



WAYWARD TENDRILS QUARTERLY

Vol.19 No.2

A WINE BOOK COLLECTOR'S SOCIETY

April 2009

Illustrated California Wine History The Upstate New York Connection by Dean Walters

[Vintage Tendril Dean Walters has graduated from a very educated and successful "Agent, Broker & Purveyor since 1983" of wine-related antiques to become an impassioned collector-historian. Several years ago he organized a wondrous exhibit for COPIA-The American Center for Wine, Food & the Arts, in Napa Valley, "Grapes in the Golden West: The Early Wine Trade in California," that brought together magnificent examples of rare pre-Prohibition graphic advertising. We welcome his finely illustrated study of a special area of printed wine history. For comments or questions, Dean can be reached at dean.w@comcast.net. — Ed.]



started my business in 1983, specializing in wine related antiques and collectibles. Subsequently, many interesting artifacts from the early California wine trade have passed through my hands. These tangible connections with California's pre-Prohibition era fascinated me, and it was not long before I began to collect and archive related ephemera, advertising, and photographs. In recent decades, a goodly number of informative books about California's early wine industry have been published, enriching our understanding of this compelling time. During my search for related artifacts, the importance of preserving such an archive has become increasingly more evident.

started my business in 1983, specializing in wine related antiques and collectibles. Subsequently, many interesting artifacts from the early California wine trade have passed through my hands. These tangible connections with California's pre-Prohibition era fascinated me, and it was not long before I began to collect and archive related ephemera, advertising, and photographs. In recent decades, a goodly number of informative books about California's early wine industry have been published, enriching our understanding of this compelling time. During my search for related artifacts, the importance of preserving such an archive has become increasingly more evident.

In more recent days, my excitement was piqued by the receipt of a promising email. Just weeks earlier, I had bid successfully on an appealing 1881 letterhead of a Philadelphia wine seller, A. M. Smith's California Wine Depot; it was illustrated with a number of iconic images: the California grizzly bear, the Golden Gate, an eagle, grape clusters and vines, an American flag, a large wine barrel marked "Pure California Wine," small wine barrels, and the State motto, "Eureka" (see illus, p.7).

Pleased with the A. M. Smith letterhead, I expressed my general interest in the early California wine trade in an email back to the seller, inquiring if he had anything of merit along these lines. His reply was most encouraging when he indicated he had many early illustrated letterheads from a broad spectrum of California wine merchants and producers. He soon emailed some images, and following a successful negotiation, a fascinating archive was delivered to me in California, the State of origin for many of the letterheads.

As a rule, fine quality illustrated letterheads from pre-Prohibition California wine trade are not readily available. Consequently, I was in a state of collectors' bliss, for the archive offered examples from some truly important wine producers and merchants: Gottlieb Groezinger; Benjamin Dreyfus; Walter, Schilling & Co.; Kohler & Frohling; Stern & Rose; Lachman & Jacobi; California Wine Association (CWA); and others.



INSIDE THIS ISSUE

- DISCOURSE ON WINE RESEARCH IN CALIF- Part 3 by Chas. Sullivan
- CONSTABLE WINE LIBRARY ... John Danza
- H. MARTINEAU ON WINE ... Thos. Pinney
- PRE-SOCRATIC STRATAGEM ... Caloyannidis
- BOOKS & BOTTLES ... Fred McMillin
- NEWS & NOTES and MORE!



Many of these illustrated letterheads are exquisite examples of the American lithographers' craft. The identities of the lithographers were imprinted on a few of the letterheads, enabling us to credit the source. Following is a list, by lithographer (as printed on the letterheads), with the wine houses who employed them and the year(s) of correspondence:

- Lith. H. S. Crocker Company, S.F. — Kohler & Frohling, S.F., 1892 & 1894 (see illus, p.3).
- Dickman-Jones Co. Lith., S.F.— Alfred Greenbaum & Co., S.F. & N.Y., 1890; S. Lachman & Co., S.F., 1891, 1884–1916 (see illus, p.3.); C. Schilling & Co., S.F., 1895.
- Krebs Lithographing Company, Cincinnati — G. Groezinger, S.F., 1880–1881 (see illus, p.5).
- Chas. F. Muntz & Co. Lith., Rochester, N.Y. — Pleasant Valley Wine Co., Rheims, N.Y., 1874 (see illus, p.5).
- Mutual L & Lith. Co., S.F. — Lachman & Jacobi, S.F., 1904 (see illus, p.3).
- Schmidt Litho Co., S.F. — California Wine Association, N.Y., 1909 & 1910.

From San Francisco . . .

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, San Francisco enjoyed its share of quality lithographers, whose craft aptly romanticized and promoted the importance of premier California wine houses. A letterhead adorned with an image of its headquarters in San Francisco was an effective advertising method of illustrating a wine merchant's importance. Many of the top wine houses of early California had grand buildings in San Francisco, although their vineyards and wineries were located throughout the state. The California wine trade changed dramatically early in the morning of April 18, 1906, when an earthquake and subsequent fire destroyed most of the wine houses in San Francisco. Despite the devastation, the trade remained resolute. Many soon relocated or rebuilt.

Tragically, the California Wine Association's great building at the corner of 2nd and Folsom Streets was leveled. Kohler & Frohling was a founding member of the California Wine Association in 1894, when their building became headquarters for the CWA. On the CWA letterhead, as well as on that of Kohler & Frohling, we can see their lovely building depicted in it's resplendent glory (see illus. p.3, 5). An especially fine illustration on an earlier Kohler & Frohling letterhead, depicts the building and adjacent streets teeming with activity, smoke billowing from its chimney, and the palatial building gleaming like the jewel it was.

Never again to rise from the ashes with such splendor, the giant CWA—who, by 1918, controlled 84 percent of wine production in California—relocated

all of its wine making and storage facilities from San Francisco to Point Richmond across the Bay. Their massive new building of reinforced concrete was completed by Fall 1907, and offices later relocated to 2nd and Market Streets in the City.

Although the great tragedy destroyed many of the San Francisco wine houses, these illustrated letterheads preserve historic and realistic views of a wine trade that existed prior to 1906. Many operations outside the city fared much better. For example, on an 1880 letterhead for Gottlieb Groezinger, an aerial view shows his large Yountville winery which would survive the earthquake (see illus, p.7). C. Schilling & Co., a Groezinger successor, owned the Yountville winery from 1880 to 1906. Schilling's San Francisco offices and wine depot weren't so fortunate. The Yountville structure still stands today, now called "Vintage 1870," no longer a winery, but a complex of small shops and galleries.

Following my initial euphoria of having acquired such an archive, I realized that valuable historic information could be gleaned not only from the letterheads themselves, but also from correspondence written upon them. A California Wine Association letterhead, dated December 3, 1900, is exemplary as a time capsule of historic record that communicates a wealth of information: the CWA date of incorporation, a list of the six founding members, cartouches illustrating the founding members' principal wineries or San Francisco offices, addresses for the CWA San Francisco and New York offices, the names and positions of the company's primary officers, locations of their wineries, and cable codes for wire correspondence. The CWA striking logo and trade mark grace the illustration with an image of Bacchus and the California grizzly bear at the prow of a sailboat, presumably distributing CWA wines out to the world through the Golden Gate (see illus, p.5, 7).

. . . To New York

The correspondence written upon these letterheads tells of interesting but lesser known facets of California wine history regarding interstate commerce. A common thread appears in the text throughout much of the archive. California wineries were shipping large amounts of mostly white wines, brandies or wine spirits (a form of grape brandy) to wineries in the Lake Keuka area of New York state, specifically, Pleasant Valley Wine Company, the New Urbana Wine Company, and the Urbana Wine Company.

Revealed in the archive's earliest correspondence, Gottlieb Groezinger of Yountville filled an order for 30 barrels of wine to Pleasant Valley Wine Co. in 1878 and, in 1880, shipped another 30 barrels of Hock to them on the steamer China. In 1881, Groezinger's

S. Lachman & Co.

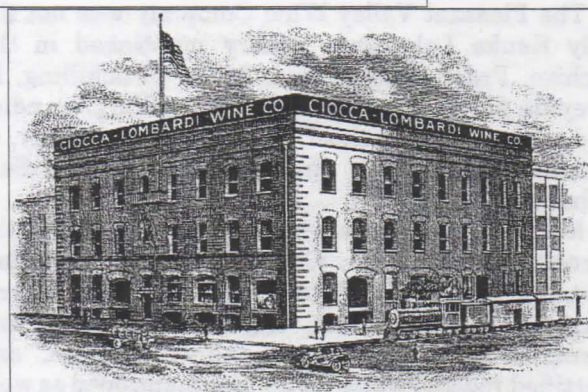
DEALERS IN

WINES & BRANDIES

NEW YORK OFFICE
22, 24 & 26 ELM STREET,
COR. DUANE.

453 TO 465 BRANNAN ST.
NEAR FOURTH.
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

TRADE MARK



Lachman & Jacobi

St. George Vineyard

Kohler & Frohling
1890 - 1894California Wine Association
1894 - 1906

successor, Walter, Schilling & Co. of San Francisco, shipped by rail a carload of unnamed wine to Pleasant Valley. Subsequently, C. Schilling & Co. (the next generation of Walter, Schilling & Co.), shipped wines to Pleasant Valley from 1889 through 1916. Other wineries shipping to Pleasant Valley Wine Co. through 1912, were Benjamin Dreyfus & Co., Lachman & Jacobi, Charles Stern & Sons, the California Wine Association, and Eisen-Vieth Co. of Fresno. Some years are unaccounted for, but I conclude that this archive represents only a small fraction of the trade which existed between these wine houses before Prohibition was decreed in 1920. Following its enactment, the wine trade in the U.S. fundamentally ceased to exist, excepting the production of sacramental and medicinal wines.

The Pleasant Valley Wine Company was not the only Keuka Lake area winery mentioned in the archive. From 1884 through 1916, C. Schilling, B. Dreyfus & Co., and the CWA were selling brandies and white wines to the Urbana Wine Company, of Hammondsport, N.Y., the producers of Gold Seal "Champagne."

Many varietal white wines were mentioned in the correspondence: Hock, Chasselas, Gold Chasselas, Gutadel, Riesling, "White" Zinfandel, plus Sherry, "high proof spirits" and "Highproof." "Red wines" (generic), Zinfandel, "dry red and white wines," and "fortified red and white wines" are mentioned as well. California produced a considerable volume of bulk wine during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and by necessity, developed markets outside the State. The East Coast became a substantial market for California wines, even more so in the late 1880s, when availability of French and other European wines declined due to the devastation of their vineyards by phylloxera. Although phylloxera was a known and evolving problem in California vineyards since the 1870s, its ravages continued, until grafting vines to resistant root stock became common practice.

Brandy and Fortified Wines

A question that comes to mind is, "What were the Keuka Lake wineries doing with the volume of wines they purchased from California?" Thomas Pinney enlightens us in his *A History of Wine in America* (1989). Upstate New York wineries produced a number of Champagne-style wines, but grew a limited choice of varietal grapes suited to the production of these wines. California provided the supplemental wines needed for their blending, or *cuvée*, an important part of the wine makers' art, employed to balance acidity and flavors not so desirable from the New York varietal grape flavors, and achieve the desired style for the finished product.

Brandy or wine spirits were sometimes added as

one element of the *dosage* following the *dégorgement*, or removing the plug of sediment at the neck of the bottle preceding the final corking. However, it is doubtful that the brandy in the *dosage* could account for the volumes of brandies or wine spirits, that were shipped from California.

A portion of the archive offers another interesting picture. In 1885, the New York firm of Stern & Rose negotiated with Pleasant Valley Wine Company for the production of a Champagne-style wine to be labeled, by their instruction, "Pride of the Vine." Another small added label was to be marked, "Stern & Rose, New York, Boston & Chicago." There is also reference to Stern & Rose selling unnamed wines to Pleasant Valley Wine Co., which may have been the white wines used in the *cuvée* for "Pride of the Vine."

The company for which Charles Stern began as a principal owner and officer enjoyed a number of stages in its evolution: Perkins & Stern (1860–1878), Stern & Rose (1878–1887), Charles Stern (1887–1890), and Charles Stern & Sons (1890–1920). They were based in Los Angeles, with vineyards and wineries in several southern California locations. Stern's eastern offices continued to order "Pride of the Vine" through 1894, according to the archive, although the brand may have continued even longer.

Numerous wines are mentioned throughout the archive, other than those that would have been used in *cuvées* for Champagne-style wines. The eastern U.S. was a substantial market for sweet fortified wines. New York wineries may have blended California wines with some of their own, then fortified them with brandies or wine spirits to be labeled as California Port, Sherry or Angelica. They would not have been traditional representations of these wines, but facsimile concoctions. Did New York wineries label these wines under their own name, or generically?

Fortified wines were a boon for California brandy producers. By law, brandies and wine spirits sold for the purpose of fortifying wines were taxed very little if at all, relative to the high taxes levied on brandy that was to be consumed as brandy. Because of the large fortified wine market, California produced huge volumes of low quality brandies and wine spirits. Poorly made wines, and even wine pomace was distilled, creating a unique market for wineries that were challenged to produce quality wines.

Adulterated Wines

If fortified wines were blended by the New York wineries, perhaps they represented the better quality of that market. However, blending, treating, fortifying or adulterating California wines, in the late 19th century and into the early 20th century, was looked upon with some disdain by many



D. C. HOWELL, President.
C. D. CHAMPLIN, Secretary & Treasurer.
D. C. HOWELL, C. D. CHAMPLIN, A. S. HOWELL, A. S. TUTTLE, D. BAUDER, Directors.
JULES MASSON, Sup.

Printed by Messrs. A. & C. M. H. Rochester, N.Y.

