



WAYWARD TENDRILS QUARTERLY

Vol.20 No.3

A WINE BOOK COLLECTOR'S SOCIETY

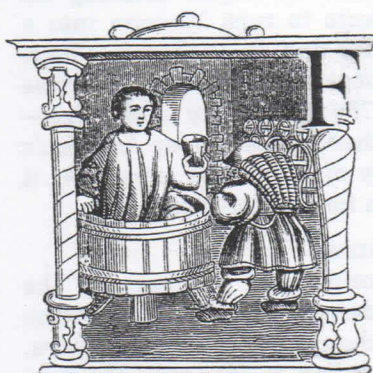
July 2010

Oceans of Wine: Madeira and the Emergence of American Trade and Taste

by David Hancock, 2009

A Review by *Mannie Berk*

IN THE SWEEP OF WINE HISTORY, Madeira can never occupy more than a tiny corner of its landscape. There is just too little of it. Grown on an island too mountainous to permit grape growing on more than its fringes, Madeira has never in its 500-year history enjoyed more than 3,000 hectares of vineyards. And today, only 300 hectares (700 acres) of vines remain on the entire island. Yet, the complexity of Madeira's history dwarfs wine regions many times its size.



For one thing, its recorded history dates to the 1500s and we can read, in English, eye-witness accounts of what was happening as far back as the 1600s. Few wines can boast that. Yet, good histories of Madeira are virtually non-existent. Serious scholars have tended to

ignore it. The island's merchants did a poor job of maintaining archives, with many companies disappearing without a trace. And the trade in Madeira was heavily decentralized, with major centers of activity as far afield as London, all the early American seaports and the East and West Indies. To round up surviving records in so many places would overwhelm even the most determined scholar.

All of this has left us with a very incomplete picture of Madeira's commercial, viticultural, enological and social history. We know of hundreds of firms involved in making and selling Madeira over the centuries, yet all but a few are simply names to us. We know of dozens of grape varieties that have been used to make the wines, but the varietal composition of most early wines is a mystery. We've all heard stories of ships crisscrossing the globe to condition barrels of Madeira, but when that practice died out in the early 1800s, how many wines were "cooked" in *estufas* and how

many were more gently aged in the lofts of the shippers' lodges? And, finally, many of us can recite pivotal events in our country's history that were purportedly toasted with Madeira, but how many of us appreciate the extent to which Madeira permeated everyday American life in the 18th and 19th centuries?

In short, for all we know about Madeira, we actually know very little. But over the past 20 years, a series of writers have begun to fill in the blanks (and correct some of the mountain of misinformation). The Madeiran scholar Alberto Vieira has compiled a massive amount of data in Portuguese-language books, providing fodder for other scholars. And Alex Liddell's 1998 *Madeira*—published in the UK by Faber & Faber—provided a valuable scholarly counterpoint to the more romantic *Madeira the Island Vineyard* written by Noel Cossart nearly 20 years earlier.



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Seventeen Years in the Making

But the book that represents the most heroic undertaking in the name of Madeira wine history is not only by an American, it focuses on America's place in this wine's rich history. David Hancock finally published *Oceans of Wine* this past fall, having been researching it (by his own account) for seventeen years. I personally can attest to the veracity of this claim, having shared some old Madeiras with David in a Cambridge, Massachusetts, restaurant 13 years ago, and I know that he was already *years* into his research.

Hancock is a Professor of History at the University of Michigan, and the subject that has long dominated his research is the economic organization of the Atlantic community: how merchants networked themselves to create, build and maintain markets in one or more commodities. The example he has chosen for much of this research is Madeira, and in particular the way that British and American merchants took a simple wine and turned it into a luxury beverage of enduring popularity among affluent wine drinkers, particularly in North America.

And so *Oceans of Wine* is fundamentally different from all the other books that have added to our knowledge of Madeira. It is not a book about Madeira *per se*. It is a work of economic and historical *science*, in which Professor Hancock puts forth various premises of economic history and then explains them using Madeira and its mercantile history.

Though I've probably missed one or two, I count ten scholarly papers that he's published on the "Atlantic community" over the past decade or so, and Madeira figures in most of them.

In fact, *Oceans of Wine* needs to be viewed as another piece in this publishing history, a work to be read along with his many papers, not instead of them. I naively expected that, given its size (420 pages of text and a further 158 pages of footnotes!), *Oceans of Wine* would include *everything* that was in the earlier papers and more. In fact, Hancock has chosen to leave out many of his earlier, more involved descriptions of merchants, wines and consumers, focusing instead on a broader vision of *how* British and American shippers—through their "conversations" with importers, merchants and consumers—transformed Madeira from a simple white table wine to a luxury product that ruled the English-speaking world at the end of the 18th century.

A 175-Year Epoch

It is a grand tale that Hancock follows from 1640. That was the year when Portugal rid itself of Spanish dominance and, with the demise of Maderia's sugar trade, the island's wine trade was born. Hancock's part of the story concludes in 1815,

when Madeira's wine trade peaked, just as trans-Atlantic shipping returned to normal after the final defeat of Napoleon. But it was what happened during that 175-year period that makes Madeira's story so fascinating.

As Hancock explains, the British Crown created a unique business opportunity in the 1660s by making possible the exportation of Madeira to British colonies without paying the high duties charged wines from mainland Europe. First British, and then later American, merchants responded to this by flocking to the island, and entering into trade with Mother England as well as Britain's colonies in Asia and America. They made a simple white wine that competed in quality with other wines, like Canary and Fayal, yet their wine had built-in trade advantages, thanks to favorable British law. Madeira's geography also helped, as ships often called there on voyages not only around the southern tip of Africa, but across the Atlantic to both North and South America.

With time, however, the playing field shifted. Canary imports were blocked by the War of Spanish Succession in the early 1700s. Drinkers in search of inexpensive wine focused on Fayal, creating an opportunity for merchants to turn Madeira into a more elite beverage, which they did in the mid-1700s, when the wine's price began to rise. Its stature was reinforced by Britain's 1764 import duty on Madeira—"an attempt by the mother country to tap America's wealth"—which not only made it more expensive, it "solidified its reputation for sumptuousness."

The Advent of Fortification

The merchants contributed further to the rarification of Madeira by developing the wine itself. The biggest change was to fortify Madeira, by adding brandy. According to Hancock, the first documented instance of a merchant adding brandy was in 1753. And the first known instance of an American doing it was in 1761, though the suggestion to fortify Madeira appeared in Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac* in 1743.

According to Hancock, fortification was prevalent by 1762, although the amount of brandy added depended on the market for which the wine was destined. "To satisfy hot-climate customers who wanted to avoid the lightening and intoxicating effects of adding alcohol, distributors put less brandy in the wine they shipped; sometimes, in response to requests from Caribbean planters, they left it out altogether and sent along a quarter-cask of brandy and another of Tinta, so that the customers could strengthen and color it to taste. In contrast, more northern consumers asked for a paler, drier wine, and shippers responded by adding one or two gallons more brandy than they put in Caribbean wine. South Carolinians and

opened, the exporters took advantage of the situation: they not only off-loaded their aging supply but also segmented the market and stratified their customers by wealth and taste, introducing a vocabulary of age distinctions."

Taste by Association

The Revolutionary period also saw the emergence of American men as their households' wine buyers, succeeding their wives, who had been chiefly responsible for wine-buying and cellar-management prior to the mid-1700s. Concurrently, Madeira merchants began using fanciful names and the association with famous customers (like American Presidents) to make their wines more prestigious to prospective customers. "Never without an agenda, John Howard March, who had learned from the best while a clerk in the Newton & Gordon house, constantly dangled before would-be buyers the names of his best customers, including President James Madison, Secretary of State Monroe and Justice Bushrod Washington. It was, March presumed, an honor for Americans to have their wine drawn from the same vats."

Merchants made Madeira a symbol of wealth and sophistication, yet that ideal was not without its critics, as "proponents of the republican experiment chided wine drinkers for indulging in a foreign luxury product that they considered deleterious to the nation's independence." Still, according to Hancock, "American men and women favored imported wines, particularly high-priced grades, connecting consumption of these products to the reality of their gentility and refinement or their aspirations to such."

Hancock argues that the creation of these "high-priced grades" was not arrived at unilaterally by the producers, but was the result of "polling" of consumers. Such knowledge of consumer preferences resulted not only in the stratification of wines in the marketplace, but led to far more variety in taverns and stores. In the 18th century, most establishments had only the most basic selections of wines, ciders and rums, but by the early 1800s, they began to specialize. By 1815, "Philadelphia had nearly a hundred such specialist retailers who stocked a variety of wines, an array of mixers and appropriate paraphernalia. Their clientele could sample the wares, take advantage of competitive deals, and even treat themselves to tutorials in drink connoisseurship."

In fact, Hancock paints a vivid picture of the work of early Philadelphia merchants. He chooses Samuel Neave, Charles Stedman and Henry Hill, to describe how American merchants organized their homes and businesses. Not only do we learn something about these three men themselves, Hancock affords us a

description and floor plans of their homes, stores and countinghouses.



A Merchant's Countinghouse, Philadelphia

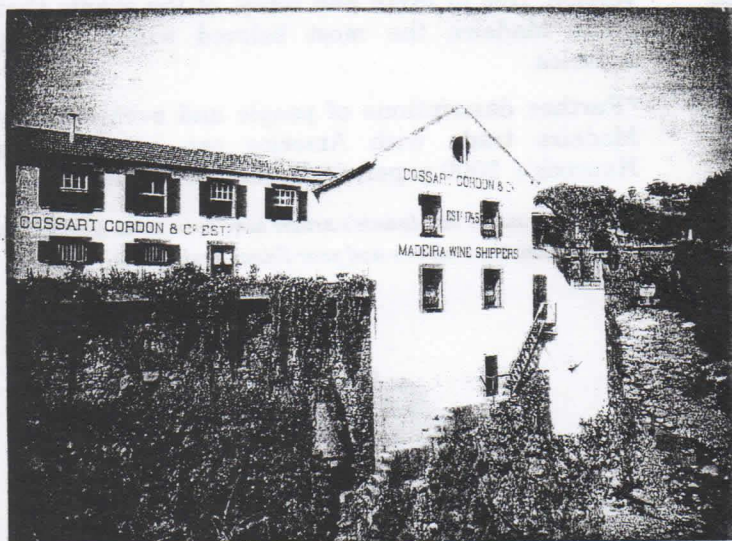
Madeira on the Frontier

Three other early Philadelphia merchants—John Wister, John Mitchell and Peter Baynton—are given even more detailed profiles, focusing on their trading and marketing activities. In the case of Peter Baynton, we watch the development of his trade in Madeira over a ten-year period in the 1750s and 1760s, during which time his business expands to the American frontier, as far west as Pittsburgh and Detroit.

But Philadelphia isn't the only city where we get to glimpse the work of the native merchants. Just after the Revolution, John Walter Gibbs traded in wine in a countinghouse behind his home in Charleston, keeping "a wine crane for siphoning wine, a hand pump, funnels, measures of various quantities, a mortar and pestle for pulverizing fining agents, and weights and scales for weighing them. Carpenters' tools for breaking down, repairing and reassembling casks were also a necessity."

Elsewhere in the book, particularly with respect to merchants on the island, Hancock takes a broader view, focusing less on individual stories than on the connections among people and the institutions they built. We are introduced to island merchants like

Francis Newton, founder of what was to become Cossart Gordon, and John Howard March, the great American shipper; but they, like other figures in the book, appear mostly as examples to illustrate a point.



Cossart Gordon & Co, established 1745

Though Hancock spent years poring through the letterbooks of March and other merchants, he chose in this work* to write little about March's own life and contributions to Madeira. (In addition to being an important merchant, he was the U.S. Consul on the island.) Instead, March makes periodic appearances throughout the book, illustrating how merchants dropped the names of famous customers; how they built their businesses by networking with relatives—in his case, brothers in New Hampshire and a cousin in New York; and how they lived and worked, using the floor plan of his house as an example of a Madeira merchant's combined store and residence.

Ultimately, *Oceans of Wine* is far more about the making, selling and shipping of Madeira than the consumption of the wine. Part III of the book is given over to "Consuming Wine," however much of it is about wine and spirits generally, with Madeira not the focus as it is elsewhere in the book.

The book, therefore, leaves important questions unanswered about the *use* of Madeira in America. One major topic largely unaddressed is to what extent Madeira was consumed during meals. We learn that by the late 1700s, Madeira had become the favorite after-dinner wine among affluent American men, but few examples are given of this phenomenon. Perhaps because the book concludes in 1815, we miss out entirely on the practice—which seems to have emerged by the early 1800s—of passing prized Madeiras down from generation to generation. And while Hancock acknowledges that some of the island's

merchants made a large percentage of their sales directly to private American buyers, we learn little about those buyers and the nature of their relationships with the island's merchants.

The Birth of Wine Cellars

We are treated to an invaluable history of the evolution of wine cellars in America, including the first underground cellars, the innovation of "attic cellars" in the South, as well as the development of binning of bottles. But because this history is largely about wine generally, we come away with few insights as to how American consumers treated their Madeiras. Having usually been shipped in barrel, how long did Madeiras remain in wood? Were the wines most commonly served straight from barrel, or were they often bottled, and if so how soon after arrival? And finally, how and why were large glass demijohns used? Along with other details of America's emerging Madeira connoisseurship, these are questions left for another book.

Of course, no discussion of Madeira in early America would be complete without mention of the wine's role in celebrating events big and small. Hancock doesn't let us down, with numerous examples, including John Hancock treating the people of Boston to a pipe of Madeira to celebrate the repeal of the Stamp Act. But what is most curious about



c 1867 Madeira demijohn, holding approximately 5 gallons—American connoisseurs usually had their Madeiras transferred from barrel to demijohn, typically within 5 years of the wines' arrival in the U.S.

