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THE EAGER OENOGRAPHERS

With a Select List of Books on
Grape Growing and Winemaking
Important in 19th Century Australia

by

Valmai Hankel & Dennis Hall

[*Librarian Valmai Hankel, who has a long-cultivated interest in Australian winegrowing history, has tended the books at the State Library of South Australia for forty-three years, giving special attention to the collection of wine literature. This scholarly, and entertaining, essay—co-authored with her late-husband—first appeared in The Australian Wine Browser (Sydney: David Ell Press, 1979). We are pleased to present it, in two parts. — Ed.]*

INSTALLMENT I



In spite of the theories of popular historians who are probably teetotalers, not all early Australians were convicts, gold-seekers, Henry Lawson types who watered their self-pity with Bengal rum and colonial beer, or Kelly gangsters who dosed

theirs with Hibernian truculence. Some at least were True Believers, men who knew what wildernesses were for. And whether or not they gave their women singing lessons, they kept their eyes on the essential, and planted vines.

Among these happy few were Australia's first oenographers, true colonials all, cultivated men who regarded good table wines as a prime necessity of civilised life, in or out of the wilderness, who were grateful for the Australian climate that favoured viticulture, and who expressed their gratitude in books designed to help their fellow settlers.

THE ENTHUSIASTS AND THE PRAGMATISTS

The colonists who were interested in wine-growing, and who wrote books about it, can be divided into two general groups: the *enthusiasts* and the *pragmatists*.

But they and their yeasty writings are much too ebullient to be confined under categorical labels. Hubert de Castella, for example, believed emotionally in the goodness of wine, in his adopted country's possibilities as an Empire vineyard, and in the social importance of wine. But he was also a practical vigneron, a believer in promoting Australian wines by sheer hard work, and an amusing theorist. All these things burst out of his exuberant writings.

In *John Bull's Vineyard* (Melbourne, 1886), de Castella pointed out that "the vine is, *par excellence*, the plant of sunny lands, not of tropical regions, but of those where life is best to live ..." and that the Australian selector could, with little exertion, grow his own vines and make his own wine, which he could give "diluted with water, to his wife and his young children, for whom the acidulated taste is freshness in the mouth," so that "the children grow to like only the fruity liquid which they get at home; they will never care for strong drinks afterwards."

Dr. Alexander Kelly, on the other hand, tried to write soberly about wine. But in his attempts to produce authoritative handbooks on vines and wines there were times when his feelings coloured the clear stream of science that flowed from his pen. He despised John Bull's "perverse conduct" in preferring "artificial compounds" from Spain and Portugal to the "light wholesome wines of France," with "lamentable results ... in the vitiated tastes and degraded habits



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engendered by the habitual use of coarse and heavily

intoxicating drinks." He regretted that "the original pure wines of Spain and Portugal are now too dry for the general taste," but just occasionally he permitted himself a wistful optimism worthy of de Castella: "The Australian-born youth, accustomed to [a sound wholesome wine] nauseates the coarse wines, beers, and spirits which find favour with the British-born and bred."

Whether their emblems were the lyre or the ledger, the oenographers of the day created a few of their own problems. Hubert de Castella writes of colonial vigneron from France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland and from vine-less Britain who "found themselves in a Babel of confusion. They resorted to books; unfortunately, there the same discord prevailed. Operations recommended by one authority were disapproved of by another. The length of time the must should remain in the vats was fixed by some at five days, by others at eight, at twenty, and even at thirty days. As to the origin and cause of fermentation, all the *savants* disagreed except in one point, in which they were all wrong—"That the ferment was originally in the juice of the grape'."

JAMES BUSBY

Earliest of the Australian builders of Babel was James Busby, who, on the strength of some acquaintance with Celtic agriculture, a month or two in France, an age of twenty-four, and a year's residence in New South Wales, published in 1825 in Sydney, *A Treatise on the Culture of the Vine and the Art of Making Wine*.

To read Busby is to receive the legacy of the 18th century. He is very young, very much a member of the Superior Classes, very eager to impart his brand-new knowledge. His instructive language is as windy as a bean-fed politician; his sentiments, largely derived from the writings of Chaptal and others, are a mixture of common-sense, supposition, and plain superstition. He is as omnivorous as an ostrich, and his regurgitations range from information about the "square" amphorae of the revered Romans to the news that "the vine is indigenous ... in all the climates suited to its nature in both hemispheres in the new world In the wilds of New Holland, also, there is a kind of vine indigenous to the soil."

Busby saw New South Wales as "destitute of, or producing in a very inconsiderable degree, any article of produce which might minister to wants or comforts of Great Britain." His *Treatise* was intended to show "the respectable portions of the community" how to produce wine and thus to give value to tracts of land which otherwise "would in all probability remain for ever useless."

He was, thus, an early advocate of the exploitation of Australia for the benefit of an overseas

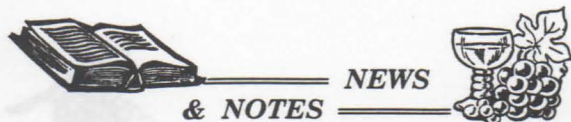
power. But he also regarded viticulture as fitted "to increase the comforts, and promote the morality of the lower classes of the Colony" — a theme that persists through much of our nineteenth century oenography.

Later, with a somewhat firmer step, Busby descended from his private Olympus to publish *A Manual of Plain Directions for Planting and Cultivating Vineyards and for Making Wine in New South Wales* (Sydney, 1830). This was designed to provide practical instructions for the small farmers whose numbers were now increasing; but he finds room to wave the banner of temperance, declaring the benefits of wine-drinking to young men and to a colony dominated by the rum culture. Settling to business, he lays down rules for choice of situation and soil, for preparing ground, planting, pruning and training the vine. He describes the time for vintage and the equipment needed for winemaking. He points out the need for cleanliness; describes fermentation; discusses the addition of sugar; describes racking, sulphuring, clarification, and drinking—two weeks after sulphuring. He is careful to point out the need for cool clean cellars, well away from such prevalent contemporary sources of contamination as middens. Finally, he gives instructions for making the sort of sweet wines that the farmer's wife would wish to keep for visitors (although he doesn't say whether these went well with wallaby patties and pumpkin pie) and for making vinegar and raisins. The amount of research is amazing, considering the period and the distance from Europe.

Whether one admires young Busby for his industry or deplors his introduction of our premier plonk variety, grenache, from the warm south of France, Australia is indebted to him for our first ampelography. His *Catalogue of Vines in the Botanic Garden, Sydney, introduced into the Colony of New South Wales in the year 1832* (reprinted, Sydney, 1842) lists grapes from "Mr. Busby's private collection," "from the Garden of Luxembourg" and from the "Montpellier collection." His annotations range from "*Carbenet Sauvignen* — Excellent for wine, violet; exceedingly sweet, small bearer, early ripe" to "*Chasselas, blanche* — Excellent, white, round; for table." Such descriptions, with their many numbered duplications, indicate the existence of these grapes in Australia in the 1830s, and the precocious establishment of a jungle of nomenclature through which our ampelographers are still attempting to cut tracks.

Busby's *Journal of a Tour through Some of the Vineyards of Spain and France* (Sydney, 1833) contains a catalogue of the vines he collected in Europe, as well as an interesting mixture of travel

[continued, p.6]



Welcome! to new members: **Peter Burke** (Box 146, Newborough, Victoria 3825, Australia; email: burke@vic.australis.com.au), who has been collecting wine books, with a special interest in "Wine as Medicine," for almost 30 years. **Dean Walters** (P.O. Box 717, San Anselmo, CA 94979; ☎ 415.459.6393; e-m: dean_w@pacbell.net), who does business as Vintage Antiques, is a very knowledgeable dealer in antique and collectible wine-related items (visit his website: http://home.pacbell.net/dean_w). His personal collecting passion is "ephemera and advertising from pre-Prohibition California wineries and wine merchants." He notes that he is seeking collectors who have like material for loan or use in the publication of a book on the subject and/or an exhibit in Napa Valley. Bravo! And, we send hearty **Congratulations!** to **Valmai Hankel** upon her retirement as rare books librarian for the State Library of South Australia. Her new e-mail: valmai@chariot.net.au. Don't miss her article this issue on early Australian wine writers!

JEFFERSON'S BOOK STAND?

In our last issue, one illustration for **Bob Hutton's** article, "The Wine Books in Jefferson's Library," caught the attention of **Tendril Allan Shields**, lifelong chamber musician. A number of years ago, he saw this stand during a tour of Monticello, where it was identified as a "quartet stand, designed by Jefferson (an amateur violinist), made at Monticello, and could hold the sheet music of four musicians." Our illustration came directly from a Library of Congress Jefferson exhibit catalogue that labeled it a book stand! But as Allan points out, "What possible use would a four-sided book stand be?" Think we should tell the L of C exhibit committee?

THE BEST CELLAR

by **Charles Goodrum** (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987) is an entertaining mystery featuring Thomas Jefferson's library that was sold to the Library of Congress. Author Goodrum proposes a very different scenario than that recorded in **Bob Hutton's** article!

NOTABLE NEW TITLES

■ **Éditions la Valsainte**, publishers last year of the facsimile reprint of **John J. Dufour's** 1826 *American Vine-Dresser's Guide*, have recently published a French edition, *Le Guide du Vigneron Américain*, translated by **Stephan Woollcombe**, with sixteen color illustrations (photos, drawings, maps) added. It is a handsome, cloth-bound book, \$35 USA + \$7.50 postage. Details of the book and ordering information

are at the Valsainte website: www.valsainte.ch. Or, fax 41.21.922.2159; e-mail: edition@valsainte.ch. Also announced is an English edition of this publication, with the illustrations, available in September at the same price. ■ ***Wine and War: The French, the Nazis, and the Battle for France's Greatest Treasure***, by award-winning writers **Don and Petie Kladstrup** (New York: Broadway Books, 2001). Hardback, 279 pp., illustrated, \$24. "To be a Frenchman means to fight for your country *and* its wine." ■ ***The Society of Wine Educators: A History of its Inception and the First Ten Years***, by **Charles L. Sullivan**. Preface by **Bob Levine**. (Princeton, NJ: Bob Levine, 2001). Soft cover, 110 pp., \$14.95. May be ordered from **Bob Levine**, 29 Linwood Circle, Princeton, NJ 08540. ■ ***The Winemakers of Martinez USA***, by **James G. Carroll**. First published by the author in a limited edition printing in 1985, this remarkable and well-illustrated chronicle of a little known area of northern California wine country has been recently reprinted by the **Martinez Historical Society**, Martinez, CA. Soft cover, 108 pp. Send \$20 (postpaid) to P.O. Box 14, Martinez, CA 94553. And, two guides for corkscrew collectors ■ ***Collectible Corkscrews***, by **Frédérique Crestin-Billet**. English-language edition translated by **Anne Rubin**. (Paris: Flammarion, 2001). Glossy card wraps, 5½x5½, 381 pp., with over 500 color photographs of corkscrews. \$15. ■ ***The Ultimate Corkscrew Book***, by noted corkscrew collector **Donald A. Bull** (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publications, 1999). A lavish, beautifully illustrated book for collectors, with price guide (12 x 9, 318 pp., cloth). \$90. ■ ***The Vintner's Luck*** by **Elizabeth Knox** (NY: Picador Paperback, 284 pp. \$13; first published in New Zealand in 1998)) is a novel set in 19th century Burgundy. Described by one reviewer as "incredibly rich ... a wine-soaked meditation on life, death and the fate of man," it is also "strangely compelling" and a "one-of-a-kind novel."