PLEASANT VALLEY WINE CO.
ORGANIZED 1860.
MANUFACTURERS OF THE CELEBRATED BRANDS OF
SPARKLING WINE, GREAT WESTERN, CARTE BLANCHE
& PARIS EXPOSITION,
SWEET & DRY WINES & BRANDY, ALSO FROM OUR OWN GROWTH OF GRAPES.

HAMMONDSPORT, N.Y. January 13th 1874

SAN FRANCISCO
OFFICES, 661 TO 671 THIRD ST.
PERCY T. MORGAN, Pres. & Gen. Mgr. HENRY VAN BERGEN, Secy. & Treas.
ALBERT LACHMAN, Vice President. HENRY LACHMAN, Genl. Supt.
J. FROWENFELD, HENRY KOHLER, Supt. Wineries.
CHARLES CARPY,
FERD. FROHMAN, Asst. Mgr.

OFFICERS & DIRECTORS

NEW YORK
OFFICES, NO. 45 BROADWAY
EDWARD FROWENFELD, Chairman N.Y. Board
CARL VON BERGEN, Asst. Treasurer.

A.B.C. AND LIEBER'S STANDARD CODES USED.
CABLE ADDRESS CALWA.



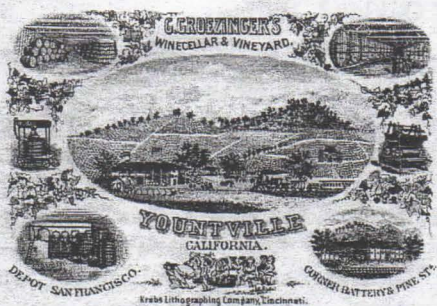
WINERIES AT
ST. HELENA, NAPA CO.
NAPA NAPA CO.
WINDSOR, SONOMA CO.
GLEN ELLEN, SONOMA CO.
LIVERMORE, ALAMEDA CO.

California Wine Association

OWNER AND HANDLER OF THE
OLD ESTABLISHED BRANDS OF
KOHLER & FROHLING. S. LACHMAN CO.
B. DREYFUS & CO. C. CARPY & CO.
NAPA VALLEY WINE CO. KOHLER & VAN BERGEN
AND ITS OWN BRANDS.

WINERIES AT
SAN JOSE, SANTA CLARA CO.
SACRAMENTO, SACRAMENTO CO.
FRESNO, FRESNO CO.
CALWA, FRESNO CO.
ESPARTO, YOLO CO.

San Francisco, Dec. 3, 1900



P.O. Box 2109

WALTER, SCHILLING & CO.
SOURCES OF
GROEZINGER
California Red & White Wines
PORT, SHERRY, ANGELICA,
BRANDIES &c.

San Francisco, March 24 1881

consumer advocates in the east, and by some purists in the California wine trade for good reason. One such proponent of producing "pure" California wines, which were labeled as such, was Professor Eugene Hilgard, perhaps the most noted experimental research practitioner for early California winegrowing. Hilgard saw the reputation of quality California wines being threatened by the large volume of dubious wines being shipped from California to the East Coast. (For an excellent study of Hilgard's work at the University of California, Berkeley, consider Charles Sullivan's "Discourse on the Institution of Wine Research in California," in the January 2009 Wayward Tendrils Quarterly.)

A scourge of fly-by-night companies adulterated wines to such a degree that they were believed to create health problems for their consumers. These concoctions could be a blend of different poor quality bulk wines combined with juice or wine made from other fruits, then fortified with brandies or wine spirits, also of poor quality, and mislabeled as "Pure California Wines." Extended consumption of some adulterated wines was considered to be hazardous to the liver and kidneys. Poor quality wine spirits (pomace brandy) used for fortifying sweet wines was considered to be injurious, as was salicylic acid, which was added to bulk wines as a preservative, and considered necessary for wines to survive the long journey by rail or ship to the East Coast.

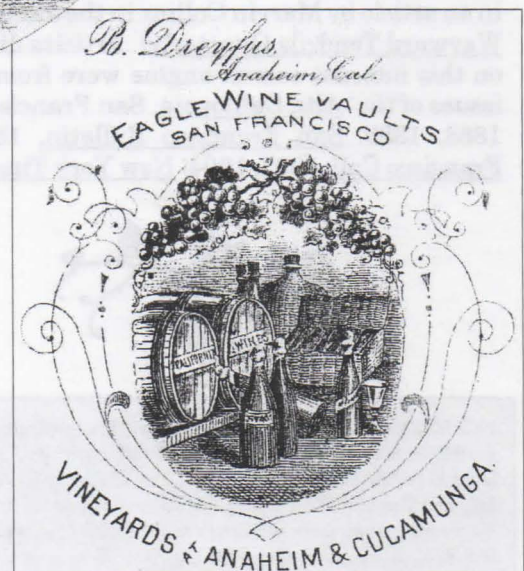
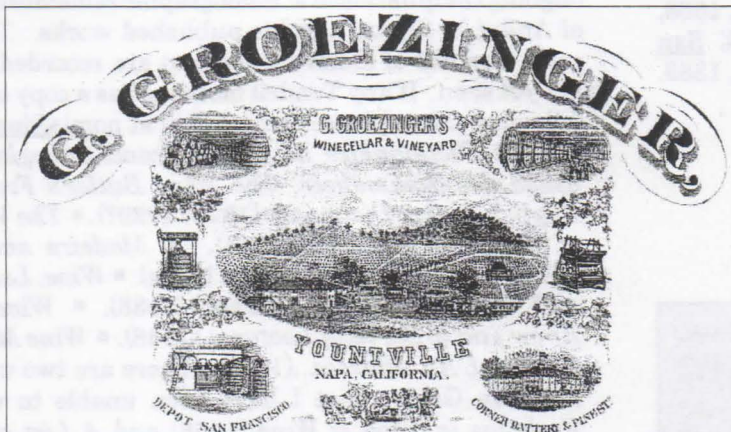
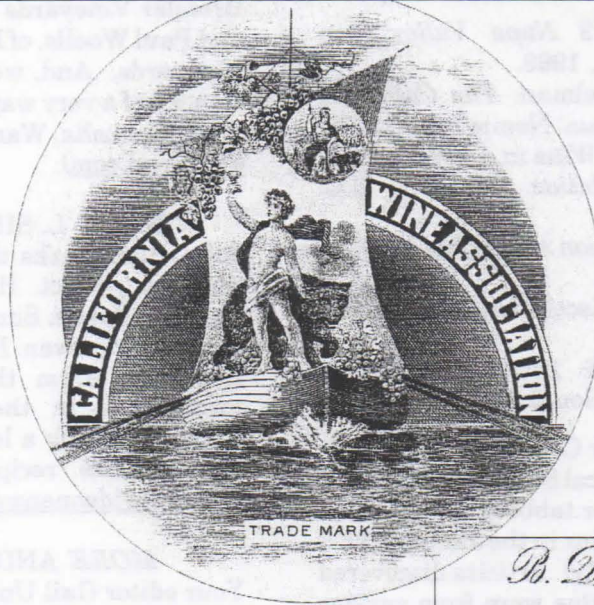
The Archive: Wine Merchants & Wineries

Following is a complete list of the California wineries and wine merchants represented in the archive who were doing business with Pleasant Valley Wine Company and Urbana Wine Company, including locations of their California vineyards, the offices generating the correspondence, and dates.

- California Company (Vineyards: Cucamonga, Anaheim, Mount Pisgah, Occidental, Union, Mt Veeder); Chicago Office, 1885 & 1889.
- California Wine Association, San Francisco; New York Office, 1900, 1909, 1910.
- California Wine Assn., San Francisco, 1900 & 1910 (see illus, p.5).
- Ciocca Lombardi (Rep. for Geyser Peak Winery, Geyserville, Sonoma Co.); San Francisco Office, 1912 (see illus, p.3).
- (Agency) I. de Turk (Vineyards: Santa Rosa); New York Office, 1889.
- B. Dreyfus & Co. (Eagle Wine Vaults, San Francisco (see illus, p.3, 7); Vineyards: Anaheim, Cucamonga); New York Office, 1882 & 1884.
- B. Dreyfus & Co.; San Francisco Office, 1892 (see illus, p.3).
- Eisen-Vieth Company, Fresno, 1911.

- French American Wine Co. (Offices & Warehouses, San Francisco); Vineyards & Distilleries: Healdsburg, Cloverdale, Icaria, Ukiah, Rutherford); New York Office, 1915.
- Alfred Greenbaum & Co. (Sole Agents for Inglenook Vineyard, Rutherford & L. J. Rose & Co. Ltd., San Gabriel, Sunny Slope); New York Office, 1890.
- G. Groezinger, San Francisco (Winery: Yountville); 1878–1880.
- Kohler & Frohling, San Francisco (Vineyards: Sonoma, Fresno & Merced Counties); 1892 & 1894.
- Lachman & Jacobi, S.F., 1904 (see illus, p.3).
- S. Lachman & Co., San Francisco; New York Office, 1891 (see illus, p.3).
- Marshall, Spellman & Co. (San Gabriel, Los Angeles Co.); New York Office, 1888.
- Napa & Sonoma Wine Co. (Napa County); St. Louis Office, 1887.
- Pacific Coast Wine Co. (Vineyards: Los Angeles & Fresno); New York Office, 1895.
- Perkins & Stern (Vineyards: San Gabriel, Ca.); New York Office, 1874.
- Rocheleau & McPatrick (Successors of M. Keller, Rising Sun & Los Angeles Vineyards, Los Angeles); Philadelphia Office, 1879 (see illus, rear cover).
- Edward Rocheleau ("Late with M. Keller, Wine Grower, California"), 1886.
- St. George Vineyard (Fresno & San Francisco); New York Office, 1904 (see illus, p.3).
- C. Schilling & Co., San Francisco, 1889–1916.
- Walter, Schilling & Co. (Successor to G. Groezinger), San Francisco, 1881 (see illus, p.5).
- Sonoma Valley Wine Co. (Vineyards: Sonoma, California); New York Office, 1870.
- Stern & Rose (Sunny Slope Vineyards, San Gabriel, Ca.); New York Office, 1885 & 1887.
- Charles Stern (Winery & Distillery: Los Angeles); New York, Chicago, & Boston Offices, 1890.
- Charles Stern & Sons (Successors to Charles Stern); Chicago Office, 1891, 1894, 1908.
- Wetmore-Bowen (Prop. of Cresta Blanca Souvenir Wines); Oakland, 1907.

Often, the New York, Chicago, Boston and Philadelphia representatives for the California wine houses negotiated with New York wineries for orders, though the wines and brandies were shipped from California. In a few instances, the eastern offices purchased wines directly from the New York wineries, perhaps for distribution in the eastern markets. Sweet Catawba, "Pride of the Vine" (Champagne type), and "Great Western" (Champagne type) were wines specifically mentioned in the correspondence with Pleasant Valley Wine Company.



This moderate archive reveals just a small percentage of interstate commerce which existed between the early California wine trade and the New York state wineries. The California wine industry might have suffered without the interstate trade, for numerous related challenges existed, especially in the late 19th century. For a start, limited wine making skills, overproduction, economic depression and recession, low prices for grapes and bulk wines, phylloxera, Anaheim disease and the growing temperance movement severely tested the industry.

The story of the early California wine trade is fascinating and multilayered. My initial intent was to share the beautiful images from these illustrated letterheads, but scratching just below the surface unveils an interesting perspective on California's wine history.

SOURCES —

Heintz, William. *California's Napa Valley*. San Francisco: Scottwall Assoc., 1999.

Peninou, Ernest & Gail Unzelman. *The California Wine Association*. Santa Rosa: Nomis Press, 2000.

Pinney, Thomas. *A History of Wine in America. From the Beginnings to Prohibition*. Berkeley: U.C. Press, 1989.

Sullivan, Charles. *A Companion to California Wine*. Berkeley: U.C. Press, 1998.

_____. *Napa Wine*. San Francisco: Wine Appreciation Guild, 1994.

Wiley, Harvey. *Beverages & Their Adulteration*. Philadelphia: Blackiston's Son & Co., 1919.

"California Digital Newspaper Collection" created by The Center for Bibliographical Studies & Research, U.C. Riverside at <http://cbsr.tabbec.com> (featured in an article by Marvin Collins in the January 2009 *Wayward Tendrils Quarterly*). Articles discovered on this internet search engine were from various issues of the: *Alta California*, San Francisco, 1868, 1888, 1889; *San Francisco Bulletin*, 1883; *San Francisco Call*, 1902, 1904; *New York Times*, 1883.



THE WAYWARD TENDRILS is a not-for-profit organization founded in 1990 for Wine Book Collectors. Yearly Membership / Subscription to the WAYWARD TENDRILS QUARTERLY (ISSN 1552-9460) is \$25 USA and Canada; \$30 overseas. Permission to reprint is requested. Please address all correspondence to THE WAYWARD TENDRILS, Box 9023, Santa Rosa, CA. 95405 USA. E-m: tendrils@jps.net. Editor and Publisher: Gail Unzelman. —



NEWS & NOTES



Whatever Fortune sends,
Let me have a Good Store of Wine,
Sweet Books and Hosts of Friends.

Welcome, new Tendrils! We are pleased to welcome Frank Sternad (fsternad@sonic.net), historian and vintage collector of postcards, bottles, ephemera, and books on a wide-range of subjects, including wine. Frank promises to share his knowledge and collections with *WTQ* readers. Thanks to our thoughtful and gracious George Caloyannidis, we have two (three, actually) new Napa Valley-connected Tendrils: Stacey & Tom Bressler, proprietors of Bressler Vineyards (stacey@bresslervineyards.com), and Paul Woolls, of Howell Mountain O'Shaughnessy Vineyards. And, we are pleased to welcome a new "tendrill of a very wayward destination" from Menora, West Australia, Warren P. Hannaford (wphannaford@bigpond.com).

ANDRÉ L. SIMON REQUEST, PLEASE!