Professor Hancock's illustrations is the absence of such frequently cited examples as toasting the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Francis Scott Key drinking Madeira while writing the Star-Spangled Banner, and even Betsy Ross sipping Madeira while sewing the first flag. Given the prevalence of Madeira before, during, and after the Revolution, each of these is possible, and, in fact, it seems inevitable that Madeira was used to toast the Declaration. Yet, the absence of these legends in such a well-researched book suggests that some may have been products of our national imagination.

Passion and Scholarship

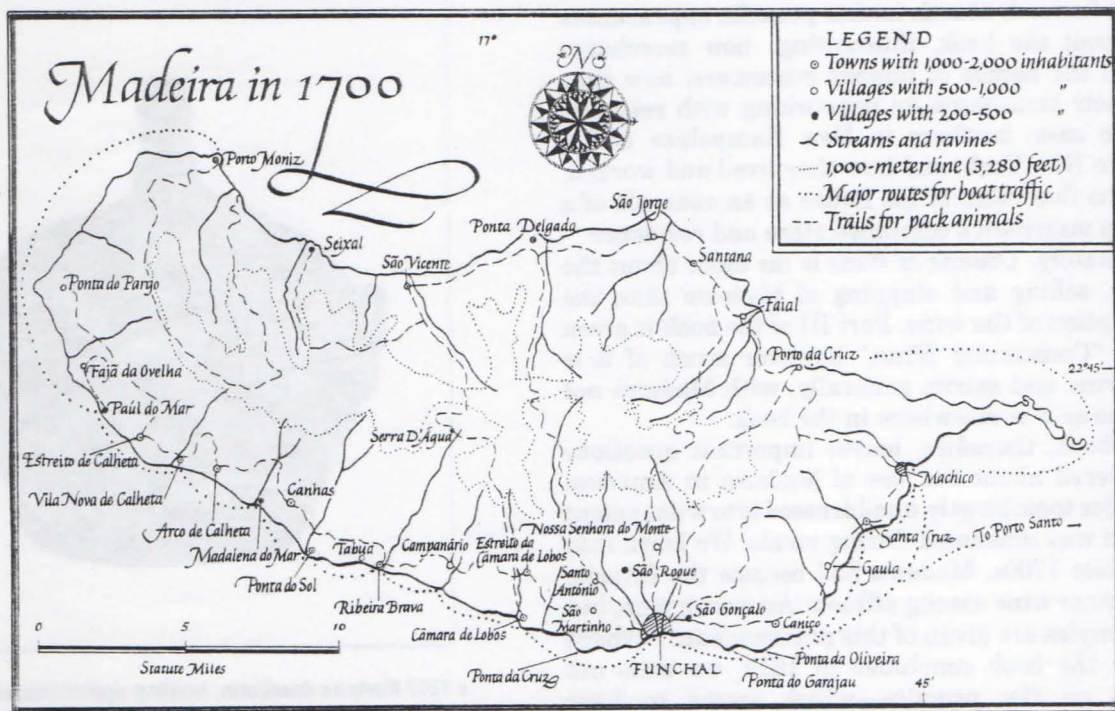
Among the books written so far on Madeira, *Oceans of Wine* is a work of not only remarkable insight and passion, but extraordinary scholarship. To produce this and his other writings on the subject, David Hancock devoted almost two decades of his life to studying countless manuscripts and other original documents, many of which were previously unknown to wine scholars. As a result, where does one start in measuring Hancock's contributions to our knowledge of Madeira history?

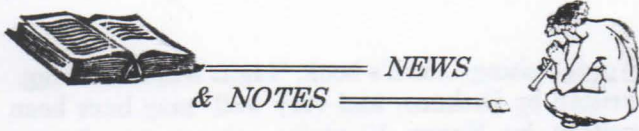
Yet, we were never meant to be the book's primary audience. *Oceans of Wine* was written for an academic, scholarly audience—not for the growing number of wine lovers intrigued by Madeira's colorful past. But, as Hancock assured me in Cambridge thirteen years ago, this book was intended to be for us,

too. In fact, one of his greatest accomplishments with this book is that, despite being a work of science, *Oceans of Wine* is richly informative and entertaining. It also earns our attention as the first truly accurate version, free of myth and fancy, of the events that made Madeira the most beloved wine of early America.

*Further descriptions of people and events in the Madeira trade with America can be found in Hancock's 2000 paper, "A Revolution in the Trade."

[The illustrations for Mannie's article have been taken from varied sources from the author's and your Editor's collections. — Ed.]





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

Welcome to our new members! Since our last issue, three new "Ts" have joined our Roster: Scott Torrence sends thanks to George Caloyannidis for his gift membership. Paul Tortora [paul.tortora@gmail.com], of The Rare Wine Co., was introduced to the Society by Tendril Mannie Berk. Neil Tully, MW [neil@amphora.co.uk] has been collecting wine books for some 20 years, with a special interest in viticulture and oenology.

"DRESSED" SAINTSBURYS WANTED!

Tendril Isaac Oelgart is still looking for *Notes on a Cellar-Book* — the November 1920 edition, and the 1927 edition, with their dust jackets. Please contact Isaac at isaacoelgart@gmail.com if you can help.

"COPYRIGHT BASICS"

Concerns about puzzling copyright laws (whether books, articles, photographs, postcards, &c) often arise when working with old materials. "Copyright Basics" is a 12-page booklet issued by the U.S. Copyright Office (in layman's language—supposedly). It can be downloaded at www.copyright.gov/circs/circ01.pdf and kept for ready reference.

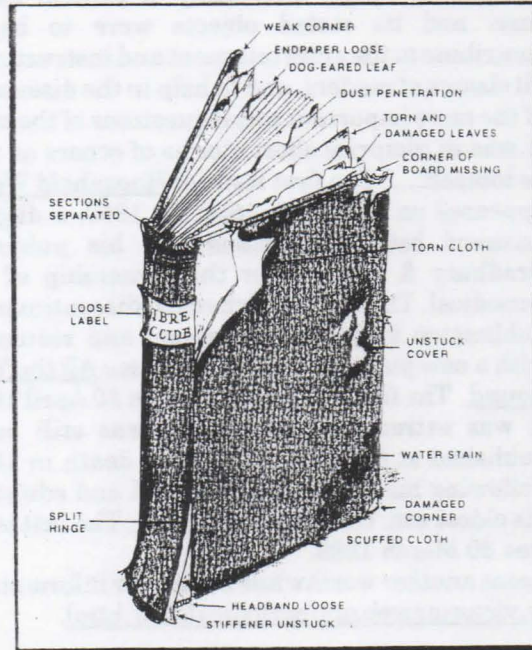
Cyrus Redding-Man of Letters and Wine

is the title of Tendril and Professor Kathleen Burk's superb article in the latest issue of *The World of Fine Wine* (Issue 28, June 2010). She begins: "Cyrus Redding was a stunningly prolific 19th-century man of letters. He wrote about shipwrecks and misers, Cornwall and writers. He wrote novels. He wrote poetry. He edited six journals, established three, and wrote for at least another ten. He wrote six volumes of memoirs. Inter alia, he wrote [three volumes] about wine." If you don't subscribe to this award-winning "first cultural journal of the wine world," seek it out.

"OTHERWISE FINE"

The Repair of Cloth Bindings by Arthur W. Johnson, recently published by Oak Knoll Press / British Library, is an informative, well-illustrated manual that will be a welcome addition to any book lover's library. Although we might not want to (or should) attempt many of the repairs described herein, Johnson's manual is a great guide to a book's

construction, its parts, and its care. The frontispiece, drawn by the author, is a descriptive delight. How many times have we read a bookseller's details of a book's condition, naming numerous flaws to the poor subject, and then conclude with the pronouncement "otherwise fine." Just keep this image in mind!



A FASCINATING LOOK AT DICKENS-ERA WINE

Tendril Don Rice, in response to John Danza's article last issue ("The 1870 Wine Cellar of Charles Dickens") writes: I thought the Tendrils might be interested in these two Google Books Links to articles about wine and the wine country of France. They were published in Dickens' periodicals during his lifetime. The first, "A Dash Through the Vines" comes from the 13 October 1855 issue of *Household Words*: <http://books.google.com/books?id=AJs4AAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA241>. The next, "Light Wines," comes from the 26 July 1862 issue of *All The Year Round*: <http://books.google.com/books?id=kY7NAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA476>. Enjoy! ["A Dash..." turns out to be rather rambling, and a bit tiresome to read, but is interesting nonetheless. "Light Wines" is a must! It is fascinating to read that in 1862 some of the same issues with First Growth wines were at hand, e.g. more than 100 times as much Ch. Lafitte sold than possibly could have been made! Another tidbit: the premier wines were not higher than 9.25% alcohol ... a refreshing thought!]

John Danza adds a note about these Dickens-conducted periodicals:

Our best source for information regarding the creation of *Household Words* and *All The Year Round* would certainly be *The Life Of Dickens*, a

biography written by Charles Dickens' lifelong friend John Forster. Forster's biography was originally published between 1872 and 1874 in three volumes. It provides an insight into how these periodicals came to be. In creating Household Words, Charles Dickens' intention was to produce "a weekly miscellany of general literature; and its stated objects were to be, to contribute to the entertainment and instruction of all classes of readers, and to help in the discussion of the more important social questions of the time. It was to comprise short stories of others as well as himself..." The first issue of Household Words appeared on 30 March 1850. In 1859, a dispute occurred between Dickens and his publisher Bradbury & Evans over the ownership of the periodical. This forced Dickens to discontinue the publication under the old name and resume it with a new publisher under the name All the Year Round. The first issue appeared on 30 April 1859. It was extremely popular and was still being published at the time of Dickens' death in 1870. Following his death, it was owned and edited by his eldest son, Charles Dickens, Jr. The last issue was 30 March 1895.

Don sent another worthwhile source for information: www.victorianweb.org/periodicals/hw.html.

Editor: Neither of the wine articles were "signed" or "attributed" to an author, making one wonder if they might have been written by Dickens himself? But some sleuthing by Don and John and your Editor found that this was common practice with Dickens: only the name of the "conductor" of the weekly journal, Charles Dickens, appeared; articles were unsigned. There are now two excellent books for referencing this kind of information, Anne Lohrli's *Household Words ... List of Contributors and Their Contributions, &c* (Toronto, 1973) and Ella Ann Oppenlander's *Dickens' All the Year Round: Descriptive Index and Contributor List* (Troy, NY, 1984). Members of John's "Friends of the Dickens Forum" responded with help, and wrote: "A Dash through the Vines" was written by Edmund Saul Dixon (1809–1893, a vicar and prolific contributor to Household

Words), citing Lohrli's book. "Light Wines" was not written by Dickens, and very well "may have been written by Henry Vizetelly, who was a known contributor on wine to Household Words and All the Year Round, and probably worked as Dickens' wine correspondent. 'The Glorious Vintage of Champagne' (10 October 1863) is thought to be a rehearsal for Vizetelly's classic book on the subject."

A REALLY GOOD READ!

And a must for every Tendril who loves books "just enough" is *The Man Who Loved Books Too Much* by Allison H. Bartlett (New York: Riverhead/Penguin, 2009. 274 pp.), "The True Story of a Thief, a Detective, and a World of Literary Obsession." Well-researched, expertly written—you will not be able to put it down!

OCEANS OF WINE,

the richly informative, scholarly history of Madeira by David Hancock, is reviewed in this issue by Mannie Berk, an acknowledged connoisseur of Madeira wines. As proprietor of The Rare Wine Co., he is pleased to offer copies of this unparalleled book at a special WT members' price of \$35 + postage. Contact Mannie at berk.rwc@snet.net.



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A FAVORITE BOOKSELLER CATALOGUE COVER
[Check their website!]

BOOKS FOR TRUE WINE & FOOD LOVERS

by *George Caloyannidis*

[With this issue we begin a deliciously inspirational series by *Tendrill Caloyannidis*, a passionate student of wine and its literature. Enjoy! — Ed.]

"Men can scarcely be said to be acquaintances, let alone friends, until they have cracked a bottle together and discussed it." — *H. Warner Allen*



What constitutes a true wine and food lover is an elusive definition, and in some ways a personal one. I know several people who consider themselves as such: they know a lot about the subject, have good, discerning palates, but yet fail the essential "savoring-the-gusto-test." Yes, they have been to the great restaurants of the world, they have experienced vertical tastings of Latour and Petrus matched to perfection with elaborately designed, often pretentious dishes by celebrated chefs, they have visited the "must-do" wineries from the Rioja to the Maipo Valley but somehow there is still a film between them and the experience.

One can not escape the feeling that they have been there and done that for no other reason than... "what am I still missing so I can come to the table?" There comes a point when after one has finished talking, an engaging embrace of the moment must follow and a sense of communal relaxation to simply feel and revel in the memory of the experience; or the genuine love is not there.

On the other hand, there are new people constantly entering the wine and food world who would be well served by indulging in these books so as to be set on the right track from the get-go before they have been led astray in the ways these precious pleasures are meant to be enjoyed.

One is always in search of people to share the bliss with but there is a less wasteful way to find out whether they pass the test than opening a bottle of rare Burgundy. There are a number of books not necessarily falling in the rare and collectible category that are still affordable even in first editions. I often loan them or give them as presents to candidates and wait and see what kind of comment—if any at all—I receive back. If they do not respond in elation, I know to keep the rare Burgundy in my cellar.

These "litmus-test" books—I will even include a cook book or two—must convey the feeling of the

experience with a sensitivity that inspires the lover-readers to go there, do that, meet that cook, the wine maker, open that bottle, cook the dish and most important, share it. Even if they lament the fact that replicating the experience is no longer possible so many years later, the readers must be delighted to have lived these moments through the inspiring writing by these authors who were lucky to have been there.

None of these books qualify for this list if they treat food or wine in isolation; neither do they if they treat them together unless they are able to make a spirited contribution to the precious pleasures of life... through the wine-glass.