THE FINAL INSTALLMENT

of "**The Zinfandel Story**" by **Charles Sullivan** has been postponed until the October issue. Our Zin historian has taken a short leave of absence to travel and tend to some health matters ... 🍷

www.wine-maker.net

Tendril Sean Thackrey, proprietor and vintner of **Thackrey Wines**, passionately collects, and reads, the early wine-making books—in almost any language, he manages them all. He is painstakingly transferring, often with translation, important and interesting text from his books, in the exact type font, etc.,

as the original. You must check out his website, which Sean describes as "definitely for readers, not for anyone in a hurry." Now if we can only convince him to publish all this in book form!

WINE BOOKS FOR SALE!!

Stephen Skelton sends a list of English (as in country, not language) wine books he has for sale. (If you don't have your Membership Roster at hand, his contact numbers are: spskelton@btinternet.com, or fax 0870 121 8740.) The books:

Barty-King, H. *Tradition of English Wine*, 1977.
 Brock, Ray B. *Viticultural Research Station Reports, No.2* (1950), *No.3* (1961), *No.4* (1964).
 Hyams, Edw. *Grape Vine in England*, 1949.
 Landsell, J. *Grapes, Peaches, Nectarines...*, 1948.
 Ordish, G. *Vineyards in England & Wales*, 1977.
 Ordish, G. *Wine Growing in England*, 1953.
 Rook, Alan. *Diary of an English Vineyard*, 1971.
 Smith, Joanna. *The New English Vineyard*, 1979.
 Ward, J. *Complete Book of Vine Growing in the British Isles*, 1984.

SKELTON'S NEW BOOK AVAILABLE

Stephen Skelton's new book, *The Wines of Britain and Ireland. A Guide to the Vineyards of England, Wales, the Channel Isles and Ireland*, recently published by Faber & Faber, is available from the author. Copies mailed to USA addresses are at the following rates: £17.50 (Book price), £6.95 (Air Mail) or £3.85 (Surface Mail). Credit cards accepted. Book details and continental ordering information are listed on Stephen's website: www.englishwine.com.

Alexander Kelly REPRINTS

Two very rare books written by the Australian wine pioneer, A.C. Kelly, M.D. (see Valmai Hankel article this issue), *The Vine in Australia* (1861) and *Wine-Growing in Australia* (1867), have been reprinted in facsimile (Sydney: David Ell Press, 1980), with an added introduction and well-researched biography of Dr. Kelly by Valmai Hankel and Dennis Hall. Although the slipcased, two-volume set is limited to 1000 numbered copies, a diligent search should reward you with a copy for less than \$100.



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IN MEMORIAM: PAUL SCHOLTEN

Dr. Paul Scholten—physician, gourmet, wine connoisseur, writer, and educator—died 9 May 2001 of cancer at the age of 79. Born in 1921, a third-generation San Franciscan, he attended San Francisco State College and graduated from the University of California School of Medicine and its residency program in Obstetrics & Gynecology. Dr. Scholten's career embraced a lifetime of service to his community and his profession. While in private practice—and delivering thousands of San Franciscans—he was active in local and State medical affairs. He served as president of the S. F. Medical Society and editor of its bulletin; he held a teaching post at U.C. School of Medicine, and upon his retirement from private practice in 1980, became director of women's outpatient health services at S. F. State. For almost thirty years he served as a State delegate to the American Medical Association. He was a guiding member of the Society of Medical Friends of Wine, which he joined in 1955; he served as the Society president in 1969 and chaired the Wine Research Award Committee from 1974–2000. Paul Scholten was a prolific writer, mainly on his favorite subjects of wine and food. He was a frequent contributor to the *Journal of the International Wine & Food Society*, and for many years self-published a guide to the best restaurants in San Francisco and the Bay Area, the last edition revised for the year 2000. As a 50-year avid collector/appreciator of the literature of wine and food, he joined the Wayward Tendrils in 1991 and authored five articles for our *Newsletter*: "The Connoisseurship of Sherlock Holmes, with Observations on Brandy in Victorian Medical Therapeutics" (v.10 #1); "Leon D. Adams and the Medical Friends of Wine" (v.6 #1); "A Medical Friend of Wine Salutes Dr. Maynard A. Amerine" (v.8 #2); "Salvatore P. Lucia: The Man and His Books" (v.3 #1); "The Physiology of Taste: A Classic Revisited" (v.4 #3). Paul's gracious presence and knowledgeable contributions to the "art of good living" will be deeply missed.



Nicolas: The Missing Link

by
Mannie Berk



etween 1928 and 1973, the Paris wine merchants, Nicolas, published a series of wine catalogues (*Listes des Grands Vins Fins*) that have few peers in the history of advertising. In the January 2001 *Wayward Tendrils Quarterly*, Jim Gabler did justice

to these great catalogues, producing the most complete history we've seen.

While few questions about the Nicolas catalogues were left unanswered, there was one: the possible existence of a 1927 list. Jim wrote: "I have read in a book dealer's catalogue that 'the first list proper was issued in 1927' ... if the book dealer is suggesting that the first *Liste des Grands Vins Fins* is dated 1927, I can only say that I have never seen it, or otherwise read about it, and I do not believe that it exists."

We think we can put that question to rest. The 1927 list referred to is almost certainly Nicolas' normal price list from that year: the *tarif courant*. In 1927, there was no *Liste des Grands Vins Fins*, published specifically for Nicolas' wealthiest clients. This was, as Jim asserts, published for the first time in 1928. However, the 1927 list was an important part of the development of the *Liste des Grands Vins Fins*—a project having its origins in 1925, when Étienne Nicolas decided to expand his experiments in graphic design from wall posters to booklets.

According to the advertising art historian, and Nicolas specialist, Alain Weill, annual *tarifs courants* were published in 1925, 1926 and 1927. While we have never seen the 1926 list, we have lists from 1925 and 1927 in our library, and they are quite different from one another.

The 1925 list is a simple booklet, 4-7/8" wide and 8-3/8" tall, with a mottled green cover. The Établissements Nicolas emblem is embossed on the front and a drawing of a Nicolas delivery truck printed in black ink on the back. The only artwork inside the booklet are occasional bottle illustrations. As for the wines listed, they range from liquors and *vins de table*, to prestigious items like 1900 Margaux and Ausone and 1901 Château d'Yquem. Significantly, this edition was printed by J. Van Gindertaele of Paris, not Draeger, the famed printer of the later catalogues.

By 1927, the design of the *tarif courant* (now printed by Draeger) had evolved into something more adventurous—even though the beverages listed were little changed. The size is larger (6-1/4" x 9-3/4") and the cover and contents are tied together by a single design *motif*: Nectar, the comical cellarman created by Dransy and the subject of much of Nicolas' best advertising art. Nectar appears as a small drawing in the lower right hand corner of the front cover, as well as in stylized shadow on the front cover and throughout the inside of the booklet. The beige-and-gray 1927



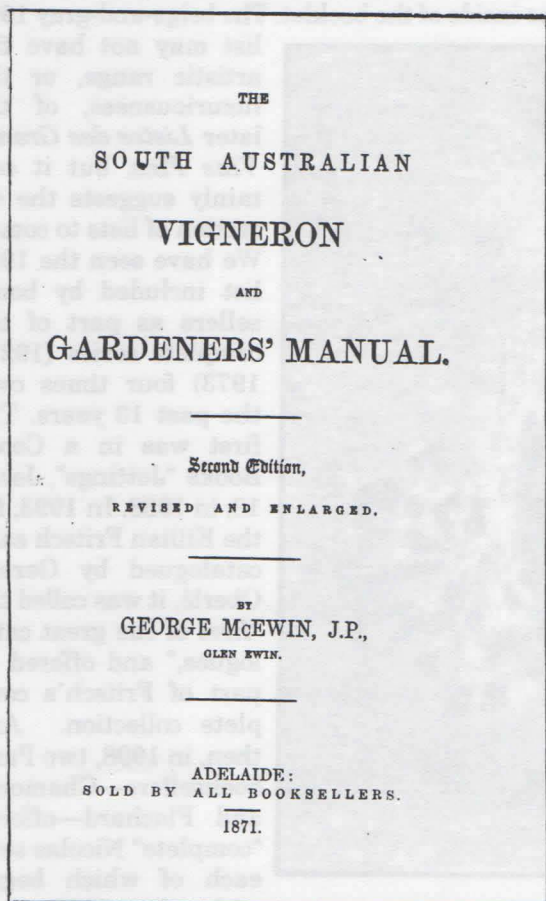
[NECTAR: FROM THE COVER OF THE 1927 NICOLAS LIST]

list may not have the artistic range, or the luxuriousness, of the later *Listes des Grands Vins Fins*, but it certainly suggests the direction of lists to come. We have seen the 1927 list included by booksellers as part of the complete series (1927–1973) four times over the past 13 years. The first was in a Cooks Books "Jottings", Issue 18, in 1988. In 1993, for the Killian Fritsch sale, catalogued by Gerard Oberlé, it was called the "first of the great catalogues," and offered as part of Fritsch's complete collection. And then, in 1998, two Paris booksellers—Chamonal and Flachard—offered "complete" Nicolas sets, each of which began with the 1927 *tarif courant*. 

[Hankel, continued from p.2]

notes and theorisings. (Busby's *Treatise, A Manual of Directions*, and *Journal* have been published as a set in a facsimile edition by The David Ell Press, Sydney.) One of our earliest attempts at tackling the wilderness left by Busby is probably the translation by Raymond Dubois and W. Percy Wilkinson of Marcel Mazade's *First Steps in Ampelography* (Melbourne, 1900).

1843 was an oenographical vintage year. It saw the appearance of George Suttor's *The Culture of the Grape-Vine, and the Orange, in Australia and New Zealand* (London, 1843); J. S. Kecht's *Improved Practical Culture of the Vine*, translated from the German, and with an appendix on winemaking by the unnamed editor (Sydney, 1843); and in the barely seven-year-old colony of South Australia, *The South Australian Vigneron and Gardeners' Manual*, by George McEwin (Adelaide, 1843). Suttor looks at vine-growing from an opposite direction, but his book refers mainly to vines and wine in Europe. McEwin's work is quite different.



GEORGE MCEWIN

Twenty-eight-year-old George McEwin was gardener and nurseryman to a pioneer South Australian

viticulturist, George Stevenson, and from his brief but intensive experience he wrote in his preface: "Works ... published at home are totally inapplicable to this Colony in their general practice, and are calculated to mislead if acted upon; the present work has ... been undertaken with the view of obviating this evil." He then gives chapters of detailed advice, not all of it infallible.

"For soils of good quality," he tells would-be vine-growers, "and where the plants may be expected to grow luxuriantly, the distance of six feet from row to row, and four feet apart in the row, is not too much; but for soils of the inferior class, the plants ought to stand much closer; three feet by two will not be too close."

In the second edition of his book, published in 1871, McEwin amends his planting distances and, like other writers, recommends varieties of vines for making particular wines. But it is not surprising that when Ebenezer Ward visited Glen Ewin in 1862 he "found the vines growing so luxuriantly as to be almost impenetrable The vines are ... planted too closely, the distances apart being only 5 feet by 4. This Mr. McEwin admits ...".

In 1881 the McEwins had religious doubts about the morality of wine making, poured their wines down the creek, and concentrated thereafter on making jam.