John Danza asks the help of fellow Tendrils for a research project. He is seeking information about copies of André Simon's autobiography *By Request* (London: Curwen Press, 1957) that contain a gift inscription from the author. This would include inscriptions in the book, or any book that is accompanied by a letter from Simon presenting the book to the recipient. Please contact John at jdanza@wideopenwest.com.

MORE ANDRÉ L. SIMON, PLEASE!

Your editor Gail Unzelman continues to work on her ongoing compilation of a "bibliographic remembrance" of André L. Simon and his published works. There are a handful of elusive titles that are recorded, but not yet seen. If any Tendril member has a copy of the following titles, please contact Gail at nomis@jps.net.

■ *Petit Dictionnaire de Poche Francais-Anglais ... usage des Sommeliers. The Wine Butler's French-English Pocket Dictionary* (1926? 1929?). ■ *The Value of Wine. An Address...* (1934). ■ *Madeira and Its Wines* (1947, other printings c 1950s). ■ *Wine, Leisure and Personality. An Address...* (1938). ■ *Wine: To Know and to Serve. A Lecture...* (1948). ■ *Wine Makes the Meal. An Address...* (1950). There are two works listed in Gabler that I have been unable to view: *Fashions in Food & Wine* (1968) and *A List of the Books dealing with Wine* (n.p./n.p., 10 pp.). Jim assures me that he did not invent these titles, so they must be out there somewhere!

WANTED!

Fellow Tendril Nina Wemyss, wine historian at The Napa Valley Reserve (nwemyss@thenapavalleyreserve.com) seeks a copy of George Husmann's *Grape Culture and Wine Making in California* (1888). Can anyone help with this plea?

WINE FICTION: Enjoy!

We present a few titles to add to your novel wine table. *The Man in Gray* by Frances Crane (1890–1981). 1958. 1st ed. NY: Random House. 206 pp. Cloth. A “fiendishly complex murder puzzle” set in “glamorous” San Francisco and the nearby wine country features Crane’s popular sleuthing couple, Pat and Jean Abbott. (Crane’s 26 Abbott mystery novels all feature colors in their titles.) *The Small World of Murder* by Elizabeth Ferrars (1907–1995). 1973. 1st ed. London: Collins Crime Club. 192 pp. Cloth. Ferrars, a popular and prolific author of some 70 crime fiction titles, sets this mystery murder in the Australian wine country. *The Dry White Tear* by Stephen Wilcox. 1989. 1st ed. NY: St. Martins Press. 217 pp. Cloth. This is the author’s first book, a mystery set in the Finger Lakes wine district of New York state. *Dark Star* by Marcia Muller. 1989. 1st ed. NY: St. Martins Press. 212 pp. Cloth. With a Sonoma wine country setting, this is the final book in the author’s three-part series about the “strongly independent” and “not your typical private eye,” Joanna Stark. *Death Cracks a Bottle* by Kenneth Giles (1922–1972). 1969. 1st ed. London: Gollancz. 192 pp. Cloth. Giles, a British crime writer, also wrote under the names of Charles Drummond and Edmund McGirr. This story features a murder in a London wine importer’s warehouse. And, lastly, a brand new one from Michele Scott, the fifth in her “Wine Lover’s Mystery” series. *Corked by Cabernet* (NY: Berkley Prime Crime, 2009; p.b., 260 pp.) features Nikki Sands, the vineyards of Napa Valley, and the famous Napa Valley Wine Train.

ROBERT LAWRENCE BALZER

“Enough can’t be said about all the good he has done in building the image of California wine.” — Robert Mondavi. Considered by many to be America’s first serious wine journalist, Balzer wrote his first wine column in 1937, when 25 years old. He has authored a splendid list of books about wine, including *California’s Best Wines* (1948), *The Pleasures of Wine* (1964), *This Uncommon Heritage: The Paul Masson Story* (1970), *Discovering Italian Wines* (1971), and *Wines of California* (1978). In 2008, this much-decorated “Dean of American Wine Writers” and “Wine Educator of the Millennium” established the Robert Lawrence Balzer Collection at Cal Poly University Library, Pomona, to build on their already significant Wine Industry Collection. Special

Collections librarian, Danette Cook Adamson, is pleased to announce their new website for this “extensive collection of files, photographs, and artifacts” of the Balzer Collection: <http://www.csu.pomona.edu/~library/specialcollections/balzer/>. She adds, “Hopefully some members of California’s wine industry will be interested to help us build an endowment to properly care for and display the collection, as well as launching some food and wine related programming. Mr. Balzer was a wonderful early advocate for California wines.”

“... OTHERWISE FINE...”

Frequently, some rather entertaining book descriptions come forth on the Internet—too good not to share with fellow collectors! To wit: “Description: Paperback. Like New. A great book in like-new condition that was an ex-library copy with usual stamps and stickers, plus sides are covered with mylar plastic which makes it more durable.” And another: “The book is in excellent condition with foxing. Unfortunately insects ate the fabric off the spine binding, otherwise in very nice condition.” Absolutely! (Send us your favorites!)

NOT RECOMMENDED!

In 1900 Doxey’s of San Francisco printed a lovely 38-page, 12 x 10, booklet by Amelia Woodward Truesdell (1839–1912) titled *La Parra Grande. A Legend of Santa Barbara’s “Big Grape Vine,”* with superb illustrations by N. F. Binckley—a striking and unusual piece of California wine lore now quite rare. Recently, it was “faithfully reproduced” by Ventura Pacific Out of Print Books / Archival Reprint Co. (Ventura, CA), in a limited, numbered edition of 55 copies, \$95 (available on the Internet). Sadly, they have done a poor job in their reprint. The size has been trimmed to 9½ x 8¼ and the coloring is dark, or non-existent; for the price one would expect much higher quality.

CENSORED !!

How many wine book collectors are aware that one of our favorite Little Golden Books, *Little Red Riding Hood* (Elizabeth O. Jones, NY: Simon & Schuster: Little Golden Book, 1948), was censored! The early printings of 1948 had Miss Red Riding Hood carrying a basket packed with “a piece of cake, a pat of butter, and a bottle of wine” through the woods to her sick grandmother. And, after being saved by the woodsman from the wolf, “all three sat down and ate the cake and the butter and drank of the wine which Little Red Riding Hood had brought.” Little Red Riding Hood is shown with her own tiniest glass of wine at the joyous table. Later printings changed the wording from “wine” to “grape juice.” Shame on them.

CONSTABLE'S WINE LIBRARY

Edited by André L. Simon

by

John Danza



he year 1933 did not start out well for André Simon. January 1st found him sacked from his position of 33 years as Pommery Champagne distributor. Yet, this would not be a setback, but the entry to his second life, starting at age 56. He would now be able to write in earnest, something he had always wanted

to do. He began with a contract with the publishing house, Constable & Co., to create and edit a series of popular, informational books on wine.

Almost from the beginning of André Simon's wine career, he had authored books and papers. The vast majority of his works between 1905 and 1933 had been targeted at the wine industry. With his new pursuit as a full-time writer he would be able to reach a wider audience.

Earlier in the year, Michael Sadleir, director of Constable and a good friend of ALS, had asked him to write a book of his most interesting meals, commenting on the food and wine. This would be published as *Tables of Content: Leaves from my Diary* (London: Constable, 1933). While a most fascinating book to wine and food aficionados, it was not of much interest to the general public. Sadleir was not to give up, however. He soon engaged Simon to produce a series of books written for a general audience. Each book, about 30,000 words in length, would be about a specific type of wine, and sell for five shillings. The series would be published as Constable's Wine Library.

It was not necessary for Simon to write all of the books; he would be responsible for the editorial content, and to find an appropriate author for each book. This wasn't as easy as it may sound, given the number of his contacts in the wine trade. Remember, these "practical, educational" books were to be written for the general public, not just for people involved in wine production. He did not want books filled with technical jargon. He wanted books that would expand the reader's knowledge about wines they would drink. In the end, he selected only one friend from the wine trade while the other authors were friends who were wine lovers with journalistic experience. The decided-upon Wine Library books and their respective authors were:

Madeira: Wine, Cakes, and Sauce by André L. Simon and Elizabeth Craig (1933); *Sherry* by H.

Warner Allen (1933); *Claret & White Wines of Bordeaux* by Maurice Healy (1934); *Champagne* by André L. Simon (1934); *Burgundy* by Stephen Gwynn (1934); *Port* by André L. Simon (1934); *Wine in the Kitchen* by Elizabeth Craig (1934); *Hocks and Moselles* by Hugh Rudd (1935).

The books succeeded as practical handbooks—full of information, without being technical. The style of each volume is slightly different due to the individual authors, but the hand of a single editor is apparent. The books are similar in size, 7½ x 5, bound in cloth covers that are lettered in gilt on the spine. With the exception of *Wine in the Kitchen*, all of the books are splendidly attired in two very similar dust jackets designed by British artist Gladys Hynes [1888–1958]. Simon would have been very pleased with her conception of a well-set sideboard with various wine glasses, wine bottles and crystal decanters. (The same scene, in miniature, adorns the spine of the dust jacket.) The color of the jackets varies and is the background for the white-highlighted array of wine vessels.



[Dust jacket "1" by Gladys Hynes]

Madeira: Wine, Cakes & Sauce
André Simon and Elizabeth Craig, 1933

O K, I'm going to get this one out of the way early. This book is a real disappointment. It is a combination of a Madeira wine discussion and cooking with Madeira. While Simon stated that

he looked at the book as an even split of 15,000 words each on wine and cooking, I don't think it turned out that way. Of the 150 pages in the book, only 43 pages are about the wine.

One of the things that contributes to the disappointment in this book is that Simon could have made it so much better. At the time of writing in 1933, he was engaged in a venture with the Madeira Wine Association, organized to rejuvenate Madeira wines in the English market. He had spent several weeks in Madeira learning about the producers to get the Association going. So why did he write only seven pages for the chapter "Madeira Wines of Today"? The entire section could have been greatly expanded.

The cooking section, written by Elizabeth Craig, was also disappointing. With the exception of one chapter titled "How to Give a Madeira Party," the recipes aren't really geared towards serving food to complement the wines, something she would rectify in her other book in the Library. Most of the recipes merely name generic Madeira as an ingredient and do not specify the type. Those of us who like Madeira can tell you there is a completely different flavor profile between a dry Sercial and a sweet Malmsey, which would surely influence these recipes.

This book was the first of the series—presumably because of André Simon's involvement with the Madeira Wine Association. Fortunately, better books were to come.

Sherry

H. Warner Allen, 1933

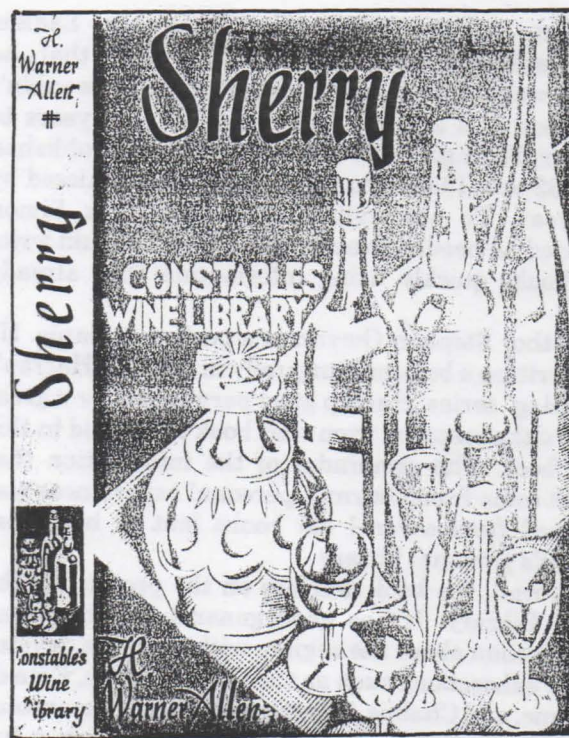
André Simon chose Warner Allen to write the Sherry book because of his knowledge of Jerez and his ability to speak Spanish. He was an accomplished and experienced author, so his book was ready for the publisher first.

The book is arranged very well to instruct the average person about Sherry. In fact, it probably would be of more use today in the U.S. than it was in 1933, since Sherry has fallen so far out of favor with the American populace. Allen explains Sherry in general terms, then gets into specifics about the making of the wine and the stages of the process.

The last quarter of the book is best. Here, Allen addresses drinking and lifestyle around Sherry. He discusses what makes it distinctive as a wine, then talks about it as a part of the dining experience. He follows with descriptions of the major shipping houses, with notes about them and their history. Attached at the end of the book is a large, fold-out map of the Sherry Wine District, showing vineyards, main roads, and railways.

H. Warner Allen was a prolific author and wrote a number of wine books during his life. Much of the information in this book would be revisited in a book

published 19 years later by Constable, titled *Sherry and Port* (London, 1952).



[Dust jacket "2" by Gladys Hynes]

Claret and the White Wines of Bordeaux

Maurice Healy, 1934

If there is one of André Simon's circle of friends I would have liked to have known, it is Maurice Healy. A lawyer by trade, he approached wine and food as a vehicle for social interaction. He wrote only a few works before his untimely death in 1943; his Constable Library contribution was one of his first.

He begins the book with a couple of chapters that address the makeup of the region and how the wine is made. He then discusses specific wineries and vintages, organized in chapters by appellation. This is what makes the book so readable, as he talks about the wines based on his personal experiences with them. This is very much like the style of André Simon, and also reflects George Saintsbury's *Notes on a Cellar-Book* (London: Macmillan, 1920). He finishes with a practical chapter on buying and storing wines.

As an example of the personality of Maurice Healy, let me share with you the inscription he wrote in my copy of this book: "My dear Lollie, You will find references to Château Mouton d'Armailhacq, of which you gave me so noble a draught today, on pages 76 and 107. You will find no reference to my affection for you, for some things go without saying. *Con amore*, Maurice Healy 31-10-37."

Burgundy
Stephen Gwynn, 1934

One of the things that publisher Sadleir specified with Editor Simon was that he wanted the books produced quickly. It wouldn't be much of a library if the volumes took years to appear. Their goal was to have these books published in 1933 and 1934, a target that would be missed by one year. To accomplish the assigned task, Simon realized he needed to select authors that could write the books quickly using information they already had.

Author Stephen Gwynn is a perfect example. He had written a book on Burgundy in 1930 for Harrap's "Kit-Bag" series. Harrap gave permission for a great deal of the material from that book to be used in this new book. The remainder of the information that didn't come from Gwynn's personal experiences was gleaned from several old books lent to him from Simon's personal library.

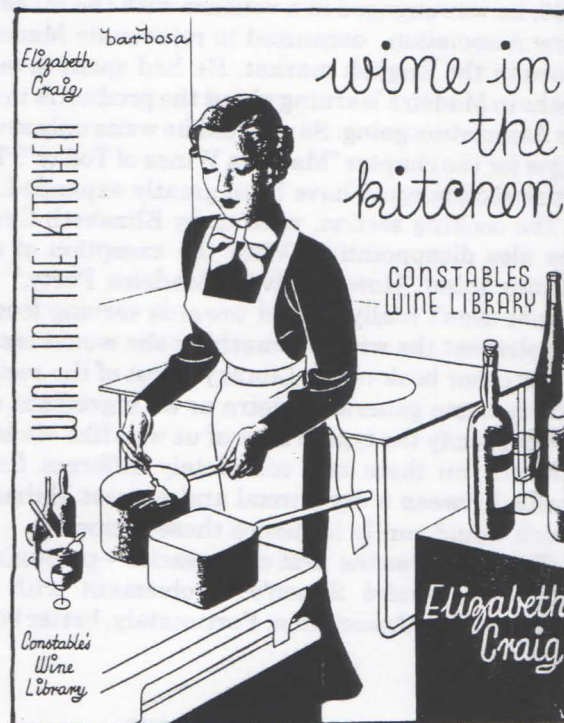
Overall, the book delivers on the promise of the Wine Library. It has good general and historical information about the region, with chapters devoted to the subsections such as the Côte de Nuits, Côte de Beaune, and Chablis. The concluding chapter encourages the reader to visit the region to enjoy a full appreciation of all that Burgundy has to offer. To this end, Gwynn also provides the names and addresses of the major and minor Burgundy wine shippers.

Wine in the Kitchen
Elizabeth Craig, 1934

This book is more than a cookbook. It is a book about how to use wine to complement food and visa versa. Cookery writer Elizabeth Craig [1883–1980], the only author besides Simon to have her name in more than one Library title, had written her first cookbook in 1923. (She would write more than forty in her lifetime, three of them with wine as a theme.) She did a superb job of structuring *Wine in the Kitchen* by courses—First Course, Second Course, Meat Course, &c. Each chapter starts with information about the types or styles of wine that are usual for that course. She then talks about introducing those wines into the foods for that course—whether it's done directly by adding wine in the cooking, or indirectly by using the wine in a sauce.

If for no other reason (and there are many), Michael Sadleir should have congratulated himself for selecting André Simon for this project because of his decision to include this book in the Library. It was brilliant. The Library was intended for a general audience, to instruct them about wine. What better than to also instruct them on the main use for wine,

as a complement to food? Although this book was not last-in-line in the series, it does a masterful job of bringing it all together. Craig's book is the only one of the series known to also wear a second dust jacket. British book illustrator and designer, Arthur Barbosa [1908–1995] created this delightful jacket.



[Dust jacket by Arthur Barbosa]

Hocks and Moselles
Hugh Rudd, 1935

Hugh Rudd was the only author of a Constable's Wine Library volume to actually be in the wine business. He was a manager of the venerable wine firm, Berry Brothers, having earlier bought into the business from his friends Charles Walter Berry and Francis Berry. He previously had lived in Germany and was an expert in these wines. Even though he had no experience as an author (and this would be his only book), he was still the natural choice to write the volume on German wines. And he did a fine job.

The book's make-up is like a travelogue. Each area of the Rhine and Moselle rivers is examined town-by-town, with Rudd's thoughts on the wines of the area and tidbits of information. He doesn't address good or bad vintages until the last chapter, when he then talks about the vintages in more of a generic sense. At the end of the book is a great fold-out map of the Wine Districts of the Rhine and Moselle, showing the towns up and down the famous wine rivers.

This brings us to the two remaining books in the Wine Library series, both written by André Simon. I've always appreciated his special writing style, his ability to blend wine facts with stories or poetic rhetoric that lends a more human touch to what otherwise would be simply dry information.

Champagne

André L. Simon, 1934

This, the fourth book in the series and the second by ALS, must have been an emotionally difficult book to write, coming so close on the heels of his release from Pommery after 30 years of service. The book is a complete and concise history of both Champagne the region and Champagne the wine. He begins with chapters on the early personalities that influenced the wine: Dom Pérignon, Saint-Evremond, Bertin du Rocher, and François.

Some of the book's material was originally used in Simon's first book, *History of the Champagne Trade in England* (London: Wyman, 1905). However, Simon has augmented this with chapters on "The War Years" and "Post-War Years" and "The 1911 Delimitation Law" that created so much unrest in the Champagne region. He ends the book with notes on various aspects of Champagne: shippers, corks, how to store and serve, better-known brands, and the vintages of the "last fifty years."

While some of the historical information has been usurped by updated data gained since its publication, this is still an excellent resource that should be on the shelf of every Champagne lover's library.

Port

André L. Simon, 1934

Although an excellent historical interpretation of the Port trade and market, this book does not command the same level of interest as the *Champagne* book. You are almost 70 pages into it before you start to learn about "recent" past vintages. For a Port aficionado, it's great information, but I'm not sure how interesting this would be to the general public.

Beginning on page 70, there is a ton of valuable information on vintages that would have been readily available in England at the time of publication in 1934. The details begin with the 1840 vintage, which seems pretty old even for 1934. But for the British market and their affinity to Port, it's not that much of a stretch. Present-day lovers of old Port will not find this historical information in any modern wine books.

Conclusion and Collector Information

Constable's Wine Library was well received by critics, although it was published at the time a severe depression hit, and reduced the ability of the intended audience to spend money on their newly found knowledge. More than this, the series resurrected André Simon's spirit and put him on a path that would lead to his position as the pre-eminent wine writer of his time and to his founding of the Wine & Food Society.

Most of the books in the series are readily available in the secondary book market. A couple however, *Madeira* and *Claret*, are fairly elusive. Interestingly, it is extremely difficult to locate any of these books with an intact dust jacket, and one can expect to pay a premium of 100% or more over a similar book without a dust jacket. And, has any Tendril seen other jackets than those described here? Collecting a set of the eight books, lacking their dust jackets, can be easily done at a minimum cost. A full set of eight attired in their colorful dust jackets will be difficult and expensive. But they will look fantastic on the bookshelf.

[John Danza has been collecting, drinking, and studying wine for over 20 years. A devoted member of the International W & F Society, he was recently elected to the Board of Governors of the Americas. As his previous articles for Wayward Tendrils attest, he is a passionate fan of André L. Simon and his books. — Ed.]



"A TRUE FRIEND"

"BOOK COLLECTING IS A FORM OF HUNTING; not to kill but to save the prey. The hunter or collector is bound to have many disappointments when the books he wants are nowhere to be found or cost far more than he can afford. The collector is always on the lookout for a mistake or a misprint in a book catalogue, or some wonderful bargain just round the corner. I have never forgotten, for instance, my excitement and intense joy when I saw in a second-hand book catalogue a book the title of which is still clear in my mind after sixty years: *De Naturali Vinorum Historia* by Bacci, 1596. £1. It is the first folio I bought. It is worth today many times this, but that does not matter. I cannot take it to heaven presently, but that does not matter either. It has been a friend since 1910: one of the very few friends still with me.

André L. Simon
In the Twilight, 1969



**BOOKS &
BOTTLES**
by
Fred McMillin

CHAMPAGNE AND CAVIAR

The Book: *Caviar* by Dr. Amin Keyvanfar, 1955. (In Farsi)



reviously, Books & Bottles has celebrated a new year with an article on Champagne ("No Trouble With These Bubbles" Vol.10 No.1, January 2000; "It Bubbles...It Sparkles!" Vol.13 No.1, January 2003). This year we will serve the caviar that "goes so well with Champagne."

Some years ago in Teheran, my wife and I interviewed the world's foremost authority on Iranian caviar, Professor Keyvanfar. I paid "Champagne dollars" to have an Iranian scholar translate Keyvanfar's extensive book on the subject from Farsi into English. I offer some highlights, and invite you to enjoy a glass of Champagne as you read.

Introduction

- Caviar, which is prepared with the eggs of a prehistoric fish generally known as sturgeon, is the most delicious and most expensive food ever known.
- An ancient writer named Elan who lived in the 3rd century B.C. wrote, "From the Caspian Sea they caught elephant fish, and after salting and drying, they shipped it to Ecbatan. They made glue out of the air sack and used the glue for making decorative objects."

Types of Caviar-Bearing Fish

- All caviar bearing species belong to the category "chondrosteri" from the "teleostomi" which belongs to the true fish "pisces" family. The fish can be found in many seas, but most in the Caspian, Black, and Osof seas. Between these three areas, the Caspian Sea is the most important as regarding quantity and also variety of species.
- There are five different kinds of sturgeon in the Caspian Sea. One, from the Volga River, is named esturaliad; the other four kinds are named oozoon booroon (long nosed), tass-mahi (bold fish), shipe, and phill-mahi (elephant fish). These are scattered in

different locations around the Caspian Sea and most of them are caught in the northern region of Iran. Tass-mahi is the most abundant species in Iran.

Three Kinds of Iranian Caviar

- In Iran, the caviar is prepared in three kinds: Grain caviar (European or American), Pressed caviar, and Whole caviar.
- Generally, all caviars are graded in three categories: best quality, first, and second grade. The grade depends on color, degree of hardness, taste, and size of the eggs.
- Usually, the large and medium size eggs are used for best quality and first grade caviars; the small and soft eggs are for second grade.

Preparation of Caviar

- Salting is the most delicate part of the process because with the slightest mistake in duration, the value and grade decrease sharply. For preparing a best quality or first grade caviar, the salting must be done with the right dose, and must cease in time to provide just the right degree of osmosis.
- After salting, the eggs are washed by putting them in a sieve with vegetable fiber for draining. If too many eggs are added, then the drainage will be difficult and take a long time. For faster drainage, the net must be shaken gently. In hot weather, 4 to 5 minutes suffice for drainage; in cold weather, 10 minutes.
- The cans are usually of one or two kilo size and they must be very clean. The caviar is put in the can by a skimmer until it is one inch higher than the edge of the can. After some liquid is drained, the level will go down and the cover is pressed down creating a vacuum to prevent growth of the fungus "safrö-legnia." The cans are laid on their side for 15 minutes for further drainage. Then they are cleaned with a towel, pressed tightly closed, and stacked according to their grade and species.
- It happens many times that caviar graded best quality in the stations along the coast, after inspection in the processing center by the connoisseurs, is downgraded to first or even second grade. This is because the bottom layer from the sieve is saltier.
- Labeling, which is done according to the fish species and the grade of the caviar, is the last step.
- Storage of caviar: Generally the caviar is stored in a very cold room and will keep for 8 to 12 months.

Grain Caviar (European and American Styles)

- American style differs from European style in that one must use more salt and no boric acid in preparation. The eggs must be hard and well matured and have a good taste. The grading is done

continued, p. 18 —

"Pre-Socratic Stratagem"
A LETTER
from George Caloyannidis

Dear Editor Gail:
In defense of Yvor Winters' poem, "In Praise of California Wines," I would endeavor to shed some light to the missing clarity Thomas Pinney laments in two of its passages. [Please see *WTQ* last issue, p.25 - Ed.]

We ought not to forget that the quality of good poetry often resides in its artfully hidden, not missing, clarity.

The "pre-Socratic stratagem" becomes less "obscure" if one considers the Homeric world of military expeditions and the rows of warriors Winters sees in the vineyard beside the road:

In repetition point and line ...
Pellucid amid nervous dust
By pre-Socratic stratagem ...

In the Socratic world of 5th century Greece, its Golden Age of philosophy, art, and the inquiry into the meaning and enjoyment of life that is so eloquently chronicled by Athenaeus in *The Deipnosophists** (where we also find the earliest surviving record of an author-attributed recipe—fish, by Mithaecus, a contemporary of Socrates) ... is all symbolized in:

...Yet sagging with its weight in must.

As for how wine "charms the skin": world literature abounds in descriptions of a few sips of wine restoring the rosy glow on pale, gentle ladies' faces, not the least of which we find in Duncan M'Bride's 1793 "*General Instructions for the Choice of Wines and Spirituous Liquors*"** where a few glasses of "Toc-kay de Espagna" caused ladies to "reach until it had sweetened and corrected whatever was vicious in the habit, and soon restored their complexion from a deep yellow to its natural state."

Neither are lovely blushes limited to ailing faces. In poet Robert Loveman's *Rubaiyat*-inspired *A Book of Verses* (1900), we find:

A GLASS OF TOKAY

In land afar 'neath Autumn skies
Some singing girl with love-lit eyes,
Pluck'd from the heavy hanging vine
The grapes that held this golden wine.

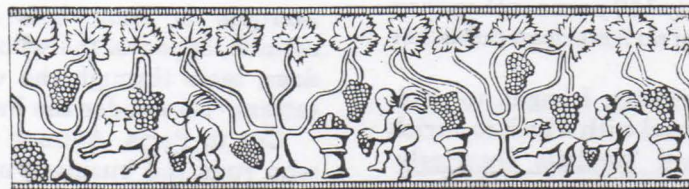
And I to-day, in after years,
Telling a truce to haunting fears,
Hold the warm beaker to my lips –
And kiss her blushing finger-tips.

[Robert Loveman (1824–1923), *A Book of Verses*.
Philadelphia: Lippincott Co., 1900]

* EDITOR NOTE: In *The Story of Wine* (London, 1989), Hugh Johnson describes Athenaeus as "one of our most prolix sources of Greek wine lore." *The Deipnosophists* (Learned Dinners) is an embellished account of a "symposium held by artists, writers, musicians and physicians discussing all things that, according to Greek customs, should adorn a banquet. The names of the most famous gastronomists and the most celebrated cooks are recorded. The virtues and qualities of wines are the subjects of long discourses. Table ornament and decoration are also treated" [Marcus Crahan, *One Hundred Sixteen Uncommon Books on Food & Drink*, Berkeley, 1975]. Interestingly, the first English translation was not published until 1854 (London: Bohn, 3 vols.). Readily available is the Loeb Classical Library edition (7 vols) from Harvard University Press.

** EDITOR NOTE: M'Bride's very rare 1793 book was reissued with an informative new Introduction by Tendril Emanuel Berk, Rare Wine Co., Sonoma, CA, in 1993. It is a lovely edition, hand-bound in half-morocco and marbled boards, 140 numbered copies.

[Vintage Tendril George Caloyannidis is a retired architect, with his heart in the classics. A long-time collector and student of wine and its literature, we welcome his first contribution to our *WTQ* and invite further thoughts from his readings. Ed.]



EXPLORING A DEAD END:
Harriet Martineau on Wine
by Thomas Pinney



Il this began innocently enough. WTQ editor Gail Unzelman sent me an e-mail with a sug-

gestion: wouldn't I like to examine a little book by Harriet Martineau called *French Wines and Politics*? Jim Gabler said that the book was the first novel about wine ever to appear in the United States, and since I liked the historical side of wine I might be interested. Maybe, Gail said, I might even write something about it? So I bit.

The next step was to consult Gabler. Here is what I found:

MARTINEAU, Harriet (1802-1876). French wines and politics. A tale. Illustrations of political economy, No. XII. London: Charles Fox; Boston: Leonard C. Bowles, 1833. 189p. G29820

A novel set in Bordeaux and Paris during the French Revolution. Additional American editions in 1843 and 1845, and an English edition in 1859. Miss Martineau was a successful English author of both fiction and non-fiction, and she moved in a literary circle that included Charles Darwin, George Eliot, Florence Nightingale, and Charles Dickens.

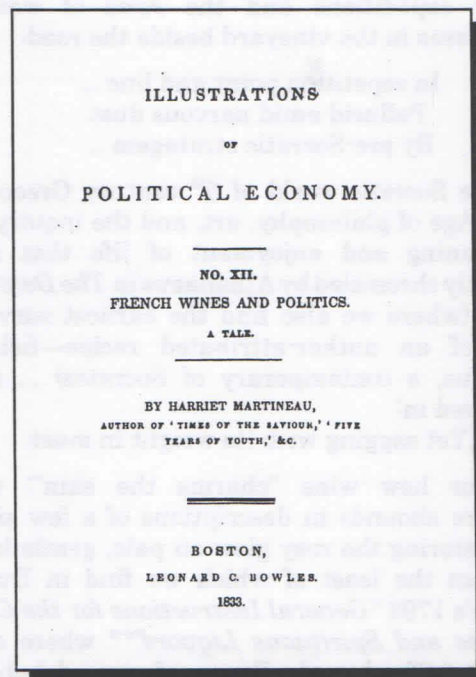
This is probably the first wine novel published in the United States.

So far, so good. The next step, obviously, was to find a copy of the book to read. My local library did not have one, but I was going to the Huntington Library in a few days and would certainly find one there. And so I did—a copy of the London original, 1833, bound up with other "Illustrations of Political Economy" in a little duodecimo volume. It was the first London edition, and differed somewhat from the copy described in Gabler: only 159 pages rather than 189, and without the name of an American publisher on the title page.

And now, with eager curiosity, I began to read, hoping to find a vein of material with which to enrich the pages of *The Wayward Tendrils Quarterly*. Forget it. So far as an interest in wine is concerned, the thing is a fraud. I should have been warned by the words "political economy," an old-fashioned term for what we now call "economics," a study notorious

in the 19th century as the dismal science and not, in our time, exactly a promise of light and interesting literature.

Anyway, here is what I found. It is 1788, and we are at La Haute Favorite, a beautiful vineyard on the west bank of the Garonne above Bordeaux. A Mr. Steele, representing English wine merchants, is there to buy from Antoine Luyon, the proprietor of La Favorite and other vineyards. Antoine, we learn, is a cheerful sort, always inclined to see the bright side of things. Steele, alas, is a mere cipher; but that's all right, for so are all the other characters in the story, if you can call them characters. Stick-figures would be more like it. The poor simp doesn't even have a first name.



As we contemplate the vineyard we listen to the men talk about the weather, about blending wine, about the proper storage of wine, about the importance of soil and exposure—all very promising talk; but, as it turns out, that is the last that we are going to hear about wine in all the pages to follow. At this moment the local grandee, the idiotic, feeble old Marquis de Thou, who is out hunting with his retinue, appears; the whole body, horses, men, and dogs, tears through the vineyard and reduce it to tatters. No wonder the French had a revolution!

Cut to Paris. Antoine Luyon's brother Charles, who runs the business of the Bordeaux estate in Paris, is talking to his children. They discuss the question of prices in troubled times (an illustration of political economy). The children are like the stooges in the Platonic dialogues, always setting up the

speaker with just the right questions and just the right answers to move the discourse onwards. But, we consider, this is literature, not life, and so it's ok to rig things the way the author wants them.

Next we have a lesson on supply and demand: Mr Steele (the cipher has now come to Paris) wants wine to take to England; the French in Paris would like to have fruit, and Steele has imported fruit though the port of Bordeaux. Voila! They can deal! Here Mrs. Luyon has a bit part, taking over from her children. Why, she asks, does her husband raise prices in times of distress? Does he want to add to the afflictions of the people? Silly woman. Does she not know the labor theory of value? Her ignorance is speedily corrected.

Her husband now reveals that he has laid a train of gunpowder through the cellar where his barrels of wine are stored. Should the unruly mob break in to loot his cellar, he will blow up the whole shebang. It is unthinkable that he should contribute to the violence of the mob by furnishing them the means of intoxication, and besides, the mob is entirely uninstructed in the correct principles of political economy (all this elaborate contrivance turns out to be irrelevant: at a later time the mob does loot the cellar, but no one seems to care then—we learn of the fact only incidentally, from a passing reference). Charles shows his wife what he has done to prepare the cellar for destruction; she is awed by his heroism and weeps. She is told to keep the arrangements secret. And this is how our author describes Mrs L's feelings as she and her heroic husband leave the cellar:

Marguerite [for she is called Marguerite] so far succeeded in her endeavour to adopt her husband's principle, that she returned with a smile the searching gaze which Pierre [the confidential clerk] fixed upon her as she issued from the cellar; but her countenance fell at the first words with which he answered her intimation that she now knew the great secret, and would guard it carefully.

How is that for gripping prose? And for deep psychological penetration? There are 156 pages of it (or 189 if you are lucky enough to read Jim Gabler's copy).

All this time the mob is getting more and more excited. So one day they go to the Bastille and tear it down. Charles and Steele go along—don't ask why—and take part in the business. Steele rescues an English prisoner, who has gone mad during his solitary incarceration. They take him home, and we expect something to develop from the circumstance, but nothing does. What do a few loose ends matter anyway? To convey to the reader the vivid and exciting character of the mob as it storms the

Bastille, this is what Miss Martineau writes: "the entire elements of the scenery of human character were here congregated in infinite and magnificent combinations." Such a sentence fills one with a deep and bitter envy.

Now that the Bastille is down, Papa Luyon explains to his son the exchange theory of value. And why not? Are we not having a revolution? The little boy, like his mother in an earlier dialogue, is a satisfactory stooge.

The mob, being wholly misguided by unsound economic theories, takes to looting bakers' shops and to tossing the looted flour into the Seine. Charles addresses the mob on the folly of such economic policy and they retire, enlightened and apologetic.

There is trouble out at Versailles, so Charles hurries out there, rescues the miserable Marquis de Thou (remember him?—the one who wrecked the La Favorite vineyard?) and takes him home. They all pack up and head for Bordeaux. The cipher, Steele, remains in Paris to take care of the business, and we will, mercifully, hear no more from him; it does not appear that he ever got any wine from the Luyon brothers or from anyone else. What did they think in London?

When the Parisian Charles is reunited with his Bordelaise brother Antoine, this is how Antoine reports to him on the condition of things in the surrounding countryside (they have had a ferociously destructive hurricane as well as a revolution: trade is at a standstill, agriculture has been wrecked, and people are starving):

We are all somewhat better off in that regard than we were; but a great part of the discontent arises from the incessant changes in the value of whatever we get to eat, as long as the supply is turned out of its usual course. When we can no longer depend on an article whose supply is usually pretty regular, and its price not very variable, we are subject to a perpetual rise and fall which we cannot calculate, and which brings disappointments to the people which they are ill able to bear.

Well, I should just think so.

Meanwhile, the Marquis de Thou, who hasn't learned a single thing, has taken to tearing up the peasants' vineyards with his hunting parties again. But he gets what he deserves: the mob burns his château, cuts off the Marquis' head, and throws the body into the flames that consume the château and the marquis alike. I suspect that a symbolic meaning may be intimated here, but I am not sure.

Well, anyway, after a while (it is now July 1790: I don't know just what stage of the revolution has been reached at this point, but it is time to end), Charles goes back to Paris and writes his wife a long letter

filled with high theory as to the relation of good government and prosperous commerce. Just to make sure that we don't miss anything, Miss Martineau has appended a "Summary of Principles illustrated in this Volume" at the end of the story, but as I ran my eye down the list I concluded that I had missed a whole lot.

I had hoped for something different. In this story no one is shown as growing anything, or making anything, or selling anything, or drinking anything, or comparing anything, or doing anything that touches the subject of wine. Miss Martineau might just as well—better, in fact—have written about a grain merchant, or a cloth manufacturer, or a sausage maker, or anything else at all. The feeble, rickety story simply collapses under the weight of instruction that the author so eagerly wants us to have. I blame Gail Unzelman for making me read it.

I have looked a little bit into the life of Miss Martineau and cannot find any sort of connection between her and wine. I suppose she drank it, but maybe not. She was deaf, and used an ear trumpet, but I don't think that would inhibit the use of wine.

Some further scraps of information may be of interest. The economic principles set forth in "Illustrations of Political Economy" are taken more or less directly from *Elements of Political Economy*, by James Mill (1821), a widely-influential treatise by the father of the better-known John Stuart Mill. Miss Martineau had the idea of embodying the *Elements* in a series of tales, persuaded a reluctant London publisher to carry out the idea, and enjoyed a wild success. The stories came out in monthly installments and sold around 10,000 copies each: her reputation was made. The whole series consisted of 25 tales, of which "French Wines and Politics" is number 12, and ran from 1832 through 1834. The series was then bound up in five volumes; the original edition has been reprinted in various forms since. Miss Martineau is said first to have organized her material for each story and then to have written it straight off, as fast as her pen could travel across the paper, with no going back, no hesitations, no revisions. I can well believe it.

And finally, a word about Jim Gabler's description of the book. Whatever else it may be, it ain't no novel.

[My apologies to Prof. Pinney, but he has done us a grand service: now, none of us should feel the need to read it, unless we wish to suffer likewise! There are Kessinger reproductions available on the Internet from \$20 to \$70. The original, single printing of *French Wines and Politics* remains quite scarce. — Ed.]

McMILLIN, *continued from p.14* —

in only two categories, first and second grade. There is no washing after the salting process, and the draining is not as thorough so as to allow the eggs to be juicier. After reaching the U.S., the caviar is desalted before serving.

Pressed Caviar

■ When passing through the sieve, the caviar might prove soft and become milky white. Sometimes it is so soft that it cannot pass through the sieve. In this case, the whole ovary is put into a 38-degree bath of salt water to harden the eggs. Once hardened, then pressed caviar is made out of them.

■ Pressed caviar will qualify for first grade if all the eggs are homogeneous in color and quality. The rest will be second grade. Note: The pressed caviar with a mud taste will automatically qualify as second grade [for sure!].

Whole Caviar

■ Some caviar due to the immaturity of the eggs and too much fat prove hard, or even impossible, to pass through a sieve. The caviar with these characteristics is cut into small pieces, salted as is, and put into the brine. If it is oozy-booroon, it is left in for 5 to 6 minutes, and if another kind, for 10 minutes. The caviar is then put into barrels. This kind of caviar is very rarely made and is inexpensive.

The Bottles: In view of the economy, we have been tasting only affordable California sparklers in my classes at S. F. City College, Ft. Mason campus. Here are some of the best!

\$12. NV Brut Rosé, Korbel

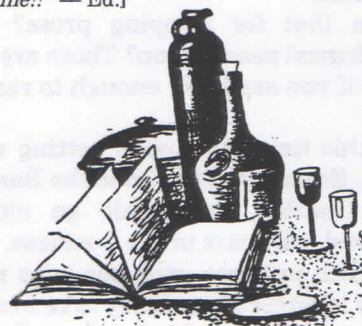
\$16. Syrah-Black Bubbles, Steele Wines

\$19. NV Blanc de Noir, Mumm Napa

\$36. NV Brut Rosé, Domaine Carneros

\$36. Royal Cuvée, Gloria Ferrer

[We raise a toast and salute our octogenarian adventurer in the world of food and wine!! — Ed.]



U.C. GRAPES AND WINE:

A Discourse on the Institution of Wine Research in California, With Reflections on the Early Workers... by Charles L. Sullivan

[This is the 3^d installment of Charles Sullivan's in-depth study on the founding fathers of the viticultural school of the University of California. In this series, covering the period 1868 to 1918, these industrious, pioneer wine-men—Hilgard, Bioletti, Twight, Wickson, et al—and their many contributions to wine and its literature will be reviewed. — Ed.]

Part III: College and Station



Until the 1890s, the activities of the College staff directed toward viticulture and winemaking were concerned overwhelmingly with research, surveys, and the dissemination of practical scientific information to interested Californians. There was very little time devoted to formal instruction, either in the viticulture department or in the College itself. Simply put, there were very few students enrolled in the College in its early years. Nevertheless, the 1880 act of the State Legislature providing funds for work in viticulture specifically called for "special instruction...in the arts and sciences pertaining to viticulture, and the theory and practice of fermentation..." by the College of Agriculture.

Looking to the future in an 1878 memo to the University president, Professor Hilgard had laid out a plan for courses in agriculture in the most general terms. One of these general areas would be Fruit Culture, which would include viticulture. But he noted then that there was very little interest in the courses being taught.

By 1885 Edward Wickson had joined the staff and began teaching courses in practical agriculture, horticulture, and entomology. Frederick Morse helped with the entomology lectures, while Hilgard himself taught a class in agricultural chemistry. Finally in the 1886-87 academic year, Hilgard was able to offer a class in viticulture, which included winemaking. By then the first California wine boom was well under way and there was now some interest in the subject. He lectured twice a week and there were two weekly laboratory sessions conducted by his assistants. This approach was sufficient until 1894-95 when a separate course in vinification was added, taught by Arthur Hayne and Frederic Bioletti (whom we shall soon meet). The next addition came in 1898-99 when Bioletti began teaching a course titled Practical Wine-making and Bacteriology. In that academic year the vinification curriculum was divided into separate courses, Analysis of Musts and Wine, and Adulteration in Wine, taught by George E. Colby, who had been on the college staff since 1886.

In the nineties the College's great success in the areas of viticulture and enology (then spelled oenology) can be traced to Hilgard's selection of several key staff members. They would move forward in these fields as Hilgard stepped back to concentrate on his chief area of expertise, soil science.

Edward J. Wickson

First among these was Edward J. Wickson, a New York man with a master's degree in agricultural chemistry from Hamilton College (NY). He came to California in 1875 and in that year became the editor of the *Pacific Rural Press*, a position he held until his death in 1923. Hilgard hired him in 1879 as a part-time lecturer on dairying; six years later he was a regular member of the staff. He was promoted in 1891 to assistant professor and actually ran the College in 1892-93 while Hilgard was traveling in Europe. During these years Wickson became Hilgard's best friend on the faculty and his *de facto* second-in-command of the College and Experiment Station. Promoted to full professor in 1897, Wickson was a solid supporter of Hilgard's viticulture and enology program (V&E) and was a steady collaborator with the professor during his years of strife with the Viticultural Commission.

Frederic Bioletti

Even more important to the development of the V&E program was Frederic Bioletti (1865-1939), whom Hilgard hired away from Leland Stanford's huge Vina Winery in Tehama County, in the upper Sacramento Valley. Bioletti had been born in England where his English mother had been married to an Italian. She and her son later came to California, where she married J. H. Drummond, the noted pioneer Sonoma winegrower and viticultural experimenter. As a young man Bioletti worked in several Sonoma County wineries and was eventually hired as cellar man at Vina. Hamden McIntyre, the superintendent at Vina (and formerly at Inglenook), suggested to Hilgard that the bright twenty-four-year-old would be an excellent selection for cellar master at Berkeley. In February 1889 Hilgard offered Bioletti the job and the following month formally nominated the diminutive Englishman to be Foreman of the Station Cellar. Bioletti went to work the first day of

April for fifty dollars a month, the same rate being paid to the cellar master at Inglenook.

Part of the arrangement was that Bioletti would study for his degree in Botany at the University, while working in the cellar. It was an excellent arrangement, as he and Arthur Hayne were gradually able to take full control of the V&E work at the University by the mid-nineties. Hayne, who was hired in 1892, was soon teaching V&E classes with Bioletti and Colby. He came from a noted Southern family, an uncle having been the Senator Robert Hayne to whom Daniel Webster gave his famous reply. He had studied in Europe and had a thorough background in French viticultural research, particularly in the area of phylloxera and resistant rootstock.

Experiment Stations

Professor Hilgard's ability to move forward in all areas of agricultural research and instruction in the nineties was greatly facilitated by the federal government's Hatch Act of 1887. It called for the land grant colleges enabled by the 1862 Morrill Act to establish agricultural experiment stations to conduct research in all agricultural topics and to publish the results quarterly. Specifically, the University of California was given \$15,000 for this purpose, \$3000 of which was to be used in the first year to erect a building to house the station's work. Later the State added more than \$10,000 to finish construction. The University, of course, had had such a station since the 1870s, arguably the first in the country. This infusion of federal funds dramatically changed the intensity of its research program.

Hilgard had two projects that required his immediate attention. First, the new agricultural building had to be constructed so that he could collect under one roof all of the College pieces that were now scattered around the campus and in his own nearby home on Bancroft Avenue. By the Spring of 1888 it was almost finished. He noted there was a surge in student enrollment which he thought was probably influenced by the new facility. The professor's continued interest in V&E is reflected in the amount of space in the new building devoted to the program, particularly the basement, which was to be used for crushing, fermentation, and the laboratory. On the downward slope from South Hall to Strawberry Creek, the cellar opened out above the creek; a platform was built extending out from the cellar where equipment and barrels could be washed.

By January 1889 they were moved into the new building "erected specially for my benefit according to my plans." However, Hilgard added in his letter to his sister, "And yet I am not happy." It was at this moment that he went looking for a cellar master.

The professor's second project was aimed at

continuing and expanding the college's outreach to the farm communities of the State. His purpose was to establish a system of sub-stations for experimentation, demonstration, and the dissemination of planting material. He spent much of 1888 touring California searching for suitable spots to place these stations. The next year, the first three were established: near Jackson in the Sierra foothills, near Tulare in the San Joaquin Valley, and near Pomona in Southern California. Later, a station was established near Paso Robles in the Central Coast. He intended for all stations to plant vineyards to test the effect of regional climate and soils on grape production. He was also able to set up special viticultural stations under the private auspices of settled winegrowers at Cupertino (J. T. Doyle), Mission San Jose (Juan Gallegos), and Fresno (E. B. Rogers).

The reports from and the success of these stations varied from year to year. In the end only the Foothill Station near Jackson was a moderate success, so far as viticulture was concerned. The vineyard was planted in 1889 to Zinfandel, Carignane and Mataro; dozens of varieties would be added later. Hilgard went up to participate in the official inauguration of the station in July 1889. As the vineyard was expanded and varieties added, the crops were found to be small and light on the thin, hilly soil, but the wines were generally quite good. The grapes were harvested and sent down to the railroad at Ione for shipment to Berkeley, where Bioletti turned them into wine. He, in actuality, was in charge of the vineyard operations at the station (by mail) and rode herd over production with a strong hand. George Hansen, the station manager, kept statistics on the crops, counting bunches per vine by variety and tracking sugar development week by week. Cuttings from the vineyard were liberally distributed to local growers, gratis.

The whole idea of such sub-stations was a good one and the goals were admirable. In more recent years they have become a regular and essential part of University outreach. But this was not the time, and gradually they were closed one by one. The Foothill Station's last year was dramatic. Acting on a tip from Bioletti, Wickson made an unannounced inspection trip to the station, resulting in a scathing report to Hilgard. It was obvious the orchard and vineyard had not been cultivated for at least a year; there were large ferns growing in the vineyard. Hansen was sacked and we hear little more of the operations of the Amador County Experiment Station. By 1904 all the sub-stations had been closed.

Nevertheless, the Hatch Act funds had remarkable effect on the programs of the University's Experiment Station. This progress is reflected in the

yearbooks of the U.S. Department of Agriculture in the late 1890s. Here are recorded the principal lines of work at all the stations throughout the country. In California they included work on field crops, horticulture, drainage and irrigation, fertilizers, bacteriology, wine technology, viticulture, entomology, viticulture, and many others.

The most important human modification in the College's V&E operations were the changes in its boss. In the mid-nineties, Hilgard had passed the sixty-year mark, twenty of them at Berkeley. He was disgusted by the public battle he had fought with the Viticultural Commission, and he was convinced that if he were ever to attain one of his most cherished professional goals, now was the time.

In his 1896 report to the Regents, Hilgard summed up the College's viticultural work between 1887 and 1895. Maynard Amerine, in his 1962 monograph "Hilgard and California Viticulture," termed this 466-page document, to which Bioletti and Hayne also contributed, the professor's *opus magnum*. When the national economic recovery began in 1897 and it was time to replant northern California's decimated and often neglected vineyards, and when it was seen as time to open new areas to viticulture, this work acted as a text book for many growers on what varieties to plant, and where. It set a pattern that would be fol-

lowed by V&E researchers in the 1930s, when the same kind of dilemma faced the California wine industry after Prohibition.

In 1888 Hilgard was well-settled on his recently expanded 36-acre vineyard ranch at Mission San Jose, a "Dorflein," he wrote, just north of Milpitas, "The Podunk of the West." A quick train trip from Berkeley, he and his family spent many of their weekends and most of their summers there. But, like most who had started such an enterprise in the mid-1880s, by the time he made his first profit, in 1890, the bottom was starting to drop out of the wine grape market. In years to come the operation put him thousands of dollars in debt to his sister Rosa.

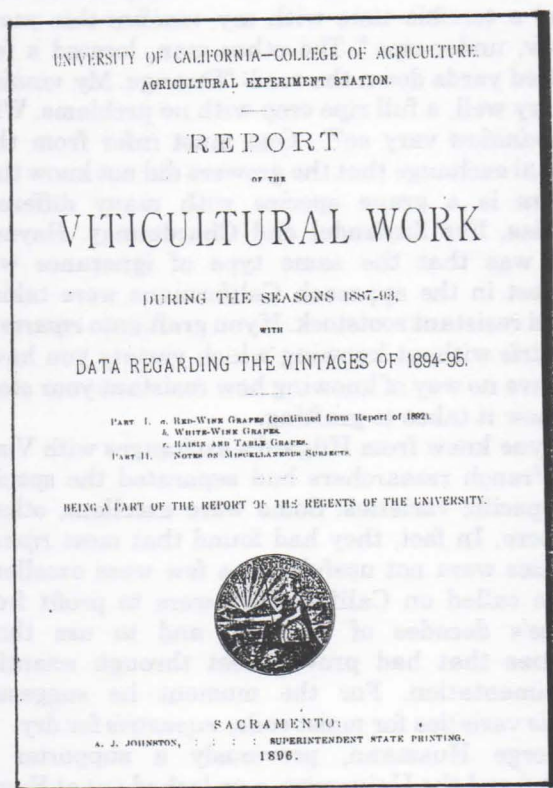
His son, Eugene, was a brilliant engineering student at the University, but a terrible eye condition forced him to drop out in 1887. From then on he was the manager of the little estate at Mission San Jose. Later Hilgard indicated that the key to their decision to buy the place had been his Spanish-born wife's attraction to the Spanish community that had grown up there around the gigantic wine operation of Juan Gallegos, whose mammoth stone winery, built in 1884, was the largest in the world. Hilgard and the former Central American coffee-baron became close friends and the professor actually became a director of the company.

In 1887 Hilgard was on the verge of leaving the University. He felt under-compensated and overworked. But the Hatch Act monies, a raise in pay from the Regents, a very lucrative soil consulting job, and a 35-ton crop from his vineyard in 1888 helped keep him in Berkeley. He even felt financially strong enough to pay for his son to go to Germany to consult eye specialists. On his way to New York City in September 1889, the boy came down with typhus and died. Hilgard never recovered from this blow.

But he never lost interest in or his commitment to the viticulture and enology program. Nonetheless, through the nineties until his retirement in 1906, he gave a much broader allotment of his time and energy to the expanding curriculum of the College and to the amplification of the station's general research program. Personally, he was committed to writing his scientific masterpiece, *Soils: Their Formative Properties, Composition, and Relations to Climate and Plant Growth, in Humid and Arid Regions*. The book became the last word on the subject when it was finally published in 1906.

St. George and the Phylloxera

The first fifteen years of Eugene Hilgard's tenure at the University of California produced no scientific breakthroughs that might lead directly to better California wine. Certain traditions were established through the V&E program and the public



Prof. Hilgard's *opus magnum*, 1896

was certainly made aware of the issues involved in effecting such improvement. Some policies, such as setting up sub-stations, established no lasting traditions, but did lay down a pattern for future development. But in the nineties there were important scientific successes and one great triumph.

Phylloxera, the great disaster of the 1880s for Hilgard and his staff, was not an economic problem for the wine industry between 1890 and 1895. Some even looked on the decline in grape production in the North Bay vineyards as a boon. The reason was the national agricultural depression since 1889 that had clobbered wine grape prices. Overproduction was the key to the decline, and phylloxera certainly helped hold down those numbers. After the financial crash of 1893 the situation had become a national depression. For six years there was hardly an acre of new wine grapes planted in California. There simply was no need for resistant rootstock, the only practical remedy for the phylloxera infestation.

But by 1895 there was increasing talk, particularly in Napa and Sonoma counties, about replanting the devastated vineyards when good times returned. There was no planting, but plenty of talk. Virtually no one still believed there was a practical way to eradicate an established phylloxera infestation. The received answer was to protect new vineyards by grafting *vinifera* wine grape varieties onto native American varieties that were truly resistant, unlike the *V. californica*, which had fooled almost everyone during the 1880s, including Hilgard.

But that native vine had not fooled French viticultural researchers, particularly Pierre Viala, who had toured America in the eighties. When Hilgard went to Europe in 1892 he made it a point to visit the French professor in Paris. They discussed several subjects, the most important being the French work on American resistant varieties. When Hilgard returned to Berkeley in 1893, he decided to give Arthur Hayne the phylloxera problem—previously undertaken by Frederick Morse—and he put the young assistant in contact with Viala. Hayne was the perfect man for the job; he had studied in Europe and his French was excellent. In 1895 he was ready for action.

Before Hilgard had left for his European trip, he had worried about how his assistants would survive and complete their work without his presence, his “lost chicks.” But on his return he wrote that his staff, particularly Bioletti and Hayne, “are doing better now in taking work upon their shoulders,” an observation that definitely understated his increased optimism in their abilities.

On 27 September 1897, the *St. Helena Star* set in motion the process that would answer the question now being asked by California vineyardists preparing

to replant. “OK, resistant rootstock it is. But which one?” This is the question the *Star* asked of its readers, and sent out to other newspapers throughout the State. By early November the answers were pouring in. A few Californians had been experimenting with resistants since the late 1870s. They got them mostly from Missouri, and most of these came from viticultural expert George Husmann (who did not settle in Napa until 1881). Chief among those Californians who had been working with the resistant American vines were Julius Dresel (Sonoma), H. W. Crabb and John Stanly (Napa). The results had been consistently positive. But in 1892 only 12% of Napa County’s wine grapes were on resistant rootstock; in Sonoma, where conditions were the worst, there were only 10%.

By far the most popular resistant rootstock came from *V. riparia*, followed by *V. rupestris*. A vine named Lenoir was also popular, a mysterious hybrid of *V. aestivalis* that had caught on in France because, unlike most resistant vines, its grapes made a decent red wine. (It is illegal in France today since it is not truly resistant.)

On December 13 Arthur Hayne set California on the right track in his letter to the *Star*, which he followed up with numerous visits to the North Coast wine country. He suggested an illustrative, if quite fictional, conversation between two vineyardists. One: “I had a terrible time with my *vinifera* this year—mildew, under-ripe.” The other man, located a few hundred yards down the road: “Strange. My *vinifera* did very well, a full ripe crop with no problems. Why does *vinifera* vary so?” One must infer from this fictional exchange that the growers did not know that *vinifera* is a grape species with many different varieties, like Zinfandel and Chardonnay. Hayne’s point was that the same type of ignorance was manifest in the approach Californians were taking toward resistant rootstock. If you graft onto *riparia* or *rupestris* without knowing which variety you have, you have no way of knowing how resistant your stock is or how it takes to grafting.

Hayne knew from Hilgard’s exchanges with Viala that French researchers had separated the species into specific varieties. Some were excellent, others mediocre. In fact, they had found that most *riparia* varieties were not useful, but a few were excellent. Hayne called on California growers to profit from France’s decades of research and to use those varieties that had proven best through scientific experimentation. For the moment he suggested *riparia* varieties for moist soils, *rupestris* for dry.

George Husmann, previously a supporter of Hilgard and the University, now lashed out at Hayne as an intolerable, impractical ignoramus. Why go to France when we have the evidence right here from

the vines he sent from Missouri to California in the 1870s? The old man considered Hayne's suggestions a personal assault on his reputation. He kept up the attack for the next four years and did much to muddy the waters of the solution, particularly with his continued advocacy of the Lenoir.

Hilgard gave Hayne the reins and the young Carolinian didn't give an inch. He spoke at growers' meetings in Napa, Sonoma, and San Jose, and warned them not to "send to the forests of the East and cut down wild vines." The answer was to employ the specific varieties selected by the French scientists as truly resistant. In January 1896 the *Star* published Viala's list of *rupestris* and *riparia* varieties with a numerical rating for resistance, 20.0 being perfect. The *rupestris* varieties averaged 19.5, the *riparia* 19.0.

Then in the Spring of 1896 large numbers of vines on *riparia* began declining. No one then, including Hayne, could discern the cause. (Had they kept a close eye on rainfall totals for northern California since November they might have guessed. I believe that drought conditions in 1896-1897 were the probable cause.) Until this time, Hayne had favored *riparia* varieties, but by the end of the year he was telling Napa growers, "When in doubt plant *rupestris*." There were several varieties of this species the French favored; the Martin and the Mission were excellent. But it was the St. George that worked best in a widest range of settings. In December Napa Valley's George Schoenewald began the importation flood by sending off to France for a huge load of *vinifera* vines grafted onto native-American *rupestris* St. George. The Beringers soon followed, as did Paul Masson in San Jose.

Throughout the California wine country in the Spring of 1897 it was clear the economic depression had bottomed out. People guessed that good times were coming, and they were correct. In Napa County alone, 764 acres of vines were planted that Spring, 82% of them on "resistant" rootstock, but the greatest number of these went onto Lenoir, reflecting Husmann's ill-starred influence. Elsewhere the St. George was king.

In 1898 Hilgard leased two acres of vineyard on the Charles Krug property north of St. Helena, now being managed following Krug's death in 1892 by Bismark Bruck. He was soon one of the leading advocates of the St. George in the State. He also made a substantial amount of money importing it in great quantities. Hayne took charge of the new Napa Experiment Station, testing various rootstocks. More important, he set up a training program to teach growers how to graft vines themselves. It was not long before the Sonoma growers were coming over to Napa Valley in large numbers.

Over the next two years the St. George became the

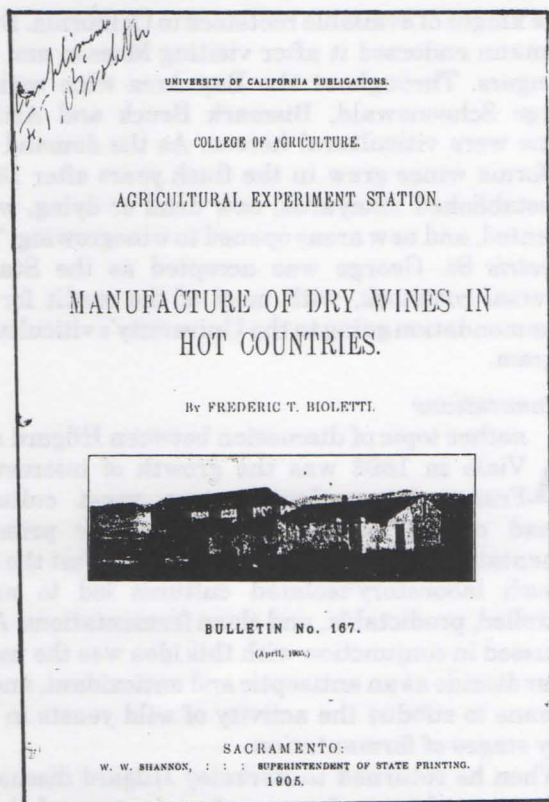
white knight of available rootstock in California. Even Husmann endorsed it after visiting Masson and the Beringers. Throughout the Bay Area wine regions George Schoenewald, Bismark Bruck and Arthur Hayne were viticultural heroes. As the demand for California wines grew in the flush years after 1897, old established vineyards, now dead or dying, were replanted, and new areas opened to winegrowing. The *rupestris* St. George was accepted as the State's universal rootstock, with most of the credit for its recommendation going to the University's viticultural program.

Fermentations

Another topic of discussion between Hilgard and Viala in 1892 was the growth of interest in France in employing pure yeast cultures instead of the natural wild yeast for primary fermentation. The French had concluded that the use of such laboratory-isolated cultures led to more controlled, predictable, and clean fermentations. Also discussed in conjunction with this idea was the use of sulfur dioxide as an antiseptic and antioxidant, and as a means to subdue the activity of wild yeasts in the early stages of fermentation.

When he returned to Berkeley Hilgard discussed the matter of "pure ferments," as he termed them, with Bioletti. But the money needed to develop a program for experimentation in this area was unavailable. The next year the Regents, faced by the realities of the great depression, cut back on the funds available to the College of Agriculture. We shall see that Bioletti maintained his interest in these ideas and eventually would make them a major part of the V&E program after 1905.

Cooler fermentations were another topic of the Paris discussions. There was no question as to "whether?" It was "how?" Hilgard came back to Berkeley with the idea of developing a mechanical device to cool the fermenting must. He threw the technical question to Hayne, who had a machine in operation by 1896 at Natoma, northeast of Sacramento. It passed the fermenting juice through a series of pipes immersed in cool water, and it worked. Hayne gave an account of this work in the Station's 1897 Bulletin #117 on controlling fermentation temperatures. The same year he conducted wide-scale and largely successful experiments at the St. George Winery in Fresno and at the Wehner Winery near San Jose. Later Bioletti continued this work with Rudolph Jordan and Ernest Streich at the Castle Rock Winery on Mt. Veeder in Napa County. All this work, plus Bioletti's knowledge gained in North Africa after 1901, went into his very influential 1905, 66-page Experiment Station Bulletin #167 *The Manufacture of Dry Wines in Hot Countries* (see illustration).



Bull.167 — Bioletti's report following his visit to France, Germany, and Algeria in 1904

Bioletti's work in the 1890s was the source of great satisfaction to Hilgard. The assistant ran the Station's cellar and made all the wine from the grapes sent in from the sub-stations. He also supervised the analysis of wine samples sent to Berkeley from all over the State by producers who had questions or concerns about their production. Bioletti was also given the task of writing large portions of Hilgard's reports to the Regents. In 1897 he produced a Station Bulletin on pruning (#119) and was soon at work putting together an important Bulletin on Hayne's work with resistant rootstock (#127). (That Hayne did not write this Bulletin involves a special story which I'll soon tell.) All the while Bioletti was finishing his work on his B.S. degree in Botany (1894) and his master's in Agricultural Science (1898).

In 1897 the new Agricultural Experiment Station building burned down. Hilgard lost most of his soil collection but not his papers, else this history would have been a very lean one. Rebuilding began immediately—one-third larger than the old building—and was finished soon after the beginning of the Fall semester. It turned out this event was far less a body-blow to the V&E program than what was soon to come.

First, in 1898 the Regents cut funding specifically

earmarked for V&E work. In Hilgard's words V&E was "now a mere subdivision of horticulture." Then, no sooner had Arthur Hayne been made Assistant Professor of Viticulture, the United States declared war on Spain. In August, Hayne volunteered his services and was soon on his way to the Philippines, where he eventually went to work for the Department of Agriculture. Hilgard was thunderstruck; he could not imagine what the young man hoped to gain. (From Napa, Husmann grumbled that he hoped Hayne was a better soldier than he was a viticulturist.) To top it off, Hilgard found that for now he could not replace Hayne with the funds he had available.

In 1899 and 1900 there was a powerful shift in the work load in V&E. Bioletti could not spend much time in the cellar or laboratory. The matter of resistant rootstock and the continuing spread of phylloxera was still foremost and needed his close attention. The situation sent him on the road continually, particularly in the Santa Clara and San Joaquin valleys. Hilgard, besides running the Experiment Station and supervising the College's expanding agricultural curriculum, directed more energy toward saving the faltering sub-stations, in vain. When Hayne left, Hilgard closed down the station in St. Helena. Personally he was concerned about the replanting of his own vineyard at Mission San Jose, this time on *riparia* and *rupestris* rootstock. All of his spare time, as much as he could accumulate, went into his soil book, for which he now had a contract with publishers Macmillan & Co.

In the fall of 1900 Hilgard was finally able to hire another V&E staff member. Edmund H. Twilight had the best possible recommendation, from Henry Lachman of the California Wine Association, a man who probably knew more about commercial wine production than any other in the State.

Twilight was born in France where his British father was a professor of linguistics at the Sorbonne. There in 1891 the seventeen-year-old received his degree in mathematics. Three years later he received a degree in agricultural engineering at the Ecole Nationale in Montpellier. Then it was on to California.

In January 1901 Bioletti dropped the first of his two bombshells for that year. In the Fresno area he positively identified a phylloxera-infested raisin vineyard, the first such sighting in the San Joaquin Valley. This was doubly serious in the eyes of many observers. One might rationalize a lack of total compassion for winegrowers in the rising tide of prohibitionist sympathy in California; but thousands of acres of raisin and table grapes in the Central Valley were another matter. The spotlight was now on Hilgard's viticulture & enology team; in March, Twilight was in Fresno.

Bioletti's second bombshell came in the Spring of 1901. He announced that in the coming Fall he was heading for South Africa to lecture in horticulture, viticulture and winemaking at Capetown's Eisenberg Agricultural College. Hilgard had not hired Twight with an advanced eye on Bioletti's departure (although for years since it has been assumed among the U.C. Davis faculty that this was the case). Bioletti's departure was an even greater blow to Hilgard than Hayne's. Twight filled Hayne's spot, not Bioletti's.

In the summer Hilgard officially closed down the station's Berkeley experimental cellar; but he made it clear that producers might still send in wine samples for his assistants' analyses. The V&E program would focus on defending against the phylloxera, specifically by determining which were the most satisfactory rootstocks for the hot and dry, yet well-irrigated, Central Valley vineyards.

Intermezzo

When Edmund Twight went to work at the University in 1901, he began four years of intense, grueling labor. During much of the time, financial stringency at the College made him the only full-time member of the V&E staff. In the Fall he began teaching Bioletti's courses: Viticulture, Enology, Distilling Materials and Zymology (fermentation science). When he wasn't teaching he was on the road, mostly in the Central Valley and Southern California. When in 1904 he looked back on the condition of the department in a letter to Hilgard, he may have been exaggerating the situation, perhaps not.

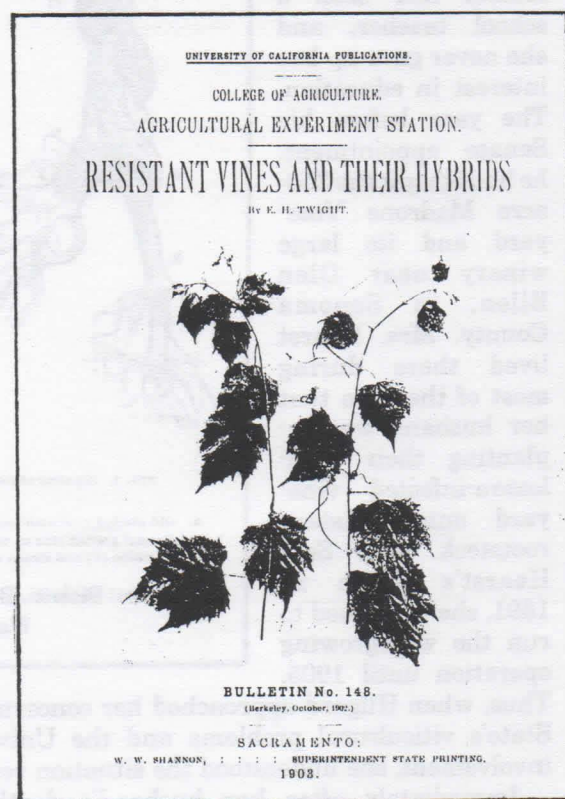
I do not care to criticize ex-colleagues but notice that when I came to Berkeley the interests of the State's viticulturists and their confidence in the viticultural department at Berkeley was so run-down it was exceedingly hard for me to start in.

From statements made later by Hilgard, it appears that Bioletti and Twight did not get along very well when they were together in the Spring of 1901. And when Bioletti returned in 1903, Twight's decision to move on, regardless of Hilgard's solid support, may have been influenced by this previous relationship. Nevertheless, it is clear that the work load and the decline in department funding were also important factors. In fact, Bioletti's salary was directed to another department of the College.

By the end of 1902, the Pacific Wine & Spirit Review, Hilgard's old enemy in his fight with the Viticultural Commission, was complaining about the lack of funds for the University's V&E program, and quoted Twight to the effect that California was falling behind in the defense of its vineyards. In 1903 the U.S. Department of Agriculture took up some of the

slack by funding nine stations in California for experimental work on rootstock. These stations were put under the supervision of George C. Husmann, the son of the pioneer Napa viticulturist.

Twight still had his hands full, with a flare-up of what appeared to be Anaheim (Pierce's) disease near Pomona in Southern California, and the phylloxera in the Central Valley, now newly discovered around Lodi. Also in that area was a vine ailment being called "little leaf." There were also a rising number of Farmers' Institutes up and down the State, many of which he was expected to address. (In 1903 alone, there were 380 sessions at 113 institutes.) Meanwhile, beginning in 1902, Twight produced three Bulletins for the station, two on resistant vines and grafting (#146, #148) and one on proper fermentation techniques (#159). [See Sources at end.]



Bull. 148 – Twight on Resistant Vines

By 1903 Twight had had it. He informed Hilgard that he would no longer teach and do extensive field work. He also asked for a raise in pay and rank. Hilgard expressed his confidence in his assistant by allowing him to cancel all his Fall classes, which caused another loud outcry from the press and the wine trade, now directed at the Regents, not at Hilgard. The director also moved to promote Twight to Assistant Professor of Viticulture, which was confirmed in the Spring.

Hilgard was intent on keeping Twight and praised his work enthusiastically in his 1903 report to the Regents. And it is also clear that he was working to bring off a major managerial coup, perhaps one of the most important in his administration, so far as the V&E program was concerned. It began when he approached U.C. Regent Phoebe Hearst and sought her help. (The written record supplies few concrete clues as to how he accomplished this coup. A sizable portion of the evidence is circumstantial.)

Mrs. Hearst was the widow of George Hearst, the mining tycoon who was appointed to the U.S. Senate in 1886. Before her marriage, Mrs. Hearst had been a school teacher, and she never gave up her interest in education. The year before his Senate appointment, he had bought the 350-acre Madrone Vineyard and its large winery near Glen Ellen, in Sonoma County. Mrs. Hearst lived there during most of the time that her husband was replanting their phylloxera-infested vineyard onto resistant vineyard onto resistant rootstock. After Sen. Hearst's death in 1891, she continued to run the winegrowing operation until 1905.

Thus, when Hilgard approached her concerning the State's viticultural problems and the University's involvement, she understood the situation very well.

Immediately after her husband's death, Mrs. Hearst set off on a philanthropic course of action focused on the University of California. When she became a Regent in 1897 she became a pillar of support on the Board for Prof. Hilgard, whom she considered one of the bright jewels of the University faculty. And of the members of that Board, she was perhaps the most powerful, the toughest, and the most idealistic.

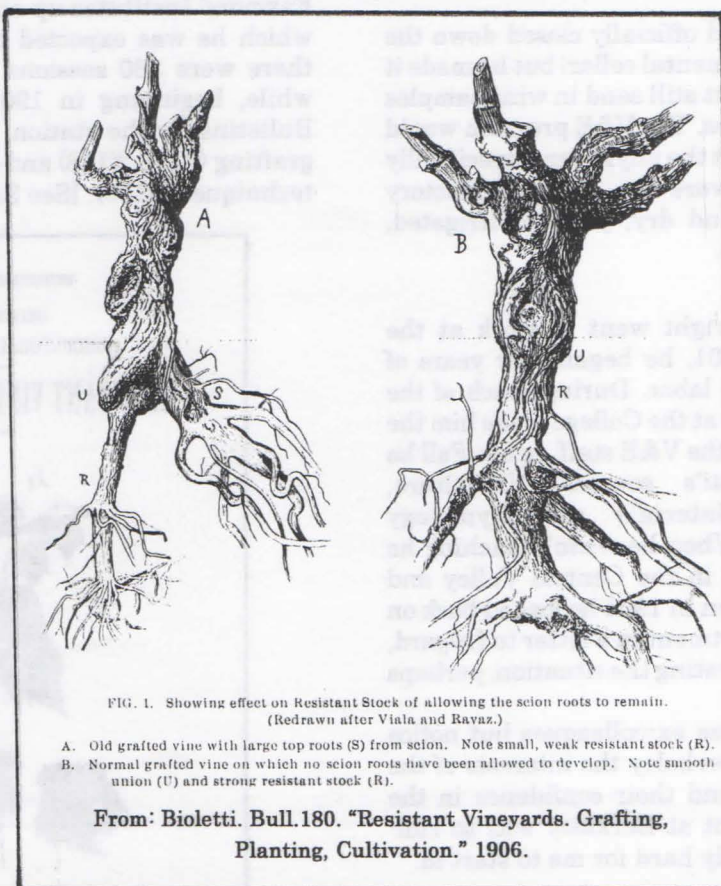
Hilgard's plan, simply put, was to get Bioletti to come back, to keep Twight on board, and to get more money for the Viticulture & Enology program. In all of this he was successful, his great coup being the

return of Bioletti, whose contribution to the Viticulture & Enology program into the 1930s was arguably as important as Hilgard's had been. Years later, department members agreed that Bioletti returned because of Mrs. Hearst's support. But Hilgard made it happen.

With his support from the Board, Hilgard went to University President Benjamin Ide Wheeler and asked that Bioletti be offered the rank of assistant professor with an appropriate salary raise. Wheeler

approved, and in mid-February 1903, Hilgard forwarded the offer. On March 27 Bioletti sent Hilgard two letters, one a formal acceptance, the other a personal communication that urged Hilgard to move quickly in securing the necessary final approval. He needed it straightaway because he soon expected to get an offer from the local college "which I would not like to refuse unless I was sure of the California appointment...." He told Hilgard not to use the mail but to cable him, "Bioletti, Agricola, Capetown, Yes."

He also revealed his previous hopes, to teach six years in South Africa and then return to Europe for more study. He went on to describe the California magnet affecting this decision. Having come to California as an



English lad of thirteen, now "I have had to come to an English colony to find how thoroughly Americanized I have been in habits and feelings ... I am too old to change my nationality again." (He was thirty-eight.)

Bioletti suggested to Hilgard that on his homeward trip he should spend a few months visiting Algeria, France, and Italy to observe their approaches to producing dry wines in a warm climate: "California is certainly much behind Algeria in many details of cellar construction and machinery...." He also wrote in detail what he hoped to accomplish on his return. Most important was the establishment of a Fresno-area nursery from which to distribute rootstock. He felt strongly that they needed to continue their work to identify the best varieties for this and other viticultural areas. And he wanted to continue their

campaign against spoiled fermentations in commercial wineries.

Hilgard immediately cabled the "Yes." But he was unable to persuade the University to provide funds to finance Bioletti's extended trip home. Hilgard went to the giant California Wine Association (CWA), who were making massive investments in the Central Valley; they willingly agreed to underwrite Bioletti's hot climate research.

In his 1903-04 report to the Regents, Hilgard announced, "It seemed best to induce the return to California of Mr. F. T. Bioletti." Twilight contributed to part of this report, detailing his work at Fresno and Pomona on resistant stock and soils, on "little leaf" disease in the Central Valley, and on his fermentation experiments on a large commercial scale for the CWA at Geyserville in northern Sonoma County. He concluded with felicitations on Bioletti's return and on the bright future of the V&E department, if they received the money they needed. Nonetheless, Twilight left the University the next year to take a job with a Santa Clara Valley winery.

It is remarkable that Hilgard was able to maintain his focus on the V&E program and its staff at this moment. His wife died in October 1903 and he soon went through the painful process of selling his Mission San Jose property. The Regents granted him a year's leave in 1904-05 to finish his soils book, but in the summer of 1905 his eyes failed him and there was concern that he would lose his sight completely. The San Francisco Call reported on 12 September 1905 that Hilgard's condition might make it impossible to complete his soils manuscript. But other members of the college staff pitched in and helped him finish the 593-page book. During this period, Edward Wickson took over Hilgard's duties as acting director of the station.

Soils: Their Formation, Properties, Composition and Relation to Climate and Plant Growth was published in 1906 and Hilgard, at the age of seventy-three, became professor emeritus. It was now thirty-two years since he had accepted President Gilman's offer to come to the primitive Berkeley campus to create and guide the agricultural program of the University of California. He was able to retire in confidence knowing his beloved viticulture & enology program was now in the good hands of Edward Wickson and Frederic Bioletti.

[continued next issue]

REFERENCES

■ EDITOR NOTE: See also sources listed for Parts I and II (Vol.18 No.4, Oct 2008, p.6; and Vol.19 No.1, Jan 2009, p.16). Among the many primary sources researched for this invaluable study, Charles Sullivan has drawn on the vast number of early publications of the University of California College of Agriculture and the Board of State Viticultural Commissioners. For a fine overview and listing (comprehensive?) of these all-important works, see Gabler's *Wine Into Words*, 2nd ed., under "California," "Hilgard," "Bioletti," "Twilight," and "Wickson." Another valuable reference to the pre-1901 works is *A Bibliography on Grapes, Wines, Other... Works Published in the United States before 1901* by Maynard Amerine and Axel Borg (UC Press, 1996).

Amerine, Maynard A. (1911-1998) "Hilgard and California Viticulture." *Hilgardia*, Vol.33 No.1, July 1962. Berkeley: University of California. 23 pp.

In the Appendix "A Bibliography of Hilgard's Published Works on Viticulture," Amerine lists 42 Bulletins for the U. C. College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station, from 1884 to 1896; 5 University of California Viticultural Reports, 1883-1896; and 17 "Other Publications with Material on Viticulture," 1860-1890.

Bioletti, Frederic T. (1865-1939). "The Manufacture of Dry Wines in Hot Countries." *Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. No.167*. 1905. 66 pp. Illus.

_____. "Resistant Vineyards. Grafting, Planting, Cultivation." *Bull. No.180*. 1906. 144 pp. Illus.

_____. "Vine Pruning." *Bull. No.119*. 1897. 16 pp. Illus.

_____. Also, see Gabler *Wine Into Words* (2004), pp.45-47 for an annotated listing of Bioletti's works.

Hayne, Arthur P. (1867-). "The Control of Temperature in Wine Fermentation." *Bull. No.117*. 1897. Berkeley: Agricultural Experiment Station.

One of the earliest papers in English on the subject.

Twilight, Edmund Henri (1874-1957). "New Methods of Grafting and Budding Vines." *Bull. No.146*. 1902. UC College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station, Berkeley. 13 pp. Illustrated.

_____. "Resistant Vines and Their Hybrids." *Bull. No.148*. Berkeley, October 1902. Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1903. 13 pp. Illustrated.

_____. and Charles Ash. "Contribution to the Study of Fermentation." *Bull. No.159*. 1904. Sacramento: State Printing Office. 26 pp.

Teiser, Ruth and Catherine Harroun. *Winemaking in California* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1983). pp.112, 196, 197 have great photographs of Hilgard, Bioletti and Twilight.



PHILADELPHIA

Nov. 27th 1879

Mrs. Ira Davenport



Terms Cash.

EASTERN HOUSE:—Nos. 24 & 28 South 15th Street.

Dear Sir

About 3 weeks ago we wrote to
Mr. Bander to send us 1 Bbl Sweet
Catawba, + 1 Bbl very Catawba
since which time we have not heard
any thing from him. What is the
matter? Please let us know im-
mediately — If you send collect as
usual,

Yr oblige
Rochelieu & McPatrick

One of the most beautiful illustrated letterhead designs known to the wine trade. This design was also used by M. Keller (predecessor to Rochelieu & McPatrick), on his trade card. Note the terse message to Ira Davenport, of Pleasant Valley Wine Company over a failed delivery.