,000 bags of coffee.⁹⁵ This port only received coffee.

Regarding the ports of London and Liverpool, the first exports of the trade firm took place in 1842 and 1844, respectively, and leather was the only exported product.⁹⁶ From 1844 to 1847, Liverpool received not only leather, but also horns, wood, cedar boards, and construction boards. The latter were a result of the extensive exploration of the Atlantic forest,⁹⁷ and were not used only for building houses, but also for the British naval industry.⁹⁸ Coffee only appeared in the port of Liverpool in 1847, after the law of 1846, and, still, it was not exclusive, because shipments of leather and horns continued to arrive in

⁹⁰Carlos Eduardo Valencia Villa, *A economia dos negros livres no Rio de Janeiro e Richmond: 1840-1840*, Tese de doutorado, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, 2012, p. 82-83.

⁹¹Commercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 5”, *Jornal do Commercio*, 06 de outubro de 1842, p. 3, coluna 1.

⁹²Commercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 11”, *Idem*, 12 de setembro de 1846, p. 3, coluna 1. It is important to highlight the charter of the English brigantine Taymouth Castle made by the trade firms Edward Johnston & Co. and F. Le Breton & Co. The latter also exported coffee (600 bags) to Antwerp.

⁹³Commercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 25”, *Idem*, 26 de junho de 1844, p. 3, coluna 3.

⁹⁴Commercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 26”, *Idem*, 27 de março de 1847, p. 2, coluna 3. From this shipload, only coffee was exported to Cowes.

⁹⁵Commercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 26”, *Idem*, 30 de setembro de 1849, p. 2, coluna 2.

⁹⁶In the shipload to London, Edward Johnston & Co. shared the English boat Helen Jane with Carruthers & Co. cf. Londres: E. Johnston 1.035 couros e Carruthers & C. 125 barricas de café. Comercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 22”, *Idem*, 24 de outubro de 1842, p. 3, coluna 2; “Liverpool: Edward Johnston & C., 1.018 couros. Comercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 09”, *Idem*, 11 de março de 1844, p. 3, coluna 3.

⁹⁷Diogo de Carvalho Cabral defined this economy as the “Wood Economy”. Diogo de Carvalho Cabral, “A economia madeireira no colonial tardio fluminense: uma primeira aproximação”, *História Econômica & História de Empresas*, vol. X, n. 1, 2007, p. 8-48.

⁹⁸About the English naval industry, cf. Jillian R. Smith, *Shipbuilding and the English International Timber Trade, 1300-1700: a framework for study using Niche Construction Theory*. Available from: <<http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1048&context=nebanthro>>. Accessed on: March 20, 2015; Anthony Burton, *The rise and fall of British shipbuilding*, 2. ed., Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2013.

the port.⁹⁹ Regarding London, exports of leather and horns were prevalent from 1842 to 1844,¹⁰⁰ and only in 1847 it was possible to observe the coffee export to the capital of Great Britain.¹⁰¹ Until 1852, the trade firm only made one more shipload of coffee to London.¹⁰²

Final considerations

The British presence and its relationship with Brazil has been a matter of debate in historiography. However, it is important to mention that the question involving the businesses of British traders in Brazil and in other regions of international economy in the 19th century has been revised and amplified. The study of the companies, the institutional changes, and the networks of business has enabled a deeper analysis on the interaction between trade firm/trader (agent) and its market. In a micro-perspective, however, not denying its relationship with the macro-scenario, historians and economists criticized a general view over the work of British trade companies.

This relationship of the trade firm with the North-American ports of Baltimore, New York, and New Orleans clarified the reading of the Atlantic Trading System and the Second Slavery

Usually organized as “family property, inserted in a network of commercial exchange”,¹⁰³ relating much more to decentralized trade societies than to the modern and vertical integral trade firm. As pointed out by Alfred Chandler for the American case,¹⁰⁴ the British (trade firm) companies, such as Edward

⁹⁹Liverpool: E. Johnston & C. 240 sacas de café. Commercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 31”, *Jornal do Commercio*, 1º de abril de 1847, p. 3, coluna 1; “Liverpool: E. Johnston & C. 223 couros. Commercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 07”, *Idem*, 08 de julho de 1849, p. 2, coluna 1; “Liverpool: ‘Eduardo’ Johnston & C. 2.356 sacas de café. Commercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 28”, *Idem*, 30 de setembro de 1852, p. 2, coluna 3.