SIR WILLIAM MACARTHUR

The year 1844 saw the publication in Sydney of the *Letters* of 'Maro'. Today, any believer in heredity who reads *Letters on the Culture of the Vine, Fermentation, and the Management of Wine in the Cellar*, feels an immediate sympathy with Governor Bligh. And one suspects that, to have lived to write as 'Maro', Sir William Macarthur must have been a dead shot: how else could he have survived in a period when the duel was still available to gentlemen? But perhaps the *hauteur* so apparent in his book comes automatically from gentlemanly residence in New South Wales as one of the beleaguered few who had both to assert their position and to defend their places on the pin-head. Whatever his vices, and its virtues, Macarthur's book is historically valuable.

In his characteristically arrogant introduction, Macarthur patronises Busby, whose publications, he asserted, "are exceedingly creditable, as well to the intelligence of Mr. Busby, as to the zeal with which he pursued the subject. I think that any erroneous views which may be expressed in them, are attributable to his not having had practical experience ... I am perfectly well convinced, that had he been so fortunately circumstanced in that respect as myself, he would long ere this, have given to the colony ample evidence of his superior capability ...".

This doesn't prevent him from borrowing from Busby's books, without acknowledgement. In all this, and in his attitude to the unfortunate classes, Macarthur is very different from the optimistic "gentlemen of Adelaide" who were establishing vineyards in the 1840s. "The art of pruning and dressing a vineyard," says Macarthur, "is certainly difficult to teach to an ordinary laborer; but, if an intelligent person be chosen, not altogether a hopeless undertaking."

Macarthur casts the eye of a condescending opportunist on some German "Vine Dressers ... almost starving" in New Zealand: "If allowed a good ration, and a small plot of garden ground, these Germans will be content to hire at low money wages, and will generally prove to be orderly and industrious servants, capable of performing most of the *ordinary* operations of farm husbandry." (Our italics.) One almost feels the shadow of Vorster, cast back across the centuries.

At vintage time, one must select as grape-pickers "those only who are likely to be attentive and obedient." Necessary virtues, for he points out that "where the crop is valuable, it is usual in Europe for each person gathering to be provided with a pin, to be used in picking off the ground such berries as are unavoidably dropped."

Pickers, he repeats, must be "only such persons as are old enough to understand the directions they may receive, and willing to abide by them." As, at least as late as the 1920s, children were released from the primary classes of South Australian schools to work as grape-pickers, one wonders about that "old enough," and also about the ability of Macarthur and his overseers to instruct the workforce.

"Eating grapes amongst the rows of vines should be absolutely forbidden" (although pickers may "partake freely" at rest times) because "many of the workers become gorged past all power of exerting themselves. Let all be cautioned ... and then let the first refractory person be immediately turned out ... the example will not be lost upon the rest." This contrasts sadly with Hubert de Castella's humanitarian attitude to his grape-pickers, forty years later: "The work is light, the food plentiful and excellent, they get four times a day a full tumbler of good wine each, and have all the while the luscious grapes to eat."

When it comes to crushing the grapes, Macarthur says, the men must "tread them out by a *rapid motion of the feet*. In this work they are very much assisted by having some support for the hands, without it, the labour of treading out grapes for, perhaps, *fourteen or sixteen hours a day*, becomes excessively fatiguing." (Our italics.)

Perhaps Macarthur was the true father of Australian unionism.

Much of the *Letters* purports to be extracts from Dr. Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopaedia* (Vol 1. Domestic Economy), and this section contains historically interesting theorising about fermentation, the nature of "yest," and so on. But a lot of the book is pure Macarthur, from his cocky and erroneous "certainly it would be difficult to find a climate more propitious [for vine-growing] than that of the County of Cumberland, and, indeed, of the whole coast, from Illawarra to Moreton Bay," to the detailed and valuable descriptions of his treading-box, cellar equipment and vintage procedures.

Class distinctions, we find, extend even to the wines: "If a delicate flavour be desired," and if conditions be favourable, fermenting off skins is advised. For inferior or damaged grapes, ferment on skins to get a heavy and strong wine, presumably for sale. More specifically, with grapes rain-burst and rotting, "There is no hope of making good wine ... but by adding to the must a large quantity of common sugar, (for this purpose the commonest will answer ...) to the extent even of one pound per gallon, a wine may be made which will keep with a little care, and serve for common purposes." It's nice to know that the horrors of the convict settlement have not been exaggerated and that there is an historical excuse for the Australian habit of beer-drinking.

All this is a reminder that the problem of style and quality in Australian wines is as knotty as an ancient vine-stock. There are people who insist that our shiraz and cabernet should be forced to conform to elegant French models. Others, more wisely, say that we should rather use the primary virtues of the great Bordeaux reds as criteria when judging our wines. But the plonk promoters, the vinoflatists of our newspaper columns, persist in justifying our barmaid reds "big in every way." This unfortunate parochialism goes deep into our historical soils.

In *Some Account of the Vineyards at Camden, on the Nepean River, Forty Miles South West of Sydney, the Property of James and William Macarthur* (London, 1849, according to imprint; actually published in 1851), we read: "These wines have a certain dryness and bitterness peculiar to the Wines of New South Wales, to which the palate becomes accustomed: but with age this bitterness passes off, as in the specimens now in England. The Wines at Camden are rarely fit for use until three years old, and greatly improve by keeping. They are very wholesome, and are extensively used by persons *who have acquired a taste for them*." (Our italics.)

In the same eleven-page pamphlet there is a description of a wine sent by the Macarthurs to the Great Exhibition that is surely the ancestor of our present elaborate vintitulum:

No. 1. A hogshead from the first Vineyard, made from a grape imported from France called *La Folle*, mixed to the extent of about one-third with another sort from Madeira, called the *Verdeilho*, the former being very productive and the latter remarkable for its richness in the saccharine (sic) principle.

Three years old in March, 1851. In the process of manufacture the grapes were crushed by being passed through a machine of simple construction, which reduces them thoroughly without bruising the stalks, and which, with the application afterwards of moderate pressure to the "rape," separates the juice from it with ease and expedition.

The Wine was fermented in large vats of hewn stone containing from 800 to 1600 gallons, in which it remained until the tumultuous fermentation had subsided. It was then drawn off into large store casks, containing 400 gallons, and suffered to continue the gentle stage of fermentation until quite still. The casks were regularly filled up, at short intervals, as the fermenting liquid subsided. When the process was sufficiently complete it was clarified with isinglass. *Three years old in March, 1851.*

According to twenty-four-year-old Francois de Castella, in his *Handbook on Viticulture for Victoria* (Melbourne, 1891): "La Folle is the white grape from which all the celebrated brandies of the Cognac district were made before the invasion of phylloxera. In some parts it is used for blending with red grapes, as it greatly improves the wine made from them, rendering it lighter and more agreeable. Wine made from it alone is usually of little value."

CACOETHES SCRIBENDI

From the late 1850s, Victorian viticulturists seem to have been afflicted with a *cacoethes scribendi* unequalled until twentieth century newspapers bred the vinoflatists. Their ebullient eloquence was partly excited by the desire to promote the "superiority" of their colony's wines. On their own evidence there is reason to suppose that Victorian wines needed push as well as bush.

In *The Vine; with Instructions for its Cultivation, for a period of six years; the treatment of the soil, and how to make wine from Victorian grapes, being two essays to which the prizes offered by the Geelong and Western District Agricultural and Horticultural Society were awarded* (Geelong, 1859), John Belperroud spills some berries: "Two years ago, the Pollock's Ford, Berramonga, and Victoria Vineyards, suffered very much from using these spoiled Grapes, the wine turned cloudy, muddy, and of a bad flavour, and nearly unfit for drinking. (Our italics.) That year, in consequence of the great demand for Grapes at the several diggings, the Grapes fetched so

high a price that the Vine-growers continued to sell their fruit, and thus delayed their vintage too long, keeping only the over-ripe and rotten Grapes for the cellar."

The same parochial gospel advises that grapes for "red wine must be gathered if the weather and other circumstances will permit, when they are over-ripe, shrivelled, or withered on the stock, then crushed in a large vat, stalks and all, to ferment a short or longer time according to the custom of different Vine growing countries."

Hubert de Castella regards such practices as characteristic of "most Englishmen who become wine-growers."

We also read in Belperroud's essay that "some Vinedressers in this country put a certain quantity of dried Black Cherries in their vintage to improve the colour of the wine." And this was some time before Prince Charles graced the colony...

ALEXANDER KELLY

One of the five unsuccessful candidates in the Geelong essay competition was Dr. Alexander Kelly. In his first book, *The Vine in Australia* (Melbourne, 1861), Kelly declares his debt to one of the judges, Sir William Macarthur, who not only considered Kelly's essay the best, in spite of many faults apparent to him, but also returned it with annotations, correcting its errors and omissions. *The Vine in Australia*, therefore, contains expertise gathered from Camden to Adelaide, and from twenty years of colonial viticulture.

Reading Dr. Alex Kelly on the chemistry of fermentation, it would be easy to dismiss him as a sort of mid-Victorian Max Lake, dignified by his Victorian upbringing, matured in the civilisation of South Australia, and free from that rather self-conscious Rabelasian gusto that has become a kind of school uniform without which no modern apologist for the wines of New South Wales dares to venture into public print.

It would be easy, too, to see him as a platitudinous medical dilettante in science and in wine, apparently ignorant that biology is also a science, terrified of being caught out in empiricism, of being seen to reason without a screen of authorities.

Kelly quotes authorities, but he also examines them. His ability to do so makes his books valuable means of access to the often rather muddled and pretentious thinking characteristic of the Neolithic Age of winemaking. For viticulture became established in Australia at a time when science was leaving the cabinet and the quadrangle (which had not yet become a campus) and venturing into the noisy halls of industry. Progressive manufacturers had begun to expect gifts from science, and

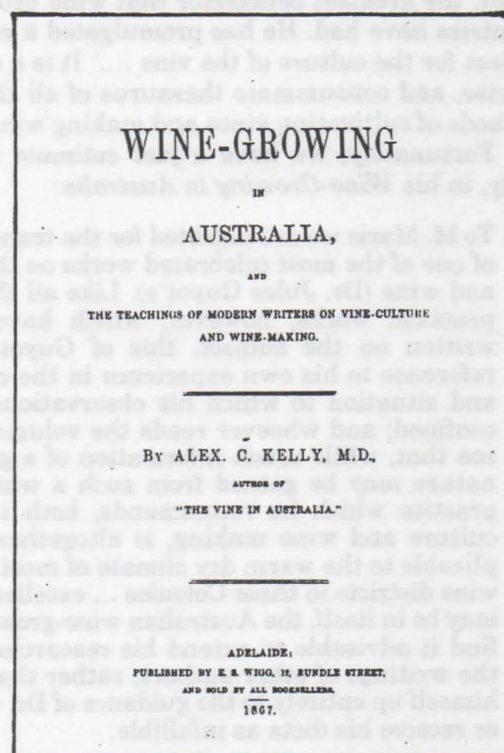
particularly from applied chemistry. Pasteur, of course, was a chemist who worked in biological fields only on sufferance, and with his work too often hidden; so was Liebig, his scientific opponent.

The vigneron of Victorian Australia looked to the chemists for assistance. Probably none in the middle period had any idea of the biological basis of fermentation although, as we can see in many books from Busby onwards, they were aware of the necessity for cleanliness. Kelly himself had the usual preoccupation with chemistry, but he quotes Maumene's radical idea that when nitrogenous and starchy substances are added to a sugar solution, "under the action of the air, they enter into strange combination ... by which there is produced the ferment, a substance so nearly of an organized nature as to be said to be almost living." Further, "according to M.M. Quevenne and Mitscherlich, the ferment if examined with the microscope, present (sic) the appearance of globules, like those in the blood of animals Both these chemists are disposed to consider these globules as really organic."