Obviously, the list is by no means comprehensive and additions by readers who have been inspired by others would be most valuable and especially, enjoyable.

THROUGH THE WINE GLASS

H. Warner Allen, 1954

One would have to begin with H. Warner Allen. Though the Queen has described his *A Contemplation of Wine* (1951) as "vinous talk of the highest rank," I will have to pick *Through the Wine Glass* (1954) as the one best fitting our category, simply because the true wine lover never ceases to view the entire world through it. Allen contemplates world history, literature, localities with their cuisines and vineyards, his actual travel experiences and friendships through the wine-glass.

"Men can scarcely be said to be acquaintances, let alone friends until they have cracked a bottle together and discussed it." If only one could have been with him!

On his trip to St. Emilion to finally get to dine on lampreys at the Hostellerie de Plaisance prepared by the proprietor M. Hulin, a Doctor of Medicine turned restaurateur who, having achieved the highest degree in all schools "allowing him to style himself *rotisseur*, *patissier* and *saucier*," rewarded him with an impeccable *Lamproie au Vieux Saint-Emilion*. "The tender flesh delicately wine-tinted emerged from the sauce discreetly rich and cunningly flavored as the very quintessence of St. Emilion. One would have thought that this creature which had come up the Dordogne from the ocean had lived all its life on the wine we were drinking with it." On M. Hulin's advice, the wine chosen, over a "moderately priced Chateau Canon

H. WARNER ALLEN

Through the Wine-Glass

... after-dinner talk
Across the walnuts and the wine.
TENNYSON

H. Warner Allen

1946 which would have overpowered the dish, was a Château Trimoulet 1947," a much more modest one.

When in Périgord, a M. Brossier of Château Bonbecoste "threw light to a subject to which I am very partial, *foie gras truffe* and into the mysteries of the truffle 'the diamond of cookery' without which *foie gras* is a mere shadow of itself, and had his answer to the question I had some times asked myself: What is the best wine to drink with *foie gras*?"

His host at the Château de Marsan had his own answer adding to Sydney Smith's—the noted scholar and clergyman—quote, "my idea of heaven is eating *pate de foie gras* to the sound of trumpets" but "did not specify the *cru* of celestial nectar," sending Allen to the quest of all quests for a "wine which is unselfish enough not to play second fiddle, since *foie gras* is an orchestra in itself." In Strasbourg he tries it with "Rhine wine, and delectable as the experience was, I had a feeling that the combination left something to be desired." As he travels, he tries it with Pol Roger 1934 in Champagne, a Chambertin 1947 in Burgundy, a Château La Pointe 1939 in Pomerol, a Bonbecoste 1920 in Cahors with the same unsatisfactory results, only to find himself back home. "I was able to invest 1,300 francs of my traveling allowance in an absurdly diminutive tin of *foie gras truffe* ... and I bethought me of a last remaining bottle of Côte Rôtie 1929. I could choose no better consort than that very fine specimen of a Rhône wine. Their marriage set Sydney Smith's angels singing to the sound of trumpets."

And while pursuing his beloved *foie gras* in Auch, the capital of Armagnac and the delicacy itself... "The number of large geese a fat dame could hang about her person and pack on a bicycle was little short of a miracle. She pedaled along absolutely draped in birds and the bicycle itself disappeared under tiers of coops." One can only lament the fact that neither Bruegel nor Botero could have been with him to paint the bygone scene he so poetically described for posterity.

In the chapter, "Books Through the Wine-Glass," of special interest to Tendrils readers, he artfully whets our appetites to visit or re-visit a host of intriguing books from *The Iliad* to *The Book of Genesis*, to "the much traveled physician" Andrew Boorde's, *Compendious Regyment or a Dyetary of Health* (1542), to M. Beauvillers' *Le Bon et Parfait Cuisinier Universel* (1837). Allen, even finds amusing references to wine in Tobias Smollett's, *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* (1757), and Oliver Goldsmith's, *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766). And who would resist taking a fresh look "through the wine-glass" at George Borrow's *Lavengro* (1851), after reading the hilarious passage on how Lavengro, a newcomer in London, tries to impress a waiter at a fine hotel in the Strand as a connoisseur of Claret?

Finally, Allen, devotes more than six pages "for my discovery that a momentous event did not happen on Christmas Day 1762." He goes on to chronicle the longtime close friendship between Dr. Samuel Johnson and James Boswell that started in 1763 and ended with Johnson's death in 1784 and led to what many consider the greatest biography ever written, Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (1787). Though some other critics have characterized it as "table talk," it is precisely due to this style which enables Allen to lead us through their indulgences in Claret and especially Port of which they reportedly consumed at least one bottle *each* per get-together, and that was more often than not.

For those Tendrils who love to cook, there is reference to William Thackeray's *The Ballad of Bouil-labaisse*. If you have been looking for the best recipe for this ethereal dish as I was, you can find it in Richard Olney's, *Lulu's Provençal Table* (1994). With its connection to Domaine Tempier, I find it the most inspiring cookbook yet written for true wine and food lovers.

LULU'S PROVENÇAL TABLE

Richard Olney, 1994

In 1994, nobody was talking about sustainability or local food sourcing, though even if unconsciously, a few were practicing them. In the meantime, mass-production at every level of the food spectrum has reached its apogee and we are now on the opposite side of the bell-curve where Lulu and Richard Olney have always been. This "other side," the real one if you will, takes us to a time and place where everyone would love to be, and is willing to travel around the world to find it. *Lulu's Provençal Table* does just that for us.

The book's subtitle, "The exuberant food and wine from the Domaine Tempier vineyard; with a Foreword by Alice Waters," alludes to the intimate connection of wine, food and place, which in the down-to-earth hands of Lucien and Lulu Peyraud—the Domaine's owners—inspired Alice Waters' Chez Panisse to the origins of California Cuisine and Kermit Lynch to the equally inspired "wine importer with a philosophy" that he became.

This is not an ordinary cook book, because the recipes are almost an afterthought. In order to understand them, one must start from the beginning, well before the sun rises, sharply aware that guests are expected or that they may just drop in, acutely aware of what is in the garden, at the produce market, or in the arriving fishing boats in nearby Bandol. Only then do recipes take shape and even then they are not set in stone.

Alice Waters in her essay, "The Last Wild Food,"

describes the process and the spirit:

If the catch is particularly plentiful and guests are expected for a special occasion, Lulu may decide to make a bouillabaisse...She will buy tiny rockfish, small lobsters, shore crabs, grouper, mussels, anglerfish and any of a dozen other varieties prized on the Provençal coast. Back at the winery, she places an enormous copper cauldron over a fire of vine cuttings near the garden. The guests gather around and watch as, in well-rehearsed order, she adds potatoes, onion, fish and, finally shellfish. Then we move to long tables under the trees set with mortars of rouille to stir into the stew. Lulu's bouillabaisse is a pure expression of the sea and her exact place on the planet.



If one were not yet inspired to invite friends and start cooking for them, one can read six pages of Richard Olney prefacing the by-now almost superfluous bouillabaisse recipe. As for the wine, on one occasion in 1973 at a friend's restaurant famous for its bouillabaisse and in the company of Lulu, Richard Olney requested the 1972 simple red Domaine Tempier:

...which would not be bottled for sale until a year hence, was put into bottles to wash down the bouillabaisse. The day was hot and the tables were set on a high open terrace jutting high above the Mediterranean. At each table, an ice bucket was filled with cold water and a few ice cubes, to keep the wine cool but not over-chilled...The untamed red still slightly prickly from its young residue of carbon dioxide, flowed at a constant 50 degrees F...Lulu was ravished... The entire family was seduced by the alliance of the cool wine's wild fruit, the saffrony bouillabaisse, and the garlicky rouille. For twenty years, Lulu's bouillabaisse has been escorted by cool, young red Tempier—with rosé always present, for those who prefer it.

Perhaps, some of the best three pages written anywhere on what wine is all about—uncomplicated, with individuality, with a life of its own—are at the end of the book. Again, Olney, just as he does with cooking, uses the wines of Domaine Tempier to make his points rather than make a fly-over of the vast wine world. But, as we quickly discover, this is more than enough!

It is for good reason that the life of a wine has often been compared to that of a human being, not only in the expected progression from coquettish childhood innocence through exuberant youth to the measured balance of maturity, the serenity of age, and the senility of very old age, but in the surprising turns of unpromising children who blossom into long-lived, gentle philosophers or of a brilliant and boisterous child who discovers, in adulthood, the virtues of discretion.

Every single word is weighty and important in understanding the mystery!

The recipes are mouth-watering, from a simple Cabbage Soup, to Sauteed Squid with Parsley and Garlic, to Chard Gratin, always grounded to their essentials, their basic techniques and especially their irresistible prefaces which make you want to run to the stove.

One might not think that Lulu would be cooking a Pot-Au-Feu right on the Mediterranean coast "a la Provencale," as she calls it.

Lulu's Pot-Au-Feu is unusual in that it contains white wine. Lamb is traditional in a Provençal Pot-Au-Feu. The tang of the wine (Lulu insists that it should be young and quite acidic, a Muscadet, for instance) and the soft, slightly sweet flavor of the lamb mingle with the beef and aromatic elements to produce a very special and subtle broth.

One can imagine the savory, contrasting tastes; but it certainly is far from the Austrian version in the true ritual of *Tafelspitz* experienced in the early 1950s at Vienna's venerable Meissl & Schadn by Joseph Wechsberg in his charming *Blue Trout and Black Truffles*.

BLUE TROUT AND BLACK TRUFFLES:
The Peregrinations of an Epicure
by Joseph Wechsberg, 1953

Joseph Wechsberg was born in 1907 to a family of wealthy bankers in Ostarva, Moravia (Czechoslovakia) and was by his own account a sickly, anorexic child who almost died at the age of six after catching pneumonia. He was sent to Merano to recuperate in the sun where he was offered the best dishes money could buy. He refused them all, opting only for the then-famous Merano Grape Cure of four pounds of grapes every twenty-four hours. His doctors validated the effectiveness of the fashionable cure as a "palliative for a nervous strain in delicate children." Though he survived, he remained seriously anorexic until just after World War I when the family bank folded and food was impossible to get. At the age of thirteen, he was invited to Vienna by his uncle Alfred

who, as head of the Lombard-and-Escompte Bank, "prospered while everybody went broke." There he was introduced to the best Viennese restaurants. Over a plate of *filet de boef gastronome, paupiettes de veau* at the Palace Hotel, he gradually developed an insatiable appetite for good food, so much so that more than once on his way to a hot date, if he happened to step into a food shop for a *Rollmops* or a Jockey Club Salad—asparagus, raw truffles and mayonnaise—he would forget all about the date.

His life was quite an Odyssey, from studies at the Prague Law School, to the Vienna Conservatory of Music, and the Sorbonne, he became an accomplished violin player and traveled the world as a ship's musician. From lawyer, to concert violinist, photographer, journalist (*New Yorker*, *The Atlantic*) and soldier in the Czechoslovak Army, and later as a U.S. citizen, sergeant in the Army's Psychological Warfare Division stationed in Europe during World War II, he remained a consummate gourmet.

As such we are able to join him as a student at the Sorbonne where he settled in the 18th Arrondissement in a sawdust-sprinkled, tile-floor restaurant where it was a custom for the guests to shake the hand of the waiter Gaston who would make the *addition* on the paper table-cloth which he would then "crumple up with all the bread crumbs at the end of the meal."

He slowly evolves and visits the highly esteemed Viennese restaurant Meissl & Schadn, famous for its boiled beef—twenty-four different varieties to be exact. He lists them all, from *Tafelspitz*, to *Kruspelspitz*, to *Schulterscherz*, to *Ortschwanz* and we learn that the "old-time Viennese butchers with the steady hand of a distinguished brain surgeon were able to dissect the carcass of a steer into thirty-two different cuts and four qualities of meat." Unless one could learnedly talk about at least twelve different cuts of boiled beef, one just "didn't belong." And we meet the "corpulent, venerable great Heinrich, an octogenarian Biblical patriarch, who like an admiral, never budged from his command post near the door" sizing up every guest and server, "the units of his fleet."

We are with him in Prague and the national dish of roast pork with sauerkraut and dumplings, something "French gastronomes are looking down their noses" at. Between meals, Czechs "would fortify themselves with hot pork sausages at their favorite *uzenarna*." From *parky*, to *klobasy*, to *taliani*, the most popular were the *vursty*. "To leave the skin on a *vursta* was considered a crime and *vursty*-eaters recognized one another by the fat-stains on their ties and lapels which they wore proudly."

We are with him in 1948 behind the Iron Curtain in Budapest when he visits the legendary Gundel's. Though these are sad times, he is still "taken by a faultless maitre d'hotel and a small army of faultless

captains, waiters and bus boys."

When Charles Gundel—who he ranks in a class with Escoffier and Fernand Point—sits down with him, he is a discouraged man as prices are mandated by the regime to be equal among all restaurants. Nevertheless, somehow the market finds its way with "government big shots, foreign diplomats, hard-currency tourists and local black-marketeers. Occasionally, an impoverished bank manager or a dismissed government minister would sell one of his last Persian rugs" to dine at Gundel's. "Having been through two world wars, two inflations, two occupations, two revolutions, and one counter-revolution in 38 years," Gundel tells him, "I have been called a symbol of continuity. Only three years ago this place was a stable for Wehrmacht horses and practically everything I owned vanished—rugs, mirrors, curtains, linen, glassware, silverware. I used to own enough gold plates and gold knives, forks and spoons to serve a hundred and twenty people. My great collections of cookbooks, some of them over five hundred years old, were burned. Among them was a very valuable cookbook of Roman times, in an English translation by a physician of Queen Elisabeth. But the worst loss of all was the wines." He then showed him the dramatic, old wine list which had survived: 1811, 1815, 1854 Essence of Tokay! In 1952 Gundel's restaurant was nationalized and he was allowed to move to Austria where he lived out his life.