¹⁰⁰Londres: Johnston & C. 4.440 chifres e Johnston & C. 3.479 couros. Commercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 24”, *Idem*, 26 de agosto de 1844, p. 3, coluna 3; “Londres: E. Johnston & C. 3.000 couros salgados, e G Morrissy 120 couceiros de jacarandá. Commercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 21”, *Idem*, 22 de outubro de 1844, p. 3, coluna 2.

¹⁰¹Londres: E. Johnston & C. 37 sacas de café. Commercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 05”, *Idem*, 06 de junho de 1847, p. 3, coluna 4.

¹⁰²Londres: E. Johnston & C. 31 barricas de café. Commercio. Exportação. Despachos de exportação no dia 28”, *Idem*, 29 de agosto de 1849, p. 2, coluna 3.

¹⁰³Giovanni Arrighi; Kenneth Barr; Shuji Hisaeda, “A transformação da empresa capitalista”, In: Giovanni Arrighi; Beverly J. Silver (orgs.), *Caos e governabilidade no moderno sistema mundial*, Tradução de Vera Ribeiro, Rio de Janeiro, Contraponto; Editora da UFRJ, 2001, p. 111-112.

¹⁰⁴Alfred Dupon Chandler, *The visible hand: the managerial revolution in American business*, Cambridge, Belknap, 1977. Regarding the criticism to the “Chandler” model, cf. Graemme J. Milne, *Trade and traders in mid-Victorian Liverpool*. Mercantile business and the making of a world port, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2000, p. 98.

Johnston's, grew and competed in the expanding world market of the 19th century. That meant the adoption of strategies and actions that allowed its survival and expansion, instead of downfall and ruin.

The first ten years of Edward Johnston's trade firm were not easy. Even if it had been working in the market in Rio de Janeiro since the 1820s, by organizing Edward Johnston & Co., he needed to be associated with the British trader William Joseph Havers and the national trader João Ignácio Tavares, the latter with good relationship in the area. When Edward Johnston definitely returned to England, in 1844, he saw his business go through organizational problems because one partner left, and the other one died, besides the crisis of 1847, which affected Liverpool. The solutions he found were to keep the trade firm in Brazil, to expand the trade activities together with traders established in Liverpool, such as Charles Ironside, with the trade firm Charles Ironside & Co., and to favor the expertise of the trade firm in coffee exports.

Regarding the (Firm's) trade firm's exports, the diversification of leather, horn, coffee exports, and others became an important strategy in the first years of the trade firm, unlike the statement of Greenhill: "sometimes, leather and jerky shiploads from the Prata river and the south of Brazil were shipped, as long as it didn't contaminate the coffee".¹⁰⁵ The main consumer market was the USA and, in Europe, the ports of Antwerp and Copenhagen stood out. Great Britain, "homeland" of Edward Johnston, was not the main consumer market in the first ten years of the trade firm, even if we consider the imports of Cowes, Liverpool, and London. Specifically for coffee, the importance of the Law from 1846 was explicit for the exports of the product to London and Liverpool, and the pro-slavery South of the USA was established as the main consumer of this product. As Edward Johnston wrote in a letter to James Napier, in 1847, "the North-American trade [...] will probably be a more profitable place for our capital".¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵Robert Greenhill, "E. Johnston: 150 anos em café", *In*: Edmar Bacha; Robert Greenhill, *Marcelino Martins & E. Johnston: 150 anos de café*, 2. ed. rev., São Paulo, Salamandra Cons. Editorial, 1992, p. 158.

¹⁰⁶"Edward Johnston para James Napier, 14 de dezembro de 1847 e 14 de julho de 1848", *CJ III, apud Ibidem*, p. 156.