Kelly was aware of the age of enquiry in which he lived, but he steered gracefully between authoritarianism and speculation. His *The Vine in Australia* begins by discussing English wine tastes and the possibilities for an Australian trade; goes on to a critical discussion of climates suitable for the vine; to soils and situations, in Europe and Australia, with references to Busby and Macarthur; to methods of soil preparation in vineyards; pruning; winter work; two chapters on fermentation, discussing current theories and trade practices; to preparations for vintage, with due reference to the advocates of open-vat and closed-vat fermentation; to vintage, with acknowledgements to Macarthur, and a number of diagrammatic engravings (with a caption mixup facing pages 117 and 136); to cellar practices and comparative opinions on frequent racking; to evaluation of grape varieties then used in Australia; an appendix on Macarthur's methods of trenching and terracing; and another on winemaking at Xeres. The whole is a thorough, intelligent and able presentation of theory and practice, a major Australian achievement from an age when the source of all ideas was too often a jealous Britain.

Dr. Kelly followed this with *Wine-growing in Australia, and the Teachings of Modern Writers on Vine-Culture and Wine-Making* (Adelaide, 1867). Here he attempted to advantage the then depressed wine industry by gathering together for the information of vignerons the opinions of the most noted oenologists on controversial practices likely to influence the quality of wine. So we have the ideas of Machard, D'Armailhacq, Odart, Guyot, Vergnette-Lamotte, W. Franck and Lenoir on fermentation with

stalks, followed by a consideration of Australian practice. Then a similar discussion of open and closed fermentation, with authorities ranging from Liebig to Macarthur, followed by Machard and Odart on short fermentation. Next, chapters on winemaking in the extreme south of France, the climate of the Herault, the vineyards and winemaking of the Médoc, Machard on white wines, including the questions of ripening on lees and of guillage, Alibert on the Gironde whites, Lenoir on whites, W. Franck on Médoc whites, several authorities on adjusting the chemical balance of the must, others on vinification generally, opinions on the Sampayo process, followed by five chapters on vines and vineyard practices.



Dr. Kelly's books can be assessed only by experts, but it is fair to say that they must have been of inestimable value to the vignerons of his time. Today, any student of oenology who aspires to be more than a mere technician should know Dr. Kelly's books thoroughly and critically. They are too valuable to remain as collectors' pieces. Modern editions, provided with good indexes, are called for, and any publisher who will produce these will render a real service to Australia, to viticulture, and to a great Australian.

JULES GUYOT

Of overseas writers, Dr. Jules Guyot had probably the most direct influence on the vignerons of mid-Victorian Australia. His book of 1860 was published

in translation as *Culture of the Vine and Wine Making* (Melbourne, 1865). It is the sort of work that invites false appreciation. Superficially, it is entertaining—a sort of museum of stuffed science, a fluent and authoritative treatise which derives a kind of period charm from long-dead theories embalmed in the translator's sometimes comic English. But the State Library of South Australia has a frail copy with the signature of John Reynell (a noted pioneer South Australian winegrower), and with page after page underlined and marginally annotated by Reynell. Looking at this copy, one sees the book as the gospel it once was, and it would be easy to accept its translator's estimate that "Dr. Guyot is, beyond a doubt, the greatest benefactor that wine producing countries have had. He has promulgated a rational system for the culture of the vine It is a skilful, concise, and consummate thesaurus of all the best methods of cultivating vines and making wines."

Fortunately, we have a just estimate by Dr. Kelly, in his *Wine-Growing in Australia*:

To M. Marie we are indebted for the translation of one of the most celebrated works on the vine and wine (Dr. Jules Guyot's). Like all the best practical works, however, which have been written on the subject, this of Guyot's has reference to his own experience in the climate and situation to which his observations were confined; and whoever reads the volume must see that, while much information of a general nature may be gained from such a work, the practice which he recommends, both in vine culture and wine making, is altogether inapplicable to the warm dry climate of most of our wine districts in these Colonies ... excellent as it may be in itself, the Australian wine-grower will find it advisable to extend his researches into the writings of other authors, rather than give himself up entirely to the guidance of Dr. Guyot, or receive his dicta as infallible.

One of Guyot's "dicta" is worth quoting: "Conditions to be sought for in a good red wine. —To produce a good wine, "that cheereth gods and men," that is salutary to body and mind, in other words a French wine; one that keeps well for 10 or 20 years, and bears the voyages and action of divers climates, such are in France the three conditions of the problem to be solved by viniculture and vinification."

In the eternal battle to clear a track through the ever-growing tangle of subjective and objective criteria to a definition of "a good wine," one criterion seemed to remain constant, although its causes were not fully understood. If a wine "kept well," it was a good wine; if it didn't, it was bad.

JOHN I. BLEASDALE

The Victorians were more upright. The keeping power of wine was regarded by writers from Busby to Guyot as a standard unwavering above all the gusts of hot air, even by such stern judges as the Rev. J. I. Bleasdale, DD, FLS, FGS, Hon. Member of the Medical Society of Victoria. In his *On Colonial Wines* (Melbourne, 1867) Bleasdale writes that before 1860 "no wine, the produce of these colonies, was regarded as a beverage, which could be safely placed upon the table, save with great caution and an apology, and only in a few rare and exceptional instances; and it required considerable hardihood in anyone professing to know aught about wine to assert, *in the company of gentlemen*, that he could relish any of even our best colonial wines." (Our italics.)

The Reverend oenophile's background was some first-hand knowledge of the wines of Portugal, so it was not surprising that he was concerned with the alcoholic strengths of wines, and that he tabulated forty-eight samples—twenty-two from Victoria, nineteen from South Australia, four from New South Wales, three from Western Australia—and graded them according to their keeping powers. His findings ranged from "did not keep well" to "kept pretty well" and "both these samples kept and improved." These last samples were two Yalumba sherries from the Smiths. One would really like to taste a sherry that was improved by ullage. Or perhaps one wouldn't.

In spite of its very subjective judgments, *On Colonial Wines* began as a paper read at the Royal Society of Victoria. Like Busby in his first book, Macarthur writing as 'Maro', Dr. Kelly and the translator of Guyot, Bleasdale was addressing an elite audience. Even more liberal writers, such as the de Castellas, Ebenezer Ward and George McEwin presupposed some education and acquaintance with the scientific interests of the day in their readers. But from the 1870s onward useful handbooks began to appear, addressed to anyone who might be interested in viticulture.

[In our next issue we shall conclude our oenographical journey with a review of the "new everyman's oenology" library and a Select List of Books on Grape Growing and Winemaking Important in 19th Century Australia. —Ed.]





BOOKS & BOTTLES

by
Fred McMillin

SAINTLY VIGNERONS

"... there is a very real and a very important link between monks and wine. One of monasticism's greatest services to Western civilization has been its contribution to wine-growing.... This agreeable by-way of cultural history can be very pleasantly explored without having to make too serious a study of either monasticism or wine." — Desmond Seward, *Monks and Wine*.

Many, many Christian monks and friars tended vines and made wine. But few achieved sainthood. Here are some that did (in the order of their appearance, by birth-date).

251 — SAINT ANTONY [sic] of Egypt, the first monk, was not a Roman recluse, but an Egyptian who tended his garden on the upper Nile. His group made wine and took some of it downstream to sell to the big-city dwellers.



316 — The first western Monk-winegrower of great repute, known today as ST. MARTIN of Tours, domesticated a grape from Mt. Chenin near the Loire River, and gave us Chenin Blanc. It was his donkey who, loosened from his tether in the monastery vineyards, munched the

vines and taught the monks the merits of pruning.

480 — Legend tells us the glass of poisoned wine shattered spontaneously as he lifted it to his lips. Hence, he got the message from his discontented followers, improved his management skills, and established the first monastic order. As to wine, ST. BENEDICT of Nursia, founder of the Benedictines, permitted half a pint per day to the members, which guided wine-growing for the next 500 years.

c.550 — In the Loire River basin, he founded an abbey whose vineyards sloped down to the banks of the Allier River, and in time "produced one of the most esteemed wines in medieval France." The monk and his abbey were named ST. POURCAIN.

907 — The only saint whose representations carry a bunch of grapes and a wine press: SAINT WENCESLAS, Patron Saint of Bohemia, whose enjoyment of wine was ended at age 30 when murdered by his brother.

909 — Barely escaping death while hunting at Cheddar Gorge, this Benedictine monk went on to reestablish monastic vineyards in southern England after the catastrophic visit of the Vikings. ST. DUNSTAN became the most famous Anglo-Saxon saint.

1090 — Born near Dijon, this white-robed monk led the formation of great Cistercian vineyards. Legend says at this time Cistercians (a new order) first popularized Chardonnay by planting it at Chablis, which they purchased from the Benedictine monks of ST. MARTIN (who had fled from the Loire Valley to Burgundy when they, too, learned that Vikings can be hazardous to your health). The Cistercian leader was ST. BERNARD.

The Patron Saint of Alsatian winegrowers, ST. MORANDUS, a peer of St. Bernard, is often depicted standing in a vat, treading grapes.

1181 — John (his name at birth) initially forbade his followers to make and drink wine. Though born in Italy, his mother was French and his father traveled there frequently. Hence, he became known as Francis, ST. FRANCIS of Assisi, founder of the Franciscans. The ban was long forgotten five centuries later when his friars made the first wine in California.

THE BOOKS — Now to the books that treat us to all these tidbits:

- *One Hundred Saints*. Little, Brown & Co., 1993.
- *The Bible and the Saints* by G. Duchet-Suchaux and M. Pastoureau, 1994.
- *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. 4th ed., 1997.
- *Monks & Wine* by Desmond Seward. London, 1979



Monks in a vineyard, 1513 woodcut — Seward, *Monks & Wine*

McMillin, cont'd.

THE BOTTLES — If you wish to sip a California wine with a saintly connection, here are some picks:

- **SAINT ANTONY OF EGYPT** — Muscats grew in Antony's Egypt, try Sutter Home's Moscato.
- **ST. MARTIN OF TOURS** — Since he jump-started the Chenin, we must toast the saint with a Chenin Blanc, such as Beringer's.
- **ST. BENEDICT OF NURSIA** — Sangiovese was alive and well in Italy in St. Benedict's time ... open one by Geyser Peak.
- **ST. POURCAIN** — The upper Loire is Sauvignon Blanc country. A constant winner is Robert Mondavi Reserve, which he successfully renamed Fumé Blanc three decades ago.
- **ST. WENCESLAS** — By the 10th century, the Riesling was evolving near Bavaria. Try the Chateau St. Jean.
- **ST. DUNSTAN** — As the English admired the wines of the Rhine, let's sip a blend of Riesling (Rhine) and Gewürtztraminer (nearby Alsace). It's called Bright-lighter, by Handley Cellars.
- **ST. BERNARD** — It must be Chardonnay. A fine bargain is Barefoot Reserve, under \$15. Of course, Pinot Noir was well-established in Burgundy by the 12th century (though not yet so named), so if you prefer a red, Gary Farrell's Rochioli Vineyard is a sensational bottle (\$60).
- **ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI** — Franciscans made California's first wine in 1782, using their Mission grape. The best Mission tasted recently is made by Malvadino Vineyards, Sierra foothills.

A BOOK REVIEW

by *Bob Foster*

The California Wine Association and its Member Wineries 1894-1920 by Ernest Peninou and Gail Unzelman (Nomis Press, P.O. Box 9023, Santa Rosa, CA, 95405, 414 pages, hardback, \$60.)