For happier moments we visit Maxim's where "in 1893 Maxime Gaillard borrowed six thousand francs, opened a restaurant, dropped the 'e' from his first name and called the place Maxim's." When he died, his chef Cornuche took it over and fell into hard times. "One night, Irma de Montigny, a much admired Parisian beauty, dropped in with some of her friends. They drank up thirty-six bottles of champagne. That night Cornuche saw the light. To make a success of Maxim's, he had to have glamorous women attached to the restaurant, who would attract generous men. It was a sure-fire formula, and it has worked for almost forty years." Hugo, the famous maitre d'hotel during the *belle epoque* used to maintain a little black book kept in a safe deposit vault. It is full of incriminating, coded abbreviations. But the most famous one was memorialized, unabridged, in *Lobster á La Belle Otero*, while the Bulgarian and Arab princes, Russian dukes, generals, and celebrities, even the Nazis, kept drinking from the fabulous cellar.

Friends in Paris had given Wechsberg a letter of introduction to M. Charles Barbier, "one of Périgueux's and the world's greatest authorities on the fine stuff"—the ever reoccurring *foie gras truffe*. We become infinitely familiar with all the important shades, grades and textures of both the livers and the truffles which we learn come in one hundred and forty

variations and sizes. They visit the eminent, secretive, distrusting supplier, the widow Merlihot and her valued pig, her *cherheuse*. Lucky is the pig which possesses the talent!

And M. Barbier recounts several heavenly truffle recipes while driving back. "Have you tried *truffes au champagne*?" he asks. "You put the truffles in a casserole, cover them with dry champagne and let them simmer for twenty minutes. At the end there should be no more liquid than a teaspoonful for each truffle. Cover with a light pastry dough and bake in a hot oven for twenty minutes." ... "M. Barbier closed his eyes in supreme delight. The car almost went into a ditch."

Later, at M. Barbier's office they uncork a bottle of Château Margaux over a block of *foie gras truffé*. "There is nothing like a slice of chilled *foie gras* with a glass of fine Bordeaux *before* dinner." H. Warner Allen would have preferred a Côte Rôtie.

When Weschberg visits Château Lafite, I finally find out the fate of the 1936 vintage, my birth year, which never saw the market. M. Landeche, the Château's *regisseur* at the time who hosted him, informs him that the vintage, not good enough, was sold in 1939 to the French Army at four francs a bottle rather than the 750 francs going price.

He visits Château d'Yquem, dines at L' Oustau de Baumaniere where the proprietor M. Thuilier (Wolfgang Puck's mentor) picked him up at the train station 40 miles away.

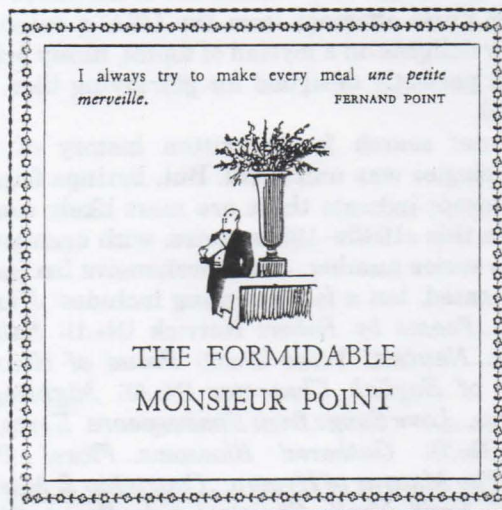
He also has the best bouillabaisse of his life on a cruise ship when it was stranded north of Corsica and the crew used its time to cast a fishing-net from the ship and cooked their catch on an open fire.

He visited La Tour d'Argent and ate its famous *Sole Sully*. "Fifty pounds of sole are cooked for forty-eight hours over a slow fire, until the mixture simmers down to one single pound of *glace*. Fresh filets of sole are poached in fish fumet and served with a sauce of one teaspoonful of the *glace* with fresh tomato puree, *Noilly-Prat* and *sauce hollandaise*."

But his ultimate food experience was reserved for "the formidable, the one and only" Fernand Point at his legendary *La Pyramide* in Vienne—so called because of a real pyramid in town where the locals believe Pontius Pilate is buried. He first visited it after the war, anxious whether he would be allowed to dine there. Point was known to have "thrown out American millionaires and French ex-ministers when he did not feel like serving them." However, the introduction by a favorite common friend, M. T.H. Piperno, paved the way.

He arrived early...and "through a garden of clean gravel paths, shaded by old maples and chestnut trees, white tables and wicker chairs still wet from the rain," he entered by "the big door, up three steps and

into the hall of what seemed to be a handsome country residence. On the wall were paintings and an old print of the pyramid...a gold pendulum clock stood on a buffet." The six-foot-three, three-hundred-pound M. Point welcomed him with the words "for the next few hours this house will be your home." He was offered champagne, Point's favorite drink, out of magnum which he opened and immediately pressed a silver spoon over the mouth of the bottle. "A little trick," he said. "Metal will stop the flow." He insisted that the glass be held by its base, never by its stem.



Just as one can never taste the incredible food experiences Wechsberg enjoyed through the years at *La Pyramide*, one can not do justice to the article by condensing it. In the restaurant's leather-bound book with its front cover lettered in gilt "F. POINT - LIVRE D'OR," one can find entries of storied patrons and historic personalities.

"The trout was rosy, the wine was sparkling, the patisserie went straight to my heart—and I am trying to lose weight! This is definitely the last time I come here." — Colette.

The ultimate penance!

[George's enlightening series will continue next issue with A.J. Liebling's *Between Meals*, served-up with a few similar gustatory treasures. — Ed.]

"The joys of this life are not so many that we can afford to neglect one of its greatest pleasures—the art of good living. If not abused, it is conducive to health, happiness and longevity. Some of the happiest moments of my life have been passed with friends sitting around a well-found mahogany table. Those who do not know this joy have missed one of the most pleasant experiences in life." — FRANK GRAY GRISWOLD (1854–1937), *The Gourmet*, 1933

THE LUTE,
LYRE, &
LOTUS
MINITHOLOGIES

by

Gail Unzelman



ENTERTAINING, INSPIRATIONAL, playful, artistically charming, poetically seasoned—these British mini-publications are a joy to behold, read, and collect. They remind one of the 1950s' Peter Pauper Press offerings from the USA: a rainbow of literary delights on a myriad of topics, nicely printed, and all perfectly designed for gift-giving (See *WTQ* v.15 #3).

A brief search for a written history of these minithologies was unfruitful. But, listings found on the internet indicate there are most likely some 30 titles in this c1940s–1950s series, with each booklet given a series number. A comprehensive list has not been located, but a fair sampling includes: *Hymn to Venus...Poems by Robert Herrick* (No.1); *Salt Sea Horses...Nautical Verse* (No.5); *Proud of Heart...In Praise of English Character* (No.6); *Nightingale's Tongues...Love Songs from Shakespeare, Keats, Rossetti* (No.7); *Gathered Blossoms...Floral Poems* (No.9); *The Masque of Hymen...Courtship & Marriage* (No.10); *Noel! Noel!...Christmastide Poetry* (No.14); *Deep Sea Ditties...Sea Songs and Shanties* (No.24); *The Changing Years...the Four Seasons* (No.26); *The Yule Log...A Seasonal Anthology* (No.29); *The Sun & the Earth...Passages from Richard Jefferies* (No.30); plus three booklets with a wine theme and two more on gastronomy (that I know of).

This delightful series was "Devised and Edited" by Max Crombie, and printed at the Knights Press, Northwood, Middlesex. Each booklet, undated, 23–24 pages, contains poems or prose from celebrated authors on a selected subject, and is illustrated with captivating drawings that compliment the scene. The illustrators include William Littlewood, Gerald Gardiner, and Florence Gorniot. These little treasures are bound in heavy stock paper covers artistically, often colorfully, decorated; but, alas, they are stapled not sewn (rusty staples here!). The wine and gastronomy booklets are 7¼ x 4¼ (other titles were described by booksellers as being 7¼ x 6¼).

James Gabler lists our three wine titles in his bibliography under editor Crombie (p.100): *The Infidel Grape. A Miniature Anthology in Praise of Wine*



(No.2); *And the Toast Is...A Miniature Anthology of Drinking Songs, Seasoned with a Little Prose* (No.3); *The Wassail Bowl. A Miniature Anthology of Conviviality* (No.27). For extra pleasure, we can add to our gourmet bookshelf *Peacock Pie. A Miniature Anthology of Good Living* (No.4) and *Spotlight on Lucullus. A Miniature Anthology on the Pleasures of the Table* (No.28).

My favorite of the three wine booklets is *The Infidel Grape*, mainly because of the lively and fanciful illustrations—although *The Wassail Bowl* demands attention with its very colorful, convivial cover, and the jovial toasting songs in *And the Toast Is...* evoke a generous smile! William Littlewood is the artist who brings the booklets to life with his "decorations"—as they are called on the title page. (But I know not who he is or what else he has done. Anyone know?)



Peacock Pie and *Lucullus* are perfect accompaniments to our wine booklets. *Peacock Pie* contains delicious servings of Chaucer, Thomas Love Peacock, Washington Irving, Charles Lamb, Charles Dickens, Lewis Carroll and the Rev. Sydney Smith. Lucius L. Lucullus (born c. 110 B.C.) was the Roman general who became notoriously famous for his luxurious mode of life and the splendor of his banquets. Some of the dishes offered in his *Spotlight* are "A Goddess Entertains" from Homer, "Roman Delicacies," Alexis Soyer on "Baked Elephant's Foot," and Dr. Johnson's thoughts on "Cooking & Philosophy."

When you find these little, inexpensive gems, consider buying one for yourself and one for a friend—an endearing gift for each of you.



AN "IMPRESSIVE BOOK" REVIEW
by Thomas Pinney

Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition by Daniel Okrent. New York: Scribner, 2010. 468pp. Cloth. \$30.



This is an impressive book, impressive in the breadth and detail of its coverage, impressive in the depth of the research that lies under it, and impressive for the size of the claims that it makes for the effects of Prohibition.

Since this is the *Wayward Tendrils Quarterly* it must be said at once that the book has relatively little to say about wine in the general scene of Prohibition, but that seems fair enough, given that beer and spirits were certainly at the center of the story, both in the years leading up to Prohibition and during the Dry years themselves.

To take the breadth and detail first. Okrent covers the whole story, from the early history of the American temperance movement, to the formation of the WCTU and the Anti-Saloon League, the consequent triumph of the Dry cause through pressure politics, the years of legal Dryness and illegal Wetness during Prohibition, the return of legal Wetness at Repeal, and the fate of the major players afterwards. This is done in clear and vivid fashion, giving you a dramatic idea of how things worked and of the people who worked them. Okrent's account of how the Prohibition amendment, the 18th amendment to the Constitution, was formed, how it was pushed and pulled about by various pressures and by whom, is a model instance of his ability to explain and develop a subject that other authors would be content simply to summarize and then move on. And so is his treatment of the other end of Prohibition, the construction of the Repeal movement and the passage of the 21st Amendment, repealing the 18th. He treats subjects that don't usually get much attention: the matter of "concurrent" laws, for example, that were supposed to be passed by the states in order to support the federal Volstead Act at the state level, or the conflicts within the Anti-Saloon League over policy. He does not merely describe these things, he shows how they came about, what were the pressures and interests that lay behind them or that impeded them, how the actors involved in them got that way, and so on: in short, he tells you not only what happened, but more often than not, why what happened happened, which, I take it, is what a historian does as opposed to what a simple chronicler does. To my innocent mind, he also does a good job of unravelling and identifying the many strands that

went into the complicated social and legal tangle known as Prohibition.

The details are often charming, or striking, or strange. Who knew that the "growler," the metal pail that children carried to the local saloon to be filled with beer for the old man, was smeared inside with lard to keep down the foam and so allow for more beer in the pail? Or that President Coolidge was disturbed by reports of bootlegging at his Amherst fraternity, Phi Gamma Delta? Or that a Prohibition amendment had been introduced into every Congress since 1876? Or that surplus Liberty airplane engines—400 horsepower—from the War were the engine of choice for small rum-running boats?

But Okrent is critically alert even at this anecdotal level of narrative. Writers have, for example, long repeated the story that Mrs. Pauline Sabin, the leader of the woman's wing of the Repeal movement, was moved to action when, at a Congressional hearing, Mrs. Ella Boole, the head of the WCTU, announced that "I represent the women of America!", whereupon Mrs. Sabin, among those present, said to herself, "Well, lady, here's one woman you don't represent" and proceeded to found her woman's organization. I have myself repeated this story in my *History of Wine in America*. Alas, it is not true. Okrent has looked into it and has found that Mrs. Boole said no such thing at any Congressional hearing, and, besides, that there is no evidence that Mrs. Sabin ever heard Mrs. Boole testify at such a hearing. One concludes that when Okrent tells a story of that kind he has looked into its credentials.

To gather information for his book, Okrent has cast a remarkably wide net. The standard authorities have of course been consulted—Odegard, Asbury, Kerr, Merz, *et al.*—but the variety of evidence, illustration and anecdote that he presents is harvested from a huge field: the private papers of Emory Buckner, of Louis Cramton, of William E. Dever, of Josephine F. Gomon and a good many more are among the sources listed—you never heard of any of them? But they figure in the story, and Okrent has gleaned from what they left behind. How did he find all that stuff?, one wonders—the M.A. thesis about Prohibition in the Napa Valley from San Jose State, or the one about law enforcement under Prohibition in San Francisco, this one from Berkeley. *The Year Book* of the Central Conference of American Rabbis figures in the bibliography, as do the *Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels*, Robert Goldberg's *Hooded Empire: The Ku Klux Klan in Colorado*, and a monograph on *Classic Speedboats 1916-1939* by Gerald Guetat and Eric Ledru. No doubt Okrent had help in running down all the game that figures in the bibliography. He lists eight research assistants in the Acknowledgments at the end of the book, and the names of people from St.