I always think of monopolies in terms of products like steel or oil. I was unaware there had been one for wine in California. In 1894, seven of the largest and most powerful California wine merchants banded together to form a monopoly to take advantage of the growing demand for wine in that era. The California Wine Association (CWA) made wine both under its own label and under the various labels it had purchased. At its zenith it owned nearly eighty wineries in addition to its own facilities in San

Francisco. It controlled 84% of all wine and owned vineyards in every major wine producing area in the state. In 1902, the CWA produced 30,000,000 gallons of wine, nearly two-thirds of the state's production.

Even the 1906 earthquake could not stop the CWA. When its facilities in San Francisco were damaged, it built a mammoth facility called Winehaven, near Richmond on the shores of San Francisco Bay. It sold a mass-produced product that overwhelmed most other American wines of the time.

The authors carefully detail the beginning of the CWA under the brilliant leadership of Percy T. Morgan. There are detailed histories of the original seven wine houses that were components of the organization. There are then sections on each of the major events in the history of the CWA, including its war with the California Wine Makers Corporation, dubbed the Wine War. There are detailed sections on the other major independent producers, including Italian Swiss Colony, that joined later. The ultimate demise of the CWA, caused by prohibition is delineated. It's a fascinating tale, well told.

While the book might have concluded at this point, the authors then present, in amazing detail, thorough descriptions of most wineries that were a part of the CWA, sorted by region. Even if one had no interest in the CWA, this section on some of the earliest California wineries is utterly fascinating.

Throughout the book there are photographs and illustrations, most of which have never before been printed in any wine reference book. The painstaking work of the authors in finding such materials is deeply impressive.

This book belongs in the library of any wine lover with any interest at all in the history of California wines. It is superb. Very highly recommended.

[Bob's review originally appeared in the *California Grapevine*, Vol.27 No.3, June-July 2001. Permission to reprint is gratefully acknowledged. — Ed.]



WINE BOOKS À LA CARTE

by
Gordon Jones



arly this year Modern Library Food announced the publication of a series of classic cook/food books. Among the first are *Clementine in the Kitchen* written by Phineas Beck (Samuel Chamberlain) in 1943, and *Cooking with Pomiane* by Edouard de Pomiane in 1962.

These are two classic cook books liberally sprinkled with wine. Does this qualify them as wine books? Perhaps we should explore the subject.

In browsing through wine bibliographies (other than Simon) there is very little that relates food to wine. But today, there is a wide effort to link food and wine. Wine producers are holding tastings and passing out literature to inform buyers about the delights of combining the two. In the Fall of 2001 in Napa, there will open COPIA, the American Center for Wine, Food, and the Arts, a major step in continuing this effort. This is a serious program (multi-millions of dollars) to broaden the public's appreciation of wine with food.

Now what does this have to do with anything? Cook books, that's what.

Is it realistic to assume that if you like wine books, you like wine? And if you like wine, you like food. You have lots of wine books and you have some cook books. Some of the cook books have recipes that call for wine. Ergo . . .

Does this make the cook book a wine book? Well, that depends on the book. Does the book cover wine to go in food or wine to go with food?

Does the book have menus? If it does, Saintsbury and Simon wrote cook books.

Perhaps there is no easy answer or definition of what constitutes a wine book. What can be said, however, is that cook/wine books are indicative of the times in which they were published. These books evolved from the herbals of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Mr. Boyle's Remedies

An interesting example is a small volume by R. Boyle, *A Collection of Choice and Safe Remedies* (London, 1731, 7th ed., corrected).

R. Boyle turns out to be Robert Boyle, famed physicist and chemist and promulgator of Boyle's Law that you learned in high school, *i.e.* "If the temperature remains constant, the volume of a gas varies inversely with the pressure."

In the musical *Camelot* there is a song, "What Do the Common Folk Do." What they did for medical problems was to refer to Boyle:

For the Cholick, or Pains in the Sides.

TAKE 2 Balls of fresh Horse-dung, and infuse them for 12 Hours (if Hastie require, 3 or 4 may serve the Turn,) in good White-wine, in a close Vessel; then strain the Liqueur, and let the Patient take 5 or 6 Ounces of it at a time.

or

An experienc'd Eye-water for an Inflammation and Tumour of the Eye.

TAKE of prepar'd Tutty half an Ounce, the Water of white Roses and of Frogs Spawn, and also of the best Canary Wine, (not distill'd) of each 2 Ounces, of *Aqua mirabilis* half an Ounce: Mix these well, and drop a very little at a time into the Patient's Eyes.

These are very mild. Some of the over 300 receipts call for such ingredients as crab's eyes, turpentine, oil of vitriol, or bone of cuttlefish. The simple folk might even have appreciated an HMO.

Wine was a common ingredient mentioned in medical books before and after Boyle, and continued until the latter part of the 19th century, when the effects of the temperance movement and the Women's Christian Temperance Union began to be strongly felt.

There were the Drys and the Wets, and the Drys were winning. Home medical books spoke now of the horrors of alcohol, not of any beneficial uses. As an example, *The People's Medical Advisor* (two million two hundred and sixty thousand sold) by R. V. Pierce (Buffalo, NY, 1895). Dr. Pierce devotes ten full pages to the disaster that alcohol is to mankind. To quote the good doctor, "The true place of alcohol is clear; it is an agreeable temporary shroud."

With the formation of the WCTU in 1874 and the Anti-Saloon League of America in 1895, the shadow of prohibition was broadening rapidly.

Zealots such as Carrie Nation led the action and received vast amounts of publicity. She was a normal young Kansas girl (except for having a mother who believed herself to be Queen Victoria, and an aunt who made repeated attempts to turn herself into a weather vane) who grew up with a determination to reform. She carried on a free-swinging, ax-wielding campaign against alcohol, pepper, coffee, tea, white flour, reproduction, and tobacco.

The Anti-Saloon League was vitally important in passing the 18th Amendment – Prohibition – which took effect in January 1920 and lasted for the next fourteen years, bringing with it hard drinking, racketeering, gun molls, gang wars, speakeasies, Al Capone, Machine Gun Kelly, and any manner of other benefits to the American public.

So as Demon Rum went down, so did Demon Lafite Rothschild.

Ward McAllister

During the temperance era and Prohibition little of interest regarding food and wine was written in America. There were a few exceptions, including Ward McAllister (1827–1895), lawyer and social arbiter, and responsible for the term "The Four Hundred" to describe the socially elite. The figure refers to the number of people who could be accommodated in the ballroom of Mrs. William Astor.

The book McAllister wrote in 1890, *Society As I Have Found It*, has two chapters on wine: Champagne and Madeira. His suggestion for a social dinner: "Having had your Champagne from the fish to the roast, your Burgundy and Johannisberg, or fine old Tokay with the cheese, your best Claret with the roast, and then after the ladies have left the table, comes on the King of Wines, your Madeira."

Also, a note: Madeira should be kept in the garret with a corn cob for the cork. He also pointed out that the fashionable world accepts Brut Champagne and avoids all others.

There were other, less intimidating, books. Two ladies of Rising Sun, Indiana, Abbie A. North and Mary H. Espey, wrote the *Harris Cook Book—A Recipe Book* (Cincinnati, 1905). The book calls for fermenting grapes to make wine. This is strange for the era and for the area, the center of temperance.

Sara Van Buren wrote *Good Living: A Practical Cookery-Book for Town & Country* (New York, 1908). It has recipes for Wine Cake, Icing, Jelly, Pudding, and making currant wine. The Wine Jelly recipe, "Gelée au Vin de Madere," interestingly calls for one pint of Sherry with a little Brandy.



In San Francisco in 1914 Clarence Edwards wrote *Bohemian San Francisco. Its Restaurants and their Most Famous Recipes. The Elegant Art of Dining*. A heading, "How to Serve Wine," covers a wide vinous range—Amontillado, Clos de Vougeot, Lacrima Christi, Château Lafite, Romanée, and Krug Private Reserve Brut. It is noteworthy that he lists a restaurant named "Viticultural" that had great vogue owing to the excellence of its cooking. Its specialty was marrow on toast, broiled mushrooms, and game.

And, lastly, Victor Hirtzler wrote *The Hotel St. Francis Cook Book* (Chicago, 1919). The book covers menus for an entire year for the hotel, with recipes for breakfast, lunch, and dinner. A monumental effort. Additionally, there are sixty-four menus for special events, including a dinner for the Director of the Sumitomo Bank, Ltd. The dinner included Amontillado Sherry, Pommery Greno, and liqueurs.

Then the curtain came down. A small amount of succor was provided during these dim years with literary efforts from the British Isles. Two of interest were:

André Simon

André Simon's *The Art of Good Living. A Contribution to the Better Understanding of Food and Drink together with a Gastronomic Vocabulary and a Wine Dictionary* (London, 1928) is practically a cook book for it is filled with food information. But it may be a little much for life in this century. For example, a roast sirloin of beef when prepared "à la Anglais" should be served with Ch. Mouton Rothschild. However, if prepared "à la Chatelaine," Ch. Rausan Segla is more appropriate. But no one could possibly quarrel with champagne being the correct accompaniment for ham. No matter, the book is jammed full of wine and food information.

Isabel Beeton

A second book filled with gustatorial information is Isabel Mary Beeton's *Mrs. Beeton's Everyday Cookery, with about 2500 Practical Recipes and Sections of Labour Saving, Household Work, Servant's Duties, Laundry Work, Marketing, Renovations, Carving and Trussing, the Art of "Using Up," Table Decoration, Table Napkins, Meals and Menus, Beverages, Etc.*, with 16 plates in colour and nearly 300 illustrations (London, 1920s). A tome!

Mrs. Beeton had previously produced many books on the same subjects and had the distinction of being among the first to use colour illustrations of food.

Among her many admirers was Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, who observes: "Mrs. Beeton must have been the finest housekeeper in the world. Therefore Mr. Beeton must have been the happiest and most comfortable man," and concludes that Mrs. Beeton's book "has more wisdom to the square inch than any work of man."

Menus for family meals for a Tuesday in winter are enlightening: Breakfast – fried whiting, stewed kidneys, veal cake, marmalade, jam, butter, dry toast, rolls, bread, coffee, tea, hot and cold milk.

Lunch – Curry of cold meat, grilled steak, fried potatoe, apple dumplings, butter, cheese, bread, biscuits.

Dinner – clear Mulligatawny soup, baked fillets of whiting, mutton cutlets, Brussels sprouts, potato croquettes, roast woodcock, salad, plum pudding or meringues, herring roe on toast.

Interesting (I think) are the views in these two books on the serving of wine.

Mrs. Beeton – "Claret and Burgundy should be drunk nearly milk-warm and the temperature can be raised by keeping the wine near the fire for a time, or more speedily by standing the bottles in a vessel of hot water, renewing the water when necessary."

André Simon – "Chambre – To place the wine in a 'Chambre' or dining room, where it will gradually acquire the temperature of the room. Unfortunately, chambre is usually translated "to take the chill off." Barbarous means to that end being to plunge into hot water a bottle of wine, or else placing it in front of a good fire for a little time; both methods are equally fatal to quality of any wine."

— Hold on. The rigors of writing are beginning to catch up. What is needed is a little sustenance. This should do it! "Supremes de Volaille Strاسبورگoise" from *Bouquet de France. An Epicurean Tour of the French Provinces* by Samuel Chamberlain (New York, 1952). A very simple dish, sautéed chicken breast placed upon capellini to which has been added many small cubes of foie gras and cream. In an effort to keep down the calories, we eliminated the chicken breast. A bottle of 1971 Ch. Rieussec was an unusual but splendid accompaniment. Chamberlain comments, "The more foie gras you use, the more seraphic your dish becomes." OK, culinary break is over. Back to work. —

By 1934 we had repeal of the 18th Amendment. The Food and Wine information age had begun, albeit slowly. There were wine books to be written, and cook books about what to do with wine in cooking and to suggest that wine and food were linked.

The Browns' Wine Cook Book

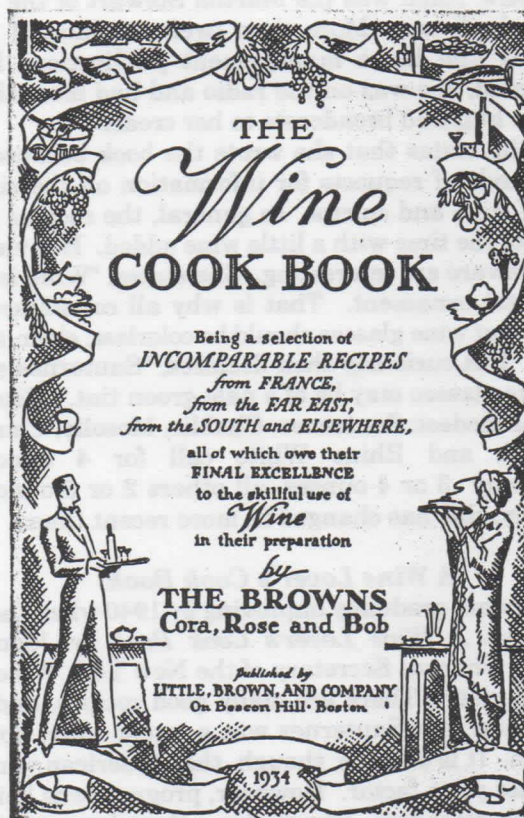
Not many of the early wine cook books were notable. Probably the first book by people who knew something about food and wine was *The Wine Cook Book* (Boston, 1934) by the Browns—Cora, Rose and Bob. They were a Louisiana family that had been living in Europe since 1919, thus avoiding Prohibition. Their book is filled with Continental and Creole recipes that are more sophisticated than most, i.e., recipes for dry white wine, red wine, and sweet wine. There are twenty-six pages devoted to the origin, care, service, etc. of wine.

The Browns had surprising foresight for their time. Take for instance, their entry on Spanish table wines:

The reason that Spanish wines, other than Sherry and Malaga, are little known to us is because they are consumed locally... They are sound, sunny wines to which the French pay a high compliment by importing them on a huge scale to give taste and quality to their own *vin ordinaire*.

The ordinary *vino tinto* or Clarete of Rioja has as much taste and bouquet, strength and durability as Bordeaux costing several times as much. If you can get them, try any of the wines of Val de Peñas, or ask your dealer to supply you with a red Marques de Riscal or a white Diamante of good years.

The current American market has just discovered these wines.



Also regarding California wines:

In California, early monks imported the Mission Grape from Mexico and developed the delicious dessert wine "Angelica" known as a "lady's wine" in the Gay Nineties. Then a German company planted millions of vines near Los Angeles and the Italians later imported European vines and helped establish our own *Côte d'Or*. California can now produce enough wine to supply each and every one of us with a gallon a year.

Its products are sound, full in body and flavor, and of good alcoholic content. All of the usual European types are reproduced: port, sherry, Tokay, Muscatel, Chablis, Sparkling Burgundy, Riesling, sauternes, champagnes, or what have you. But the mistake here has been in following established names instead of developing our own types and letting other countries try to copy them.

Ida Allen's Wine & Spirits Cook Book

A second 1934 book probably had more effect because of the prominence of the author: *Ida Bailey Allen's Wine and Spirits Cook Book* (New York: Simon & Schuster).

Mrs. Allen was the Martha Stewart of the Bix Beiderbeck era. More than twelve million of her cooking and home management publications had been sold; she was on the radio and had more than twelve hundred broadcasts to her credit.

She states that she wrote the book because of thousands of requests for information on the right use of wine and spirits. In general, the recipes are those of the time with a little wine added. Her views of glassware are interesting. She states, "Wine is its own best ornament. That is why all connoisseurs agree that wine glasses should be colorless, clear, and thin." But curiously then declares, "Sauternes and Chablis glasses may be of a pale green tint." Size of glass is modest: Sauternes, Chablis, Moselle, Claret, Chianti, and Rhine White call for 4 ounces, Burgundy 3 or 4 ounces, all others 2 or 3 ounces. Happily, this has changed in more recent times.

A Wine Lover's Cook Book

Things were gradually improving by 1940 when there appeared *A Wine Lover's Cook Book* by Jeanne Owens, who was Secretary of the New York Wine & Food Society. There are many good recipes, and it was noted that Sauternes was a sweet wine, not a dry one. It is obvious, though, that American wines were not yet a factor. However, progress was being made on glass size. She quotes a Frenchman: "Like wine, liqueur has a soul, so don't imprison this precious liquid in a thimble-size glass. Serve it in a glass that permits you to enjoy its fragrance as well as its taste."

Gourmet

The year 1941 had the momentous event of Pearl Harbor, but a small, mostly unnoticed, event also occurred. Earl MacAusland, a distinguished Bostonian, published the first issue of *Gourmet* magazine. Nothing much happened, of course; it was possibly the worst time in history to launch a wine and food magazine. In spite of the problems, the magazine

survived and eventually had an entirely new field of potential subscribers. Millions of Americans had served around the world and returned with a broadened knowledge of food and wine.

Frank Schoonmaker

In the late forties and early fifties *Gourmet* was fortunate in having two major contributors, Frank Schoonmaker and Samuel Chamberlain.

Frank Schoonmaker had been a travel writer in the late 1920s. His travels led him through the European wine countries which caught his fancy and became his overwhelming passion, culminating in a 1935 book, with Tom Marvel, *The Complete Wine Book*. Schoonmaker had entered into wine importing and by 1939 had added an assortment of California, Ohio, and New York wines, having them bottled as "Schoonmaker Selections." He refused to call his wines by the generic names that was then the custom. He was probably the motivation behind the labeling of American wines with varietal names. Wineries had noticed that his varietal wines were getting a higher price than their generic wines.

Schoonmaker became associated with the Almaden Winery, and in the late forties produced a newsletter that went on for several years, possibly the first from a major winery. [See *W-T Newsletter*, Vol.6 No.4, Vol.7 Nos.1-3 for an historical review of winery newsletters. - Ed.] He was a tireless promoter of his wines. Perhaps his most spectacular promotion was in 1950 with a cross-country, highly publicized tour and tastings with Princess Gabrielle de Liechtenstein, owner of Kesselstatt Domain, Josephshof, Piesport, Kasel, Oberemmel and Trier, and Baron Philippe de Rothschild, owner of Château Mouton Rothschild and Château Mouton d'Armailhacq.

All this led to substantial success and ready acceptance of his many wine articles in *Gourmet*. This, plus his several books, helped fuel the American desire for more food and wine information.

The second strong influence at the magazine was Samuel Chamberlain who, along with his articles, also wrote books about food and wine (more about him later).

Gourmet was also fortunate in having Henry Stahlhut for its cover artist. His covers were delectable. The Tournedos Rossini cover illustration makes one yearn for decadence, as do many others. (COPIA has an extensive collection of old *Gourmet* magazines with memorable Stahlhut covers.)

Since those pioneering days, a veritable flood of food and wine books, magazines, newspaper articles, and TV shows have overwhelmed us. Repetition seems to be the indispensable quality in all these. How many recipes can there be for Coq au Vin? (Yes, we have one.)

Madame Maigret's Recipes

There have been many good cook books and very many not so good. It is interesting to find one a little off the beaten track. Such a book is *Madame Maigret's Recipes* (New York/London, 1975). M. Maigret is, of course, the fictional detective of Georges Simenon. The book was written by Robert Courtine—known as France's most authoritative gourmet—on the occasion of his friend Simenon's seventieth birthday. Each page is devoted to a recipe, and Courtine also tells us what wine or beer or cider Maigret would drink with each dish. For example, on page 40:

Mouclade des Boucholeurs (Mussels in Cream)

"Do you like *mouclade*?"

"What is it?"

"Mussels with cream ... a local dish ..."

Maigret tried to single out a taste ... of ... what could it be? A whiff ... the barest trace ...

"Curry!" he cried triumphantly. "I'll bet anything you please there's curry in it!"

La Maison du Juge

- Scrub, scrape, and wash thoroughly 3 qts. of mussels.
- In a large stewing kettle place 1 cup of dry white wine, ½ cup of butter, 8 shallots, 4 crushed cloves of garlic, and a good pinch of pepper. Bring to a boil and add the mussels. Cover.
- Cook several minutes, stirring frequently, until the mussels have opened. Drain the liquid into a saucepan. Bring to a boil, add a pinch of cumin and 2 tsp. of curry powder. Boil for two minutes.
- Knead 4 Tb. of butter with 2 Tb. of flour. Drop into the boiling liquid, stirring well with a wooden spatula. Remove from fire and add 2 cups of heavy cream. Strain.
- Remove one shell from each mussel. Arrange the mussels in a deep platter. Cover with the sauce and serve.

COURTINE'S NOTE: You can shell the mussels completely—they'll be easier to eat, but it won't look so amusing.

With the *mouclade des boucholeurs*, Maigret drank Blanc de l'Ile de Ré.

(Ile de Ré is off the southwest coast of France, approximately opposite the area of Cognac. The island's seacoast is awash with the seaweed used to fertilize the vineyards. The resultant wine has a unique smoky (fumé) quality. There is a degree of interest by American importers to bring this wine to us, but until that happens, focus on the Loire Valley's Pouilly-Fumes, Sancerres, or Quincys; or take a Traminer or a Gewürztraminer from the Alsace, or try a California Fumé Blanc or dry Chenin Blanc.)

Cooking with Pomiane

Now let us harken back to paragraph one. Edouard de Pomiane was a food scientist at France's Pasteur Institute, a noted gourmand, and a writer-lecturer on all things gastronomic. *Cooking with Pomiane* is based upon a series of lectures broadcast by Professor de Pomiane over French radio. An excerpt from "A Lunch in the Country" will give some idea of the book:

Scrambled Eggs with Peas

I beat 12 eggs in a large bowl and salt them. On the fire I put a copper pan. I melt 2 ozs of butter and pour in the eggs. With a wire whisk I beat energetically, scraping the bottom of the saucepan as I beat. The eggs thicken They are *almost* ready. I lift the pan off the fire and beat and turn. They are just right. I pour them into a warmed dish and stir in a tablespoon of my peas which are still just warm. I carry my dish to the table.

And now there are a succession of joys:

The eggs with a glass of cider—just like velvet.

The roast with its gravy and the mushrooms which I warmed whilst I was dishing the roast—a rustic cooking with a primitive freshness. With this a glass of Burgundy.

The peas follow, soothingly bland.

The cheese... The strawberries and cream ... The coffee. ... A thimbleful of plum brandy ... Contentment ... The joy of living and loving one's friends.

Samuel Chamberlain

On to Samuel Chamberlain, a very talented man and Francophile. Author of some fifty books on various topics, he was a draftsman, print maker, etcher, photographer, book collector, designer and gourmet. He served in WWI as an ambulance driver with the American Field Service in France when he was twenty-two, and became enamoured of the country.

He was asked to become the original editor of *Gourmet*, but declined because of other activities. Through the years he contributed to the magazine numerous articles which later became books, such as *Clementine in the Kitchen*, *Bouquet de France*, *Italian Bouquet*, and *British Bouquet*. His books are a delight because, along with recipes, wine and travel information, there are always photographs, etchings, and sketches.

Clementine in the Kitchen by Phineas Beck (fin bec = fine nose) has many noteworthy recipes—the following one must be included here:

Épinards au Madère

Cook 2 pounds of spinach with ½ cup of water and a little salt until tender, but do not overcook. Put the spinach through the finest meat grinder you have and

mix in a good lump of butter, together with pepper and a little numeg. Add $\frac{1}{4}$ cup thick cream and beat well together. Keep this hot while you cook $\frac{1}{4}$ pound of thinly sliced mushrooms in butter. Now add these and 2 tablespoons of good Madeira wine to your spinach. Re-heat all together and serve surrounded by triangles of bread fried in butter. This is a dish that should be served by itself.

From another book, *The Flavor of France in Recipes and Pictures* (done with Chamberlain's wife and daughter), comes the best version of that previously mentioned recipe:

Coq au Vin
(Chicken in Red Wine)

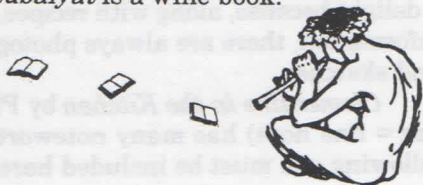
In a heavy saucepan sauté 1 sliced onion and 1 minced clove of garlic in $1\frac{1}{2}$ Tbs. of butter until the onion is soft. Add the neck, wing tips and giblets of a roasting chicken. When these have browned a little, add 4 cups of dry red wine and a bay leaf, cover the saucepan and simmer the mixture over the lowest possible flame for about 2 hours. Shortly before serving time, in an iron skillet sauté the rest of the chicken, cut in serving pieces, in 2 Tbs. of butter. When the chicken is brown and almost cooked, strain the red-wine stock and blend into it 1 Tbs. of butter creamed with 2 tsp. of flour. Pour the wine sauce over the chicken and simmer the *coq au vin*, covered, for 30 minutes. Serve with rice or boiled potatoes. Serves four to six.

The format of *The Flavor of France* leads to browsing as each page has a wonderful photograph of France and a recipe of the area of the photo.

So—wine books and cook books must go together as do wine and food. Omar Khayyám knew about this many years ago:

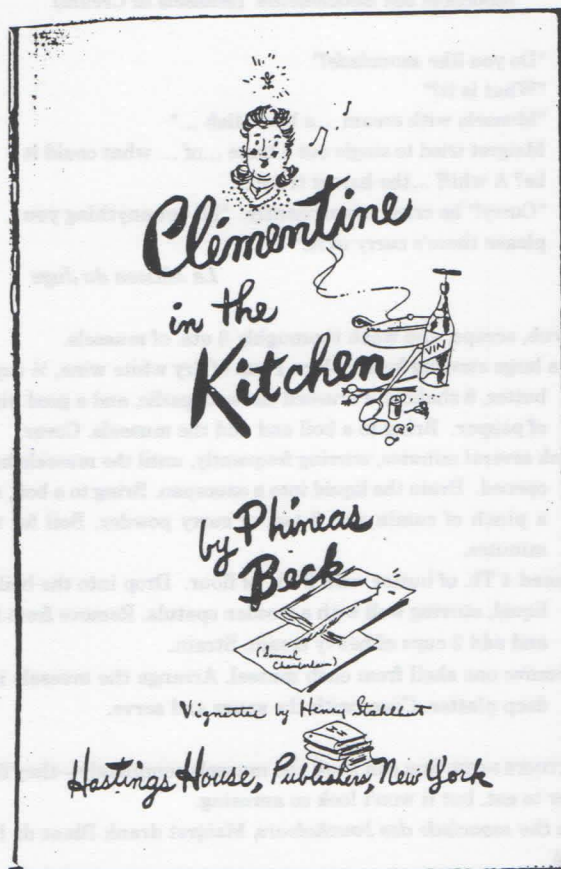
Here with a Loaf of Bread beneath the Bough,
A Flask of Wine, a Book of Verse — and Thou
Beside me singing in the Wilderness —
And Wilderness is Paradise enow.

I wonder if the *Rubáiyát* is a wine book.



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[Tendrill Gordon Jones and his wife, Dorothy, long-time collectors extraordinaire of books on wine and food, encourage us to try these not-to-be-missed recipes — we shall not be disappointed! — Ed.]

WINE AESTHETICS FOR THE GUZZLER, THE BIBBER, AND THE TASTER

PART II — CONCLUSION

by Allan Shields

[The first installment (Vol. 11 No. 2) of our professor's "philosophic excursus on the oenological and oenophilic arts" was concluded with a promise of "further remarks about the meaning of taste as judgment ... leading to connoisseurship," including the vocabulary of concepts about judging, tasting, criticizing and evaluating wine; and the language of inebriation. — Ed.]

THE LANGUAGE OF INEBRIATION



further discrimination is in order. I refer to the effects of alcohol after it is drunk. And drunk it is and you may be, if bibbing be carried to excess. In the spirit of scientific endeavor, I have undertaken a survey of the language of inebriation in an effort to see if wide human experience in drinking has produced careful discriminations, or has simply resulted in vague, undifferentiated (but colorful) observations. It must be

reported that on the subject of organoleptic, orectic language of drunkenness and its variations, Western man is still trying to copulate paper sacks. Let me explain.

First of all, our terms generally reflect an either-or, black or white dichotomous kind of thinking. You are either drunk or sober, alcoholic or not, a drinker or a teetotaler, totally committed or totally abstinent. Such a simplistic logical fallacy is unworthy of analysis.

Next, when we consult Roget's *Thesaurus*, we learn somewhat more about terms available to us, despite their disposition, again, to bifurcation.

adj., drunk — tipsy, intoxicated, inebriate, inebriated, in a state of intoxication, overcome, fuddled, boozy, full, lit up, elevated, groggy, screwed, tight, primed, muddled, stupified, obfuscated, maudlin, blind drunk, dead drunk, drunk as a lord. Wet (Heraclitus)

Not believing Roget to be complete, I have consulted those nouveaux experts on inebriation, undergraduate students at San Diego State University, members of two of my classes in logic. In what will remain in my memory as two of the livelier

five minute sessions in my teaching career, students gave me this list of terms to augment Roget:

wasted	looped	blazed
bombed	feeling no pain	stewed
smashed	oiled to death	plastered
tippled	snockered	in the ozone
wined	blitzed	fucked up
juiced	ripped	totally ripped
influenced	toasted	racked up
hung over	hammered	boozed
polluted	gone	zonked
spaced	sot	pissed (Brit.)
sloshed	osterized	

drunk as a rolling fart (1821)

One enterprising student, intrigued by the problem, quizzed police officers, highway patrolmen, military men and women and others where she works and came up with a list of colorful terms that greatly adds to the list.

cocktailed	out of it	monkey-eyed
soused	pre-processed	plowed
squiffy	doused	dingy
preserved	stoned	stymied
lushed	petrified	sop
topper	liquidated	plugged
snockered	topsy-turvy	loaded
pie-eyed	shit-faced	tight
lit	packaged	swacked
torpedoed	tanked	poisoned
fried	blasted	wall-papered
fish-faced	wiped out	merry
blown	wockoo	formaldahyded
greased	derelict	uninhibited
gutted	flaggoned	degenerate
duce	dipsomaniac	all shot to hell
ionized	putrid	emulsified
iodized	incoherent	asphyxiated
entrenched	in a stupor	blowing a 0.10
502	anesthetized	blowing a 3.0
delirious	intemperate	thirsty soul
mellow	cut	crapped out
cockeyed	out cold	boiled
spifficated	stiff	shellacked
stinko	elevated	sponged
toss-pot	carouser	guzzler
dipso	bar-fly	fresh

three sheets to the wind
 snot-slinging-commode-hugging drunk
 red-eyed-bar-slapping-commode-hugging drunk

A neighbor described a former governor's behavior: "He was so drunk he couldn't hit the ground with his hat."

Finally, we should add a medical recitation of inebriation by a physician.

Alcohol is absorbed fairly rapidly by the bloodstream and distributed throughout the body. The alcohol directly affects certain tissues. Other effects are mediated by the central nervous system. Examples of direct effects of alcohol are the stimulation of secretion of peptic and hydrochloric acids by the stomach, and of dilatation of capillary blood vessels at the surface of the body. Suppression of hyperactivity of the higher nervous system with a resulting lessening of mental tension and relaxation of stimuli to the muscles of the body are examples of effects not directly due to contact of the body tissues with alcohol, but to changes in the messages from the brain mediated by the sedative effects of alcohol. The combined action of the direct and the brain-mediated effects results in reduction of anxiety, softening of irritation, and modification of shyness and aggression.

Where does this leave us? Giddy, of course. But we are now in a position to see that there are real problems for aesthetics here as well as for linguistics. There are clearly 1) degrees or stages of inebriation and probably 2) qualities of inebriation that accompany the degrees and functions of the kind of alcohol imbibed. Anecdotally, I can report that my drinking friends insist that there are noticeable differences in the qualities of inebriation dependent on whether they drink sherry, port, reds, whites, gin, scotch and other variations of drink. Mixed drinks are notorious in this regard. Even the ancients knew this.

Edward Hyams, in his superb work on wine, *Dionysus - A Social History of the Wine Vine* (London / New York, 1965), remarks about drunken gods near Sumeria:

Pa-gëstin-dug and Sa-bil had nine children, one of them Siris, wine-goddess of the Hamrin mountain vineyards; but in her later epiphany she seems, or so her name implies, to have been more concerned with beer, or perhaps with intoxicating drinks in general. Her siblings were Sin-kas, which competent persons say means 'spiced barley beer'; Sim-kas-gig, another beer-

name; M-hus, 'he of frightening speech' (it is suggested that this may imply the drunken brawler); Me-azag, 'he of clear speech' (which could imply the *in vino veritas* stage of drunkenness; Eme-te, 'eloquent of tongue' (yet another stage of drunkenness); Ki-dur-ka-zal, the meaning of which is 'one who abides in mirth', which is, again, a reference to one of the effects of alcohol; Nu-silig-ga, 'the braggart'; Nin-ma-da, 'lord of the land' (perhaps the implication here is to drunken *hubris*).

*"...wine is no more bottled poetry
 than poetry is spilled wine."*

Furthermore, the language of drunkenness, aside from ignoring the range of inebriation and its qualities, is hopelessly vague and in need of careful qualification. Can you discriminate (don't forget the paper sacks!) being "zonked" from being "sloshed"?

Finally, if we are serious about our endeavor to pursue the total experience of wines, we surely must count the joys of inebriation along with the vision, the nose, the taste and other vinous virtues. It simply won't do to talk about bottled poetry, for wine is no more bottled poetry than poetry is spilled wine. Lacking a prior model of the range of inebriation, we need to erect a vocabulary of the apparent scales of intoxication. Here is a first suggestive trial:

If we approach the experience phenomenologically—and how else can we do this introspectively?—we may find these gradations meaningful:

1. A warmth, accompanied by a mild dizziness
2. A glow
3. A buzz (as in "getting a buzz on")
4. Distressed equilibrium
5. Sensed degeneration of controls (from the perspective of the observer: vociferous denials of lack of control)
6. Dimly sensed loss of control
7. Passing out; drifting into a "sleep" (dead drunk; virtually anaesthetized)

When, however, we seek to establish public and objective criteria of inebriation, we run into difficulties. If a person is seated, he may affect sobriety by simply smiling all evening until step 5 or 6 in our list of private standards. The law has had considerable difficulty in this matter of trying to establish whether or not a person is under the influence of alcohol. Blood tests help. Walking a straight line is thought to help, as well. But you know cold-sober people who can't walk a straight line without a wobble, for that is not a normal way to walk. In any event, the public problem shows again

our dichotomous penchant: we are either under the influence or we are not. We are either sober or drunk. Our private, unconfirmed set of discriminations is to be preferred.

LOWER & HIGHER SENSES and WINE

If it may be questioned whether the alcoholic effects of wine consumption are properly a problem in the aesthetics of wine, there can be no doubt that an accurate understanding of the various sense functions is appropriate. Such sensational information is practically synonymous with what we mean by enjoying or appreciating wines. The senses involved in tasting include sight, olfaction, the gustatory senses (sweet, bitter, acrid, salt), tactile, cold, heat, equilibrium and pressure. Perhaps we should even add specious warmth as a visceral response.

The usual listing by aestheticians of the sense modalities distinguishes rather grossly between the higher and the lower. The higher senses are sight and hearing, while the lower are touch, olfaction and taste. Psychologists in the twentieth century have considerably expanded the detectable limits of sensation to include pain, cold, heat, tickle, kinesthesia, synaesthesia and others more subtle—pressure, for example.

Since it has been a fundamental question in aesthetics whether the lower senses can be exploited aesthetically, it will be helpful to see how two 20th century American aestheticians have dealt with the problem. The basic question is this: how do the higher and lower senses differ?

George Santayana takes a descriptive, factual viewpoint on the subject in his influential work, *The Sense of Beauty*. He does not denigrate or pejorate the lower senses, but simply remarks the fact that "...touch, taste and smell, although capable no doubt of a great development, have not served in man for the purposes of intelligence so much as those of sight and hearing." He then goes on to explain why these senses have failed so to serve human intelligence. They normally remain in the background of consciousness, furnish few ideas that can be objectified, their pleasures remain "...detached and unused for the purpose of appreciation of nature." They are often called "unaesthetic," for the further reason of the functions they serve, not because of their lack of sensuality or because of baseness inherent in them. Santayana adds a further important characterization of the lower senses: "They have not reached...the same organization as sounds and therefore cannot furnish any play of subjective sensation comparable to music in interest. Tastes do not exist in a social medium and the instruments of the lower senses do not...allow such nice and stable discriminations as does the ear. Though the lower

senses may aspire to the beautiful, their highest achievement is the pleasant."

Santayana, characteristically, then advances a hypothesis worth testing: Though the lower senses preclude artistic exploitation, they serve inspiration and imagination perfectly well, for what is not found first in the senses cannot enter into imagination or intellect. "From these real sensations (of the lower senses) imagination draws its life, and suggestion its power."

D. W. Prall, who followed Santayana at Harvard University, was a close student of his colleague's writings, and sounds a similar set of views, but in more detail. Prall extolls the aesthetic impact of the lower senses even more than Santayana, but ends up in agreement with Santayana's assessment. The lower senses are properly denominated as relatively inadequate for aesthetic experience of beauties. Why are they not adequate? Prall answers. First, not because they are more internal than the ear or eye. Not because of their connection with our vital bodily processes and motions. Not because we usually consume what we taste but not what we see or hear. Not because of the transitoriness of smells or tastes. Prall continues,

"Hence it is clear that smells and tastes and vital feelings are not the materials of beauty in the sense that colors are, or sounds or forms, or even textures, for they are obviously not the contents of typical aesthetic judgments. If they are not to be ruled out on the grounds of their nearness to the body, or their destruction by consumption, which is contemporaneous with and sometimes necessary to the very act of perception, or because of their transitoriness of occurrence, or because they are associated in our minds with fulfilling biological needs, or because of any lack of objectivity or specificity of quality, we must find some other ground for the obvious fact that though they occur in delighted perception, though attention may be focussed on them, as specific qualities directly apprehended in sense experience, they are not usually pronounced beautiful, do not become the content of aesthetic judgments, and thus apparently are not the characteristic materials of the aesthetic experience that such judgments record."

Prall concludes with three summary observations about the lower senses, the third being crucial for our interests in wine. First, smells and odors are sensuously delightful. Second, much of the beauty of nature is made up of such elemental delights that enter into more complex beauties. And third, "... smells and odors do not in themselves fall

into any known or felt natural order or arrangement, nor are their variations defined in and by such an intrinsic natural structure, as the variations of sound and color and shape give rise to in our minds.... One smell does not suggest another related smell close to it in some objective and necessary order of quality.... There are apparently more or less compatible and incompatible smells and tastes, but there is no clearly defined order of smells and tastes, or any structure of smells and tastes in which each has its place fixed by its own qualitative being."

For Prall, then, the lower senses serve to give us no clear aesthetic objects (not art objects) but do give us aesthetic materials. And they usually must be taken as individual, unrelated delights, not as raw materials for artistic development.

If we accept Santayana's and Prall's analysis as true, and I do so accept them, it follows that wines and the experience of wines, cannot now accurately be called aesthetic objects or art objects, even though our experience of them may be properly called aesthetic. It is an open question whether or not there will be revealed an organizing schema for the lower senses in the future. At this time, surely we must follow Prall and Santayana.

Before leaving the subject of the meaning of the lower senses, it may be well to notice once more that the experience of tasting wines is an exceedingly complex one. Objectively, the senses we have remarked as all being involved—sight, smell, gustatory, taste, touch, cold, heat, equilibrium, and possibly others—strongly argue for withholding any final judgment about the potential for beautiful experience. Olfaction alone, I have read, can discriminate from 4–10,000 different odors in the human being! We have also reason to believe that there are both connoisseurs and virtuoso tasters who can help us to learn to appreciate, to come to our senses creatively, by elaborating our sense skills with wines.

JUDGMENT OF WINES—CONNOISSEURSHIP

Which brings us to a final topic: the judgment of wines. Though it is not altogether clear how we distinguish between taste and judgment of wines, for "good taste" is often taken to be synonymous with "good judgment," we can now accept the fact of differences between the acts of tasting and pronouncement of verbal judgments about such acts. Without tasting, judgments would be uninformed. Also, tasting without judgment appears to be an incomplete act, for most human beings cannot refrain from forming ideas and opinions, if only to register the experience for themselves. Judging goes much farther than private opinions. We recognize connoisseurs—those who know. They are sometimes known by the name of judge in the trade, when their

expertise has been established and they are accepted as experts. From the standpoint of the aesthetics of wine, the productive question is this: What are the credentials of a wine connoisseur? And there are closely related questions that beg for answers: 1) What weight should the connoisseur's judgments be given in forming one's own judgments? 2) Is judging radically subjective, and agreement accidental, coincidental, prejudiced and therefore unpersuasive, unconvincing? 3) Are the languages of judgment, the symbols of communication, intersubjectively reliable? And so on into a litany of familiar doubts often raised concerning the standards used in judging wines.

Skepticism of any objective grounds for judgment has served to elevate a familiar phrase into a democratic credo: *de gustibus non est disputandum*. For most consumers of wine, no standard beyond their taste can possibly correct, inform, or change their judgments—or so they appear to believe and so they act. "I don't know anything about wine, but I know what I like!" This is not the occasion to try to show that this is a false doctrine on various grounds, but it may be useful to keep the view in mind as we examine briefly a typical pattern of judgment of wines that is widely used by serious students.

AMERINE & SINGLETON

Amerine and Singleton, those high priests of California oenology, in their book, *Wine. An Introduction for Americans* (Berkeley, 1965), offer a score card to be used in judging wines either singly or in comparison tests. The entire set of judgments to be scored is too intricate to try to display here; some details are all we need.

There are ten categories to use, spread over the three major senses involved: olfactory, gustatory and visual. Olfactory is weighted at 30-50% of the total score, gustatory at 25%, visual at 20%, with the remainder counted in under the heading of "general quality."

"Visual" includes "appearance," which is rated on a three point scale: cloudy 0, clear 1, brilliant 2; "color," also rated on a three point scale: distinctly off 0, slightly off 1, correct 2. "Olfactory" means assessing aroma and bouquet and vinegar scent, flavor in part, and general quality in part. "Gustatory" means acidity, sweetness, and bitterness, with other elements counted in the form of olfactory sensations. All of these qualities are to be assigned a numerical rating so that when your judging is finished you will have a total "score" for that wine being judged.

Amerine and Singleton are careful to point out that this score is a simple one, not nearly so complex as one used for competitive judgments. However, it is enough to indicate several features in judging. First of all, we can appreciate the analytic advantages of

"dividing the question" of a wine's qualities, for the three sense avenues are carefully discriminated. Second, within any sense modality, we can make rough but sufficiently clear distinctions to support our taste judgments—color is correct (for that wine), or distinctly off. Though further refinements are possible in principle and practice, they are not always useful. Third, prior training in the use of wine terminology and training in its correct use are necessary conditions for judging: e.g., unless you have already apprenticed with a judge who knows, you will have serious difficulty sensing even the most obvious olfactory fault—vinegary. And without prior instruction (experience) the chances of your recognizing the correct varietal aromas are virtually nil. Can you detect the difference between Zinfandel and Cabernet Sauvignon? Unless you can answer yes, your judgment will not be reliable. And unless you already know whether or not a particular white wine may have a golden cast to it, you are immediately in trouble over the standard of color. Thus we see that the score card does not substitute for the educated palate. It is simply an objective assistance to the exercise of one. The score card does succeed, though, in focussing our earlier questions, for we now see that the cumulative experience of wine judges has begun to build a body of evidence that promises to raise the criteria for judgment out of the morass of subjectivity. In the presence of wine, we can corroborate or disconfirm judgments about color, olfactory qualities and gustatory qualities. We can begin to appreciate the credentials of the recognized connoisseur. We can begin to acknowledge that at least certain elements of judging approach objectivity, to the extent that such qualities are clearly attributable to the wine and not to our sense; e.g., the clarity or turgidity, or even the sweetness. We can begin, also, to believe that the terminology among connoisseurs has a measure of reliability and their judgments a certain measure of validity we might not have suspected. Our initial skepticism has become chastened as our insight into the intricacies of judging has grown. Whether or not judging wines can ever become standardized to the degree of other sense qualities judged must remain an open question. But it is clear to me that aestheticians would be well advised to look more closely into the intimacies of wine judgment than they have so far troubled to do. When they do, I feel sure that the discriminations between the higher and lower senses, already admittedly blurred, will become increasingly difficult to maintain.

"...a cardinal sin to philosophize?"

No one can be blamed for failing to discriminate tasting from taste, tasting from judgment, drunken-

ness from tipsiness, or higher from lower senses, when we are urged by social process to believe that male is female, female male; that Gay is health, heterosexuality is myopia; random, casual orgasms are to be taken in course, while procreation is an ecological sin; that art is life and life is fictional. The very act of rational discrimination, the traditional mark of intellectual Nirvana, now carries the enormous political and social burden of being Lucifer himself. Is it after all a cardinal sin to discriminate? Is it therefore now a cardinal sin to philosophize?

At the beginning there was the veiled promise that the meaning of aesthetics in this context might be revealed through examples and through the discussion. That promise has not been fulfilled for some, I feel sure. It may be added as an epilogue that the foregoing remarks may serve to convince us that there are questions about wine enjoyment that lead us into aesthetic theory—into issues about the vocabulary of concepts about judging, tasting, criticizing, evaluating; into issues about the skills of consumption, about connoisseurship among wines, about the supposed differences between the lower and higher senses. Until some aesthetician resolves these issues for us, we may, in the meantime, continue to muddle through on our own, happily sampling the joys of wine. Cheers!

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No. 1.

[FROM: KELLY THE VINE IN AUSTRALIA, 1861]
(actual size)