Louis, St. Paul, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Ottawa, and Ann Arbor who visited collections for him. But simply organizing all that help shows an enterprise not usual in scholarly labor. He had to instruct that help, and he had to know how to make use of what they found. As I have said, this is impressive.

The form of the book is a sandwich, the upper slice of bread being the run-up to Prohibition, the lower slice the run-up to Repeal, and the filling in between, the meat of the matter, the long account of what went on under Prohibition itself. This center section, between the two amendments, covers the usual topics. Okrent is not writing a revisionist history; his version of Prohibition is pretty much what has come to be received as the orthodox view, in which Prohibition did not prohibit, in which crime became organized big business, in which government corruption was epidemic. But the story in his hands is unusually well told, clearly laid out and richly illustrated.

Prohibition, as Okrent sees it, "signified a series of innovations and alterations revolutionary in their impact" (3). The agitation that led up to the passage of the 18th amendment was a model for all later political activism; the federal income tax came about because the Dry forces needed a plan to compensate for the loss of the liquor tax revenue; women's suffrage came about because the Drys needed the women's vote; the interference of government into the private life of its citizens was given a new charter through the precedent of Prohibition. Okrent puts these things and more in striking fashion:

In 1920 could anyone have believed that the Eighteenth Amendment, ostensibly addressing the single subject of intoxicating beverages, would set off an avalanche of change in areas as diverse as international trade, speedboat design, tourism practices, soft-drink marketing, and the English language itself? Or that it would provoke the establishment of the first nationwide criminal syndicate, the idea of home dinner parties, the deep engagement of women in political issues other than suffrage, and the creation of Las Vegas? (3-4).

These are, you will allow, impressive claims for the effects of Prohibition. I am not competent to argue you them, so I note them and pass on.

In his treatment of the wine industry, the one part of the subject about which I pretend to know something, I spotted a few doubtful or inaccurate points. In his account of how section 29 of the Volstead Act came about, the provision allowing for the production of "non-intoxicating fruit juices," Okrent says that Wayne Wheeler was led to insert that clause to "mollify rural voters who wanted their hard cider" (176). I have seen that reason put forth elsewhere, but I much prefer Paul Garrett's story that Wheeler acted on Garrett's prompting in favour of the

country's grape growers, since no one in the Anti-Saloon League wanted to cause "loss of crops" to the farmer (California Grape Grower, July 1923). The size of the American grape-growing establishment greatly outweighed that of the hard cider makers.

I think that Okrent much exaggerates Georges de Latour's "advantage" over other winemakers in the fact that he had a prosperous business in sacramental wine during Prohibition. Other wineries did a good business in sacramental wines, and, especially, in grape concentrate, a much more important market. Because de Latour had stayed in production in the Dry years, Okrent writes, he was "sitting on a million gallons in barrels" at Repeal while "potential competitors labored to build up their inventories" (359). Italian Swiss Colony and the Italian Vineyard Co., to name no more, probably had more wine on hand than de Latour did when Repeal came about; de Latour's advantage, if it was that, came from the fact that he had better wine to sell. But only three years later, de Latour was glad to unload some 400,000 gallons of unsold table wine on to the hands of Ernest Gallo. Okrent should also know that such things as grape butter and grape catsup were not bizarre impossibilities (181); they, and a good many other such things, were in fact produced by a number of wineries, east and west, under Prohibition.

Louis Martini was not operating in Napa Valley under Prohibition (186; 351); the University of California's Department of Viticulture and Enology did not "close its doors" upon passage of the Volstead Act (180); Davis did not "shut down all its wine work during the 1920s," since it did no wine work at all until after Repeal, with Maynard Amerine, appointed in 1935, being the first enologist on the staff at Davis. And how, I wonder, could Louis Martini make kosher wine "palatable" by "spiking" it (186). Kosher wine is nothing if not pure, so why and with what do you spike it?

A reader of *Last Call* will come away with a very full and well-illustrated notion of the history of Prohibition, but no one author can cover everything. Two questions—questions that I have never seen properly answered in any of my reading—occurred to me as I read. First, why are the Baptist and Methodist denominations thought to be indissolubly linked to tee-totalism? When did that come about, how, and why? There is no theological reason for it that I know of, and plenty of historical reason against it. And second, why is it always assumed that the customers in speakeasies and elsewhere where liquor was illegally provided, were in danger of the law? Okrent is not distinct in this matter, but he seems to go along with the received notion. As I understand it, there was no penalty attached to buying or to drinking

cont. on page 19 —

"Corners Bumped & Worn"

Taking Care of a Collection

by Ruth Walker

[Ruth Walker is an accomplished bookbinder specializing in fine book restoration at her Petaluma, CA studio. Her knowledgeable advice and helpful hints to fellow book lovers appeared in several of the earlier issues of our Newsletter / Quarterly. For the benefit of all Tendrils, we are pleased to reprint some of these vintage lessons on how to care for our collections. - Ed.]



here comes a point in every collector's experience when the housing and care of books and ephemera becomes as important as new acquisitions and cataloging. I have found that my enjoyment and dedication to my "treasures" knows no bounds; however, I am often overwhelmed by the care and space considera-

tions. How about you? Let's begin with the **Optimum Environmental Requirements** for maintaining a collection:

Subdued Sunlight is necessary; prolonged ultraviolet light causes paper to become brittle, and fades cloth spines; it dries leather bindings so that the leather eventually crumbles and powders; and it causes vellum bindings to warp. Incandescent lighting is preferred; however the damaging rays can be filtered out of fluorescent lighting. Bookcases should be placed in rooms that do not receive direct sunlight, or be placed at right angles to windows.

Constant Room Temperature eliminates potential dampness that encourages the growth of mold (mildew). By keeping the temperature between 65 and 75 degrees and the relative humidity at 50 to 60%, the mold spores already present in older books and the environment are less likely to become active.

Air Circulation. Since dampness is the most critical and often least considered problem in conservation, it is important that bookcases be backed, and they should never be placed directly against the wall. Always leave a small space for air to circulate. Never keep books on the floor, carpeted or not. Bookcases and boxes of books should be installed along interior walls. In the case of closely fitting glass-fronted bookcases, the doors should be left open from time to time on warm days for better air circulation. Books should be placed on the bookshelf so that there is room for air to circulate behind them. The number of books per shelf should allow for ease of removal; it is unkind to have to use force.

Handling and Care

When removing a book from the shelf, always extend your index finger over the top of the spine about an inch, so that pressure is not

applied to the head cap. We all have seen too many books with the tops of their spines damaged by a repeated pulling on their head caps, especially leather bindings.

When a book is being opened, the right or left hand should form a 90-degree angle for cradling the book. Never open a leather bound book to a full 180 degrees: this severely strains the spine and joints, sometimes cracking them.

It goes without saying that food and drink near books and bookcases are hazardous, with potential spills leading to stains.

The care of books requires a frequent vacuuming and dusting of the area in which they are housed. Also, take time to look for insect infestations, such as silverfish, brown clothes moths, &c. You can sprinkle borax at the back of bookshelves to discourage silverfish and firebats. The books appreciate an annual Spring Cleaning: dust their covers with a soft cloth; their tops should be vacuumed, not wiped, as a wiping of settled dust from the top of a book can drive dust and dirt into the text of the book.

An easy, recommended procedure to prevent the ink in engraved and chromolithographic illustrations from migrating onto the opposite page (referred to as "off-setting"), is acid-free tissue paper inserts that can be purchased from an archival supply house (storage and conservation materials) such as University Products or Gaylord Bros. The tissue guards should be cut to the size of the page and laid in.

When moving books in cartons, remember that books prefer to be packed spine down, and fairly tightly, in medium sized cartons. They need not be wrapped in paper unless the binding is fragile or the surface can rub off.

Last but not least, what about the books and ephemeral material that there are no shelves for, or that must go into storage? I recommend that you spend money on sturdy, uniform (easier to store), archival, acid-free cartons that can be labeled to give some sense of order and sanity. Find an appropriate environment as discussed without resorting to the floor of the garage. Use good quality wrapping paper, never newspaper. To keep moisture from collecting in the cartons, use dehumidifying silicate in bags. Annually, on a warm day, take the books out of their boxes and stand them up, fanned out, for a 24-hour period.

Book Repairs that You Can Do

After installing bookcases and book boxes to your satisfaction, the next consideration is the minor repair you can do to individual books, pamphlets and ephemera in your collection. Upon the acquisition of an item, or in reviewing your books, carefully collate the book, page by page, looking for foreign debris: newspaper clippings, bobby pins, straight pins, paper clips, deceased critters, &c. Remove all such items, especially plant material, as they stain pages, sometimes actually "eating" through the paper. If you have a number of books to assess, sort them according to cloth, leather, pamphlet, and other ephemera.

Cloth Binding care involves cleaning the boards and spine with a very soft brush and a dry-eraser-pad like Faber Castell's Magic Pad, a vinyl cleaning pad that is non-abrasive. Never attempt to use water and soap solutions to clean cloth boards as this makes the cloth separate from the board and leaves discolored areas. Vacuum the head, tail, and fore-edge areas, as well as any remaining dry-erasure granules.

Frayed head and tail areas of the spine and corners can be consolidated with a white glue like Elmer's, a polyvinyl acetate (PVA). Using a toothpick tipped in the glue works well. Let dry five to ten minutes (or until dry to the touch) before placing in the bookcase.

Older book cloth that shines (indicating a great deal of sizing), and leatherette may be brightened with a soft cloth like flannel that has the barest hint of anhydrous lanolin rubbed into it. Another method is the use of a silicon product called EndDust sprayed into a cloth and then used to wipe the covers. Allow the book to air for 24 hours.

No glue, no matter what the claim, is going to repair or consolidate a cracked joint or inner hinge on a cloth or leather bound book. Books that have been treated in this manner later become complex problems for the restoration bookbinder. It is better to cover the book with a 3 ml. mylar jacket to prevent further wear. You should also consider protecting all of your more fragile or valuable items, especially those with paper dust-jackets, with a mylar wrapper.

Leather Bindings already in good condition (no powdery or loose joints) can be treated with a dry eraser-pad and then a barely damp cloth if dust or grime is present, taking care to do only the spine and boards. Vacuum the head, tail, and fore-edge areas.

Elmer's Glue consolidates powdery, worn leather corners, as well as head and tail areas that have come loose. Leather labels and gouges can also be treated with glue. Let dry 5 to 10 minutes. Afterwards a leather preservative should be applied according to manufacturers instructions, with waxed paper insert-

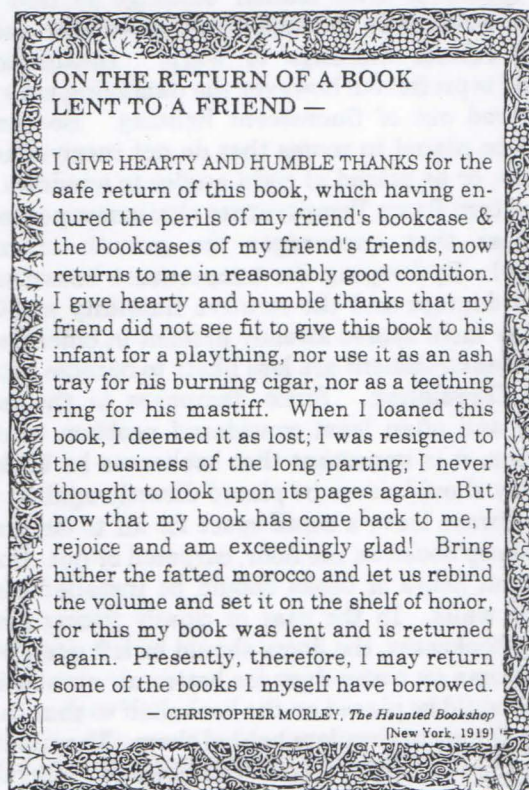
ed between the boards and first free-endpapers to prevent the preservative from staining the endpapers. Allow to dry, buff, remove waxed papers, then return to the bookcase.

Pamphlets and Ephemeral Material can also be cleaned with a dry-eraser-pad, using careful outward strokes while pressing down firmly on the item. Mylar folders that fit 3-ring binders are useful in cataloguing and storing ephemera for easy access and display. For those who have a large number of pamphlets, a storage system using the standard 7"x10" plastic envelopes with acid-free board inserts available at Comic Book Collectors' Shops, is highly recommended. Lidded storage boxes to fit are also sold at these shops.

Paper Tears are easily repaired using Archival Document Repair Tape, a non-yellowing, neutral PH, reversible transparent product.

In closing, let me review a few specific questions I have been asked about book care:

■ Suggestions for properly installing a bookplate? First, bookplates should be of high quality acid-free paper and inert inks. Archival buffered paste or glue



THE MAIN PURPOSE OF A BOOKPLATE !

should be used to attach the bookplate, preferably to the front paste-down. It is a good practice to tip-in these bookplates, rather than pasting the entire sur-

face. If a former owner's exlibris already occupies this spot, there are two suggested ways to install a second bookplate: Lightly tip the top edge of your bookplate with paste and install over the top edge of the original bookplate, so that one can gently lift this new bookplate to view the older plate. Or, the new bookplate may be installed on the first front free endpaper, across from the original bookplate.

■ Are zip-lock plastic bags safe to use for book and pamphlet storage?

Not a good idea. Books and pamphlets need to breathe. Over a period of time books placed in airtight containers collect moisture—small amounts, but this is just enough for mold spores to thrive.

■ How can I store books or pamphlets that have detached covers?

A low cost, practical solution is to make an acid-free paper wrapper that can be folded to secure itself. Ribbon that is 1/4" wide can be used to securely tie the package without denting the book. Rubber bands, scotch tape, pins and paper clips will do more damage than good. Available online from Gaylord Bros. is a product called Easy Rare Book Boxes that work well.

■ Is "Yes" paste good to use for installing bookplates? No! Although many art supply stores sell "Yes" paste as archival, it is not. It is made from maltodextrin, a sugar compound that turns brown with time, and eventually migrates into paper leaving a residue that is difficult to remove and inviting to insects. The product is sold as archival because it is a non-permanent adhesive. The bookplate can be removed; however, the residue cannot.

■ Should previous owners' signatures, endpaper notes, bookplates, &c. be removed?

It is not advised. These are all a part of the history and provenance of the book. Collectors are active participants in a historical time-frame, and should be stewards more than possessors of their books.

Recommended Reading

The following three books are invaluable, and ageless, in their presentation of the facts for maintaining a library, and are well recommended. Keep them handy on your reference shelf, alongside your wine bibliographies, atlases, and dictionaries. *The Care of Fine Books* by Jane Greenfield (NY: Nick Lyons, 1988) is an in-depth discussion of how to take care of books, including a short history of book construction. *Practical Book Repair and Conservation* by Arthur Johnson (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988) is the best overview on book repair for the collector, with a useful glossary and great discussions and illustrations. *Cleaning and Repairing Books: A Practical Home Manual* by R. L.

Shep (1980). The Index includes everything you have ever thought about trying to fix: dirty edges, newspaper clipping stains, sun-fading, &c. Also recommended for your reference shelf is the recently published *The Repair of Cloth Bindings* by Arthur Johnson mentioned in "News & Notes" this issue.



ANCIENT BOOK-BINDER

PINNEY, *cont. from page 16* —

alcoholic drink—only to selling it—in the Volstead Act. Only with the passage of the Jones Bill in 1929 did the customer as well as the seller become subject to penalty. Did the concurrent laws of the states penalize the drinker? In some states? Most states? Or what? I pray for enlightenment on these matters. I may also air two of my pet peeves about words: I wish Okrent would not say "vintner" when he means "winemaker"; and I wish he would not say "varietal" when he means "variety." I know that I am fighting a lost cause, but I will faithfully struggle against these barbarisms to the end.

Now that I have made the reservations and qualifications required of a reviewer, I may conclude by saying that, if you are going to read only one book about Prohibition, Daniel Okrent's *Last Call* is the book to read.



FOR YOUR TENDRIL PLEASURE:
BOOK REVIEWS
by Christopher Fielden

[Long-time *Tendril*, a 40-plus-year veteran of the wine trade, and celebrated author of a number of books on wine, Fielden serves up another fine bunch of first-class book reviews. Ed.]

Adventures on the Wine Route. A Wine Buyer's Tour of France by Kermit Lynch. New York: North Point Press / Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995. P.b. \$18. First edition, 1988 (Farrar, Straus and Giroux). Translated into French, *Mes Aventures dans le Vignoble de France...* Paris: Jacques Legrand, 1990.

I am sure that all of us have books that we feel that we should have read, but somehow have never opened. I must admit that, for me, Kermit Lynch's excellent book was one of these. Now I have read it and thoroughly enjoyed it. For the wine retailer, there is a choice of paths in front of you. You can stock all the popular lines and rely on the power of advertising to sell your bottles. You can fill your shelves with recommendations by the *Wine Spectator* or Robert Parker and rely on *their* palates and points to sell *your* wines. Both of these are passive approaches to the wine trade. Kermit Lynch, on the other hand, has adopted a more positive method: he has gone out looking for honest, individual wines, which he is proud to sell. This book tells of his search for these wines in the vineyards of France, in an easy approachable style. It is, however, much more than a travelogue; it is full of nuggets of wine wisdom. It takes the reader on a very individual tour of the wine regions of France and introduces him to a number of the characters that help create their individuality.

What shines through the pages is Mr. Lynch's love for wine, not all wine, but honest wine. Take, for example, Beaujolais. The chapter begins with the sentence, "Beaujolais must be the most inspired invention in the history of wine," but goes on to show how, in the interests of commerce, this inspiration has been subverted. He quotes from Robert Parker's 1987 *Wine Buyer's Guide*, which describes Beaujolais as being "soft, lush, silky, full, fleshy, rich, supple and so on. Mr. Parker is correct. His adjectives perfectly describe today's overchaptalized, overalcoholic Beaujolais."

I am sorry that I have come to this book so late. It is a compulsive, entertaining read.

The Battle for Wine and Love, or How I Saved the World from Parkerization by Alice Feiring. Boston/New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2008. 271 pp. \$13.95.

I wish I felt the same about Alice Feiring's offering. She, too, is seeking for honesty in winemaking and is very dismissive of modern winemaking techniques that lead to a dumbing down of wine styles and the creation of a universal wine designed to please the critics. Here I am with her; but for her all is black or white, whilst, in the world of wine, as in the world at large, there is much grey. In her mission to condemn all that is new in the world of wine, some of her attacks are based on either false premises, or just plain lack of knowledge. Take, for example, her attack on the production of Chardonnay in Spain. She says, "Chardonnay is relatively new to Spain. The French grape does its best in cool climates like Burgundy. In hot climates, like Spain's, the grape grows fat and sloppy, and almost always needs bags of tartaric acid added to the fermenter to replace what nature hasn't supplied." This dismisses the fact that the majority of traditional Spanish white grapes produce very boring wines. In addition, Spain has as broad a range of climates as, for example, has California. I do not think that Ms. Feiring would suggest Chardonnay should not be produced there. Has she tasted Chardonnay wines such as Milmanda and Jean Leon, from the Alt Penedes, or Julian Chivite's Colección 125 from their Arinzano Estate high up in the hills of Navarra?

What really grates with me however, is her gushing style. Just two examples of this: firstly her description of María José López de Heredia: "There was a magical, elfin quality to her. If I didn't know she was almost forty, or see the silver strand in her head of glossy black hair, I would swear she was sixteen. She was so incredibly cute that I wanted to pinch her cheek, pick her up, and put her in my pocket. I could easily imagine her as a chatterbox child who never stopped to inhale." Secondly her preparations for two telephone interviews of Robert Parker: for the first, "The morning of our date it occurred to me to get dressed for the phone interview, but I couldn't find the time. Wearing one of my favourite sleep shifts, with demure lace in strategic spots, I placed the call." And later, "This time, for our morning interview", again on the phone, "I got dressed—no more sloppy writer's habits for me. I wore full regalia—underwear, skirt and blouse—and not only did I brush my teeth but I put on lipstick. I was prepared."

As for the subtitle of the book, *How I Saved the World from Parkerization*, there is little evidence of her having achieved this. Indeed, this is a very worthy objective, but I feel that it needs more than one meeting in the flesh and two telephone conversations, in a state of undress or not, to claim success. I learn today that she has a new book on the way, *Naked Wine*. I hope there is more wine and not much nudity.

The Great Domaines of Burgundy, 3^d ed. by Remington Norman and Charles Taylor, M.W. London: Kyle Cathie Ltd., 2010. £40.

I reviewed the first edition of Remington Norman's *The Great Domaines of Burgundy*, when it first appeared eighteen years ago. It has now been brought up to date by London wine-merchant, Charles Taylor, MW. I can remember commenting then on some of the surprising omissions, and again this latest edition is a very personal selection. Every Burgundy lover will feel that there are certain of their favourite growers that should have been included; my personal offerings would be the Domaine de la Vougeraie and Chanson Père et Fils, whose wines have been revitalised under the Bollinger ownership.

In his introduction, Michael Broadbent describes this book as a *magnum opus*, and it is truly that. Each of the profiled domains has its history, its vineyards, and winemaking techniques discussed in depth. The composition of the vineyard holding gives each plot, its rating, its area and the age of the vines, all useful information for any Burgundophile. There are also profiles of each village on the Côte d'Or with a map of the vineyards.

In addition to what might be described as the "intimacies" of each domain, there are a series of articles, at the end of the book, on such important topics as *Maintaining the Vine and Biodynamics*, *Climate and Microclimates of the Côte d'Or* and *The Enigma of Soil*. These are all subjects of interest, as are notes on the vintages over the past forty years. This book is a must for the student of the wines of Burgundy. However if funds are limited, it might be as well to wait until the autumn, when we can expect two other large works on Burgundy: the first by Remington Norman on Grands Crus and the other to be published by Berry Bros. & Rudd, by their resident Burgundian expert, Jasper Morris. Only then can one decide where to place one's money.

Bordeaux / Bourgogne, les Passions Rivalentes by Jean-Robert Pitte. Paris: Hachette Littératures, 2005. 8 euros. English edition, *Bordeaux/Burgundy: A Vintage Rivalry* (Berkeley / London: U.C. Press, 2008. 268 pp. Translated by Malcolm DeBevoise.)

Jean-Robert Pitte is a professor at Bordeaux University, so I feared that his book on the "rivalry" between Bordeaux and Burgundy might be rather slanted. Fortunately, this is not the case and his feelings might be reflected in the title of one of his chapters *Des Vins Incomparables*. The book is largely a historical work and, as the author points out, historically Champagne was Burgundy's rival, and not the *parvenu* Bordeaux. With a bibliography listing more than three hundred books this is a scholarly

work and full of interesting facts and snippets of information. Indeed, it is amazing how much is crammed into this slim volume. Two omissions: whilst the two regions are treated fairly as equals, nowhere is it stated that the production of Bordeaux is approximately two and a half times as that of Burgundy, including Beaujolais. This, therefore, gives it much more exposure on the markets of the world. I also would have liked to see greater credit given to the Cistercian order of monks, for the important role that they played in spreading the reputation of the wines of Burgundy in the middle ages, through their network of monasteries all across Europe.

Is there true rivalry between the two regions? I can remember when I first worked in Bordeaux in 1960, naively asking Armand Lalande, one of the grand old men of the trade there, "Is Pomerol the closest thing to Burgundy in the wines of Bordeaux?" His reply was, "My boy, I do not accept that Burgundy exists." I can recommend this book as a useful, and not costly, addition to anybody's wine library.

Historia Apasionada del Brandy de Jerez by José de las Cuevas. Geribel, 2003.

Whilst the reputation of Jerez is firmly based on sherry, it is on the production and sale of Brandy de Jerez, that many of the sherry houses rely to make their profit. It was the Moors who first perfected the art of distillation and Andalusia was an important Moorish province. Whilst brandy is widely distilled in Spain, it is not surprising, then, that Jerez should be the most important centre of the industry. What may not be generally realised, however, is the Brandy de Jerez is not distilled from local wines, nor is the distillation generally carried out in the region. Rather it has as its base wines from La Mancha made from the Airén grape.

Sr. de las Cuevas outlines the history of the product and of many of the men who were involved in its early production. He also details the commercial war with the French, who, with some justification, resented the Spaniards calling their product *coñac*. When even the Jerezanos accepted that they would have to come up with a new name for their product, it was decided that there should be competition. A short-list of 533 potential names was drawn up, which was then whittled down to just 38. Amongst the more fanciful suggestions were Jercó, Xebbrand and Pirosin, but the final choice, after a great deal of discussion was Jeriñac. Despite all this, we now have Brandy de Jerez and a fascinating book on the topic!





BOOKS & BOTTLES

by
Fred McMillin

A PINNEY AND PELLEGRINI TENDRILS QUIZ

[EDITOR'S NOTE: In this Books & Bottles column, Fred provides us with highlights, in the form of questions and answers, from two of his favorite wine books ... that just happen to be written by two English professors. Prof. Pinney, a foremost Kipling scholar with a keen interest in wine and its history, has given us seven worthy books on the subject (and is readying the eighth). Prof. Pellegrini [1903-1991] has written several delectable books on wine, food, and the enjoyment of the good life. In each set below, one statement is false. If you get three right, Fred awards you an A.]

The Book: *A History of Wine in America, from the Beginnings to Prohibition* by Thomas Pinney. Berkeley: U. C. Press, 1989. 553 pages.

- a) The first clear reference to the planting of grapes at a California mission comes from San Juan Capistrano in 1779, ten years after the arrival of the Franciscans in California.
- b) Thomas Jefferson offered 2,000 acres near Monticello to the Florentine winegrower Philip Mazzei [1730-1816].
- c) In the 19th century, Virginia made an outstanding contribution to American viticulture through Dr. D. N. Norton's "Virginia Seedling," best known as the Norton grape. The Norton grape has since become extinct.
- d) In 1857 the first wine was shipped from Napa Valley to San Francisco retailers.

WHICH IS FALSE?

c) The Norton grape is still grown (by St. James Winery in St. James, Missouri, and a number of other wineries). In fact, there is a new book on Dr. Norton and his grape, *The Wild Vine. A Forgotten Grape and the Untold Story of American Wine* by Todd Kliman. ■

- a) California's vineyards were largely devastated by the phylloxera plant louse about 1900.

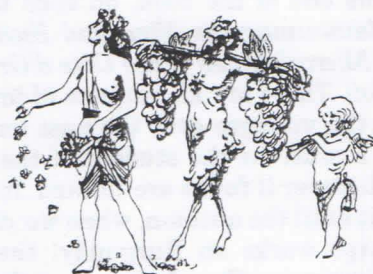
- b) Previously in the 1870s there was a large movement of American vines to France because the American vines were resistant to phylloxera.
- c) More species of native vines (indigenous) are found in France than anywhere else in the world.
- d) The first reference to the actual making of wine in the United States is in the report of his voyage to Florida in 1565 by the rich and respectable pirate, Captain John Hawkins, afterwards Sir John.

WHICH IS FALSE?

c) Most species of native vines are found in North America, not France. ■

The Book: *Wine and the Good Life* by Angelo M. Pellegrini. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965. 307 pages.

Wine and the Good Life



- a) Pellegrini, the beloved English Literature professor at the University of Washington who was enamored with the study of Shakespeare, did not consider sporting games a component of the "good life."
- b) When a baby in Italy, Angelo's first bath was in white wine because his father felt it was more sanitary than their water.
- c) A Pellegrini quote: "The Cabernet Sauvignon is universally accepted as California's finest red wine."
- d) Pellegrini heralded "The Moscato Amabile [as] one of the most delightful dessert wines I have ever tasted."

WHICH IS FALSE?

a) I first met Professor Pellegrini on the handball court, and played four-wall handball with him regularly for over a year. I later took his course in

"Logic and Argumentation." He was always a gentleman on the handball court. Best of all, he frequently had very witty comments even in the heat of the battle. ■

- a) A Pellegrini axiom: White wines are more appropriate for women, while red wines are more appropriate for men.
- b) When his grandfather was 83, Pellegrini served him a favorite breakfast which consisted of a loaf of bread and a bowl of wine.
- c) *Vitis labrusca* is the wild grape species indigenous to the United States, which may eventually produce fine wines. One of these domesticated varieties is the Norton.
- d) California wines of exceptional character include Champagne made from Zinfandel and Pinot Noir.

WHICH IS FALSE?

- d) California wines of exceptional character include Champagne from Chardonnay and Pinot Noir, not Zinfandel. ■

The Bottles: Here are a few related wines that sparked a lot of interest in my classes at the Fort Mason campus of San Francisco City College.

- Italian White Wine: Orvieto Classico, Ruffino, Italy, 2008, \$7.
- California Cabernet Sauvignon: Private Reserve, Chateau Julien, Monterey, 2005, \$36.
- California Moscato: Woodbridge (R. Mondavi), California, 2008, \$8.
- California Champagne: Domaine Carneros, Brut Rosé Sparkling Wine, Napa Valley, NV, \$36.

"Books and bottles breed generosity, and the bibliophile and oenophile go through life scattering largesse from their libraries and cellars." — H. WARNER ALLEN, *Through the Wine Glass*, 1954



**IMBIBE SLOWLY:
A BOOK REVIEW**
by Bo Simons



[Bo Simons needs no introduction to W-T members, as he is a founding father of our society and a long-time contributor to our *Quarterly*. He is also the Wine Librarian at the Sonoma County Wine Library in Healdsburg, CA. — Ed.]

Been Doon So Long: A Randall Grahm Vinthology.
by Randall Grahm. Foreword by Hugh Johnson.
Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.
318 pp. 10½ x 8½. Illustrated. \$34.95.



his "Vinthology" by Randall Grahm is a delightful book. You can open it at any point and be assured of smiles and engaging thought and wickedly amusing and complex satire. It has won the James Beard Foundation Award in the beverage book category. Georges and Franck DuBoeuf named it the Wine Book of the Year. It is made up largely of gleanings from Grahm's Bonny Doon winery newsletter, so it is not brand new. And lots of it consists of satires and spoofs of works of literature, so it is not wholly original. But don't let that put you off. Anyone who can do triple-play wordplay and skewer the pretensions of wine while reveling in pretense, all the while making serious moral points, deserves your time and attention.

Redeeming Humility

The book bursts with clever. Is it too much? After all the clever stuff from Randall Grahm, after the literary pastiches (from *Da Vino Commedia: The Vinferno* for *The Divine Comedy: The Inferno*, to *Kacher in the Ribes* for *Catcher in the Rye*), after the takeoffs on rock lyrics (*Born to Rhône*), the opera satires (*Don GIOVESE in Bakersfield*), the goofy extracts from his consistently entertaining and zany newsletter, after all these pyrotechnics, I think what saves Randall Grahm from being too fey, too artsy is his own refreshing humility and the seriousness in his silliness.

One of my favorite bands from the '60s is Procol Harum. Even though I love them dearly, I realize they are little attenuated. Their very name is bad Latin for "beyond these things." They wrote some of the densest lyrics that included the most high-brow references with each song. There is of course, *A Whiter Shade of Pale*, with lyrics referencing to Chaucer and the melody so like Bach. They could go so arty that a working class rocker in the great movie, *The Commitments* can slam *A Whiter Shade* as "Poxiest lyrics ever written."

Grahm never gets too "poxy." Besides the leaven of humor, he is too self aware. "I do wince to remember the incredible arrogance I displayed, but I was just a kid and a rather snotty one at that." ("How I Overcame My UC Davis Education" p. 279). I can never see the clever Procols ever owning up like that.

Swiftian

In addition to self awareness and some humility, Randall Grahm displays a high purpose in most of his satires. With Jonathan Swift, you can guffaw at the raw and biting satire, while you

inwardly gasp at and grasp the point he is trying to make. In Swift's *Modest Proposal*, the narrator suggests that a way to solve the problem of many under-cared-for and starving children in Ireland would be to eat them. With utterly droll deadpan Swift discusses how the dishes might be served.

"A child will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends; and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish, and seasoned with a little pepper or salt will be very good boiled on the fourth day, especially in winter."

This is very dark indeed. I am at once appalled and amused. The pitch-perfect banal tone makes the point, underpinning a high moral purpose Swift has in satirizing the thoroughly cavalier way the English treated the Irish.

Similarly, when Grahm takes aim at overly engineered wines, his aim is moral. The trend in wine at which Grahm takes shots is exemplified by a lab in Sonoma that offered wineries computer software to predict and manipulate their wines to garner good reviews, even while it is still juice. Our Randall crafts a takeoff on *A Clockwork Orange*, called, what else, *A Clockwork Orange Muscat*, to skewer this depressing scientific commercialism. You will recall that in the original novel by Anthony Burgess, and in the brilliant film adaptation by Stanley Kubrick, that target of the satire is the psychological conditioning that remakes noxious murderous punk (Alex the narrator) into a some-thing non-human. In *Orange Muscat*, the villain is the kind of mad/Madison Avenue scientist approach to winemaking that reduces winemaking to market-driven logic. Burgess's Alex becomes Grahm's Alexis. Burgess invented a kind of futurist slang, compounded of English working class and Russian words, as it was a Cold War world, and Pavlovian conditioning was a USSR-born concept. Grahm takes off in *Orange Muscat* with a similar compound slang, forged of wine terms taking over the English. With Burgess, it's malchecks, horror-show, gullivers and viddy, and with *Orange Muscat* it's dreggies, sousecorpsemen, merlot and utter cribari. While Grahm's target of satire (making wine by the numbers) may not be as high as Swift's (man's inhumanity to man), it is nonetheless a serious object, for a wine book. I feel the same hoot and hmmm, the lightness and gravitas, in both Grahm and Swift.

Steve and Bob

Steve Heimoff, another good author published by University of California Press, blogged (9/21/2009) a fairly mixed review of Grahm's

book (<http://steveheimoff.com/>). Heimoff is bored by Grahm's parodies. How can these parodies of great literature hold his attention, Steve argues, when the originals did not? Exactly. I will admit that I have consciously avoided reading *Finnegan's Wake* because James Joyce said he took twenty years to write it and he expected an intelligent reader to take at least that to read it intelligently. Still the great works of literature are worth your reading. They repay your investment of time. Besides giving you insights into the meaning of existence, one of the ways they pay back your investment is the pleasure you get from brilliant parodies of them. If Steve did not have time for Eliot, Joyce, Cervantes, Kafka, Salinger and Garcia Marquez, he cannot be expected to appreciate the parodies. More's the pity. I have in my thirty years as a librarian witnessed a decided and increasingly rapid loss in the ability of the reading public to read for pleasure. Attention spans have dwindled from book-length to blog-length to a tweet. Steve is bored with Grahm's parodies. I cannot argue with that. I have always maintained that boredom is more a function of the bore-ee that the supposedly boring object.

Bob Foster, in *The California Grapevine* (March-April 2010), gave a laudatory review to *Doon*. Bob, a retired attorney, possesses a background in the law, not literature, but this did not stop him from gamely soldiering on in the dense thicket of Grahm's whimsey. Bob writes "I've always said that in reading his works, I needed an encyclopedia and a computer nearby to figure out some of his more obscure literary or historical references. I figure on a good day I get two thirds of his writings. But even at that comprehension level, this book is a delight."

Best Imbided Slowly.

I heartily recommend this book, and would encourage you to read it and seek out the original texts that Grahm parodies. We English majors will respect you for your tenacity. Moreover you will be able to appear erudite at all wine tastings by dropping remarks like, "Oh, this reminds me of 'A Perfect Day for Barberafish.'" Although I have enjoyed thoroughly what I have read so far of *Been Doon So Long*, I admit freely that I have not read the whole book cover to cover. It's like a recently purchased case of a good wine. I want it last a while, and it will only get better over the next few years.



IN THE WINE LIBRARY

by Bob Foster



Good, Better, Best Wines: A No-Nonsense Guide to Popular Wines by Carolyn Evans Hammond. New York: Alpha Books [Penguin Group], 2010. Paperback. 238 pp. \$12.95.

"this book fills a gap in wine literature..."

While most of the wines in the United States are bought in supermarkets, most of the wines reviewed in the *California Grapevine*, and similar publications, are not found so easily. They usually come from specialized wine stores or directly from the winery. There are numerous guides to the fine wines, yet there is little guidance to the mass market wines. This book fills that gap nicely.

The author—a credited wine journalist and sommelier whose first wine book, *1000 Best Wine Secrets* was well-received—covers sixteen major categories of easily obtainable red and white wines. She covers four different price ranges from less than \$5 to \$15 (the latter category being splurge-worthy wines). For each price range she offers three suggestions: Good, Better, and Best. There is a photograph of each bottle for easy recognition and a short paragraph about how the wine tastes. Alcohol levels are also given for those not wanting to cross the 15% level. There are no vintage dates, but for most of these wines there is little variation from year to year.

I particularly like that Hammond has included sections on "other great reds" and "other great whites" thereby encouraging wine drinkers to broaden their horizons. There is also a section on Wedding Reception Wines where the author sets forth numerous solid recommendations including Gallo Ballatore Spumante and Korbel Brut (both Gold Medal winners at several major California wine competitions). There are also suggestions for inexpensive wines for dinner parties, cocktail parties, beach parties, garden parties, banquets, and barbeques.

Along the way there are small sidebars filled with interesting bits and pieces of information about wines and winemaking.

This book fills a gap in wine literature. It is an excellent guide to readily available wines less than \$15. In this economy it covers an ever more important part of the marketplace. Highly recommended.

In Search of Bacchus: Wanderings in the Wonderful World of Wine Tourism by George M. Taber. New York: Scribner, 2009. Hardback. 294 pp. \$30.

"... lacks the depth and insight of Taber's earlier works..."

When this book arrived for review, I was expectant. The author, George Taber, had written two top-notch books—one on the 1976 Paris tasting where California wines beat the best of French wines, and another on the battle over the use of cork. Both of those books were well written and to the point. They read like good novels. Sadly, this book does not live up to the high standards of his earlier works.

The author visited twelve of the world's best winemaking regions. He wrote about each area, giving the story of some of the men and women who helped develop those areas; he describes the region, its land and its grapes, and its major tourist attractions. Sections are often included on places to stay or dine. But the various chapters seem unconnected—there is no central theme, no commonality of experiences.

Each of these detailed chapters is followed by a very short chapter documenting the author's personal travels and experiences in the regions. These companion chapters are frustratingly short and cursory. For example, in the Napa Valley he visited both Whitehall Lane and then Pine Ridge. His comments focus almost entirely on the cost of the tasting and whether or not a visitor received a wine glass to take home as part of the tasting fee. Other times when he does talk about the wines he tasted, he mentions three wines and just says they were "great." I guess details were too difficult to include.

If you were about to visit one of these wine regions, the overview chapter might help you set the stage for your trip, but the book lacks the depth and insight of Taber's earlier works. Recommended only if you plan to visit one of the wine regions soon.

[Bob Foster, a founder of the Wayward Tendrils, has been collecting wine books, reviewing wine books, and judging wine in major competitions for as long as we can remember. Saluté, Bob! With our thanks to the *California Grapevine* for their always gracious permission to reprint. — Ed.]



"A little library, growing larger every year, is an honourable part of a man's history. It is a man's duty to have books. A library is not a luxury, but one of the necessities of life." — HENRY W. BEECHER (1813–1887)

Wine in California: the Early Years

Mission Wines, 1698–1822

by *Charles L. Sullivan*

[This is the second installment in the series on the early history of how wine came to California. The author has provided extensive, informative footnotes, with a substantial library of sources. We have recognized Sullivan's earnest research in the books he has written on California's wine history, including Like Modern Edens: Winegrowing in Santa Clara Valley and Santa Cruz Mountains 1798–1981 (1982), Napa Wine: A History from Mission Days to Present (1994), Zinfandel. A History of a Grape and Its Wine (2003), and his indispensable Companion to California Wine: An Encyclopedia... (1998). — Ed.]

NEW SPAIN: PART II

HISTORICAL PEEPHOLES. Much of what we know about the mission wines of California is derived from a variety of historical glimpses provided by foreign visitors, mostly after 1820, who recorded their brief sojourns in the province. Writers who have tried to describe mission wines have not been able to tell us much. Their descriptions have proved to be a slim supply of primary sources. All too often such wine stories have offered little more than historical peepholes to describe some “good” or “bad” wines at this or that mission. And almost never is there a sense of time and development in the story of mission wine production. But we are looking at a sixty-year period, from the early 1780s until the early 1840s. [See the Map of California Missions at page 35.]



good reason for treating this peephole approach to history with caution is afforded by what little we know about wine at Mission Santa Clara. When George Vancouver, the English navigator, visited California in 1792, he and his officers rode down to the mission from the presidio at

San Francisco, taking a barrel of French wine as a gift for the padres. He saw no sign of wine production and thought the vines in the little vineyard were in poor shape for “want of knowledge in their culture.”¹ Another glimpse comes from Father Palóu’s observation that Santa Clara’s fine fruit trees had been grown from seeds. He added, writing in 1784, that the missionaries had also planted grape seeds.² The padres may have planted grape seeds, but the vineyard that was later flourishing at the mission was propagated from cuttings, as they were at all the other missions. We know that Santa Clara was one of the most prosperous missions in the province by 1810. By then there was a small, enclosed vineyard and in years to come it had a good reputation for its wine. The padres at San Francisco, for example, were pleased to make their wine from Santa Clara-grown grapes. Much later, in 1841, the French diplomat Eugene de Mofras visited the Santa Clara mission, admired the orchards, and declared its wine “superb.” In the same year Charles Wilkes, an American naval officer, visited the mission and gave a good description of the tidy little vineyard from which a few barrels of wine were made, “but nothing can be more rude than their whole process of manufacturing.”³

However, H. H. Bancroft considered Wilkes a poor source, an officer who “constantly indulges in careless misrepresentations and exaggerations.”⁴ This mixed and fragmentary picture of wine at Mission Santa Clara is typical of the material available for the history of wine at the missions. Except for a few of the southern missions, and for Mission San José in the north, a moderately full history of wine at any individual mission cannot be written, except as a sort of pastiche of glimpses from contemporary sources. This is particularly true for the years before 1810 when there were very few foreign visitors. When Vancouver visited California, mission viticulture was in its infancy. Several of the most important wine-



Mission Santa Clara, founded 1777

making missions had not even been founded, specifically San José, San Fernando, San Luis Rey and San Francisco Solano (Sonoma). If Wilkes’s use of “rude” to describe mission winemaking technology in 1841 meant something like rustic simplicity, he might have used a truly caustic term had he seen how the

padres had been making wine fifty years earlier. But we have not one concrete, contemporary description of wine making at the missions then or later.

Vineyard and "Cellar"

Nevertheless, from what we know about life at the missions we can discern some clues about wine making there. Chief among these are contemporary physical descriptions, and the physical remains today. Also we can learn something from a few old timers' descriptions of winemaking on ranchos and in the pueblos, written down years later. We can also learn from the clever reconstruction of possible mission winemaking processes made by historian Edith Webb.

She found in the Mission Santa Barbara archives a book on agriculture, first printed in Madrid in 1513, but updated by several editions over the years. The edition at Santa Barbara was printed in 1777. Its original author, Gabriel Alonso de Herrera titled his book *Obra de Agricultura* and it had a large section on viticulture with a much smaller part devoted to winemaking. By 1777 the work had been expanded to four volumes (*tomas*), each divided into several large sections (*libros*). Its title now was *Agricultura General*. We know of only one volume that made it to

Santa Barbara, brought there by Father Antonio Jayme, another native of Mallorca. He had retired from service at Mission Soledad (1796–1821) where he had supervised the large vineyard and winemaking operation. *Libro II* of this volume contains 231 pages devoted to viticulture and winemaking. Mrs. Webb noted that these pages were far more heavily worn than others. We don't know whether this was the only copy in the province but we can be sure that Father Jayme was not reluctant to share its contents with his fellow missionaries, several of whom he had known in Catalonia.⁵

I was able to access a complete copy of the 1819 edition on the website of Madrid's Real Jardín Botánico. It was quite as up to date on technical matters, as I presume the 1777 edition was. I have used information from Mrs. Webb and from *Libro II* in the following technical pages. The 1539 edition of Herrera's book was reissued in 1998 by the Spanish Ministerio de Agricultura. A small portion of that piece was translated into English and published as *Ancient Agriculture* (Juan Estevan Arellano, ed. Santa Fe, New Mexico, 2006) [See *WTQ Vol.17 #1* for review. – ED.]. It contains a thirty-five page section on viticulture and a few pages on winemaking. This material is similar in places to that found in the 1819 edition, and, I presume, in the 1777 edition used by Father Jayme. But it differs in many ways, particularly in length, to such an extent as to make it of little use in learning about how wine was made in the California missions.

In the early years barrels were readily available at all missions and these were employed as the first fermenters. One head was removed and the grapes were dumped in and crushed with some blunt tool. The juice was drawn off into another container and allowed to ferment. The new wine was then drawn off its lees into another, perhaps cleaner, barrel. The result in a few weeks was a lightly colored red wine that would meet the Church's regulations for use at the altar. Any padre from Spain, certainly from Catalonia, knew that such wine would soon be vinegar if more sophisticated equipment and methods were not employed. When even the smallest vineyards came into full bearing, barrels would not suffice as fermenters. Eventually various means were adopted to handle the growing grape crop. It was soon necessary, as it is today, to separate the processes of crushing and of fermentation. At all the missions the grapes were trod by young neophyte men, "muy bien bañados," (well scrubbed). They wore only a light loin cloth, their hair tied up tightly, and their hands covered with cotton cloth to wipe off perspiration. At Mission San José Father Duran, the master of winemaking and of the choir, had the neophytes treading the grapes to the measures of his Indian chorus.⁶



Obra de Agricultura by Herrera, the first book in the Castilian language to describe the plants of Spain. Book II is devoted to vines & viticulture. This is the title page from the 1584 ed.

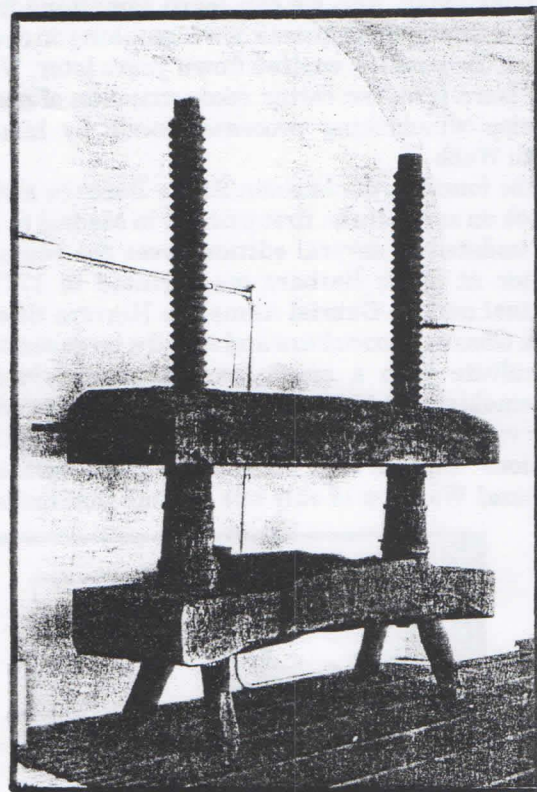
At some missions platforms were built for the treading. At others wide and shallow brickwork troughs served the purpose. In the 1920s Mrs. Webb found the remains of such crushing arrangements at several southern missions. From eyewitness descriptions of treading, written years later, we learn that cowhides were often sewn together to make large containers for the trodden mass and for the juice expressed by the process. In 1877 Carlos N. Híjar gave H. H. Bancroft a detailed description of wine-making in California during the 1830s, when he arrived there as a teenager. It is not clear, however, if this method was normally used at any of the missions, although it was common at ranchos and the pueblos after 1820. Híjar's one time casual use of the words "at the missions" in his recollections is not enough evidence to come to that conclusion.⁷

We can only guess at how the mass of crushed grapes was pressed in the earliest years. The most likely arrangement would have been two long boards hinged at one end, the pulp squeezed between them. Eventually crude devices were constructed to apply powerful leverage to the fermented mass. Such pressure could be obtained by firmly fixing a tall tree trunk over the pulp and bearing down at the end of the extension. The longer the tree the greater the leverage. This method was used here and there at some small California wineries up into modern times. The familiar basket press would not enter the California wine scene until the 1850s.

Mission priests from the island of Mallorca might have seen the large wooden screw presses common there in the 1700s. Sometime after 1800 these were in use at California missions. In 1810 Father Mariano Payéras wrote his superior from Purísima Concepción that he was making wine at the mission "after the Mallorcan method in new wine presses." He went on to write that, "some day Your Reverence will drink (wine) without filminess, without sediments, and without bad taste, pure and clear."⁸

The many new mission buildings and churches constructed during Father Lasuén's tenure had little resemblance to the primitive structures that got the padres through the very earliest years. And since by 1800 winemaking had become an important and basic activity at many of the earlier missions, some facilities were provided for crushing, pressing and storage as the new structures were being planned and constructed. A good example can be seen at San Fernando, where the wine cellar covered about 750 square feet, partly underground below another structure. "Cool, dry, and dark, it should have made an ideal place for keeping wine," wrote Mrs. Webb after her visit there in the 1920s. And it was not only at the new missions that such advancements were made. She was able to find remains of original

structures only at La Purísima and Santa Barbara when she made her intensive examination of the old mission sites. Mrs. Webb found that several of the older missions had been rebuilt with specific facilities for winemaking. By far the most important of these was San Gabriel, whose early vineyard activities produced little wine. But after 1806 its wine operations expanded almost continually through the 1820s.⁹



Mallorcan wine press of 1770,
now at the Serra Museum, San Diego, CA

Brandy and Mistela/Angelica

Sometime in the 1790s an event at one of the missions changed the course of winemaking and viticulture in provincial California. This event was the arrival of the first small still, whose operation could transform the dull mission wines into brandy, or *aguardiente*, as it was then called. The long history of distilling on the Iberian Peninsula suggests that stills might have arrived in California before the 1790s, but there is no evidence for such an event. And we can only guess the name of the mission where the first still was placed in operation. Nevertheless, a 1799 report by the provincial governor to the viceroy suggests that several missions had recently acquired stills and were or would be soon producing brandy.¹⁰

Brandy had been an integral part of Spanish life since the Middle Ages. It was considered useful for its medicinal qualities, but its alcoholic punch as a

beverage was what Spaniards loved it for.¹¹ For this reason Spanish churchmen and government officials were keenly aware of the dangers inherent in overindulgence in distilled spirits. After the 1820s this awareness became particularly true in provincial California.¹²

Since the 15th century, and perhaps earlier, Spanish brandy had also been used to assist in stabilizing low alcohol table wines and, at the same time, allowing a certain amount of sweetness to be retained in the wine without the threat of continued alcoholic fermentation. In other words, Spain was producing fortified sweet wines long before Columbus sailed west. In the old Spanish kingdom of Aragon, liberated permanently from Moorish domination at the end of the eighth century, a related process developed very early employing these principles. It was particularly popular in Catalonia, then a major province of Aragon. The result was a drink today called *Mistela* in Spain, Mexico and Argentina. To produce *Mistela*, high proof brandy was added to unfermented, newly pressed grape juice in an amount that would preclude fermentation. It is not really correct to call such a beverage "wine." (In later years it was common to allow the fermentation to begin briefly before the brandy was added. Such a beverage might properly be referred to as wine.)¹³ If stored and aged in well-maintained barrels this alcoholic grape drink takes on the characteristics of aged white, or better, golden sweet wines. It is the beverage that came to be called Angelica in California.¹⁴ There is no reliable contemporary evidence to indicate when or where Angelica was first produced in California. We are even unsure of the name's origin. But the slender historical evidence available provides us with a few logical suggestions.

The first of these comes from the only very early historical peephole glimpse supplied by a qualified visitor. In 1806 Russian Count Nikolai Rezanov sailed into San Francisco Bay accompanied by naturalist and surgeon, Dr. Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff. This was an event important to California history primarily because it led to a significant Russian settlement on the northern California coast in a few years. In California's romantic history the visit is known for the legendary love affair between Rezanov and Concepción Arguello, the daughter of the Spanish commandant.¹⁵ In California wine history it should be known for von Langsdorff's May visit to Mission San José where he drank and described their wine. The scientist was astonished at the mission's accomplishments, since it was but eight years old. The soil was "everywhere rich and fertile." (Years later Eugene Hilgard, the famed professor of agriculture at the University of California, believed that the foothill soils here were the best in California for the

production of fine table wines.) Production of wheat, barley and maize was abundant. There was a fine kitchen garden and a young and healthy orchard. The vineyards had obviously been planted soon after the mission was founded in 1797. And the wine was sweet and excellent, "resembling Malaga," a rich and fortified wine of Andalucía, exported worldwide by the eighteenth century.¹⁶ This wine was likely from the 1805 vintage, but might have been older since the mission probably had had a useful grape crop as early as 1801. It was surely a *Mistela* or a fortified wine, and was what would eventually come to be called Angelica in later years.¹⁷



Picturesque pre-Prohibition Angelica label

Readers familiar with the names of California's most famous Franciscan missionaries and their missions may nod knowingly on learning of the high marks received by Mission San José's certainly Malaga-like beverage at such an early date. For it was at this mission that Father Narciso Durán worked for twenty-seven of his forty years of service in California. It was Durán who made Mission San José "a center of liturgical music and viticulture," in the words of historian Ruth Teiser. He was particularly noted for his brandy, which, as Bancroft wrote, "was double distilled, and as strong as the reverend father's faith."¹⁸ But Durán and his friend and fellow Catalán, Father Buenaventura Fortuny, did not arrive at Mission San José until a few weeks after von Langsdorff's visit.¹⁹

I was surprised to learn that the two men had not arrived in the East Bay until June. But there is something to be learned about mission viticulture at the turn of the 19th century from this fact. When we examine the biographies of the padres who ran Mission San José before 1806 we see a continual turnover of personnel; one after another they came and left. None is ever later mentioned in the annals of the missions in relation to viticulture. None was

Catalán. In fact Bancroft has little to say about any of them in his *History of California*, which contains ample biographies for most of the Franciscan fathers. Until 1806 Father José Antonio Uría had the longest tenure there, from 1799 to 1806, and is possibly the most responsible for the primitive agricultural splendor described by von Langsdorff. This visitor wrote that, "According to universal opinion this mission will in a few years be the richest and best in California." It certainly became one of the top three. And without question, so far as viticulture and winemaking were concerned, the fine condition of this young operation well before Durán's arrival shows clearly that these facets of mission life had become standard aspects of many missions' agricultural activities. Durán's later success was built on what was becoming normal procedure.

Growth and Prosperity

However splendid winegrowing at Mission San José appears historically, it was overwhelmingly at the southern missions where the greatest successes were achieved. By the 1830s mission vineyards at Santa Barbara, San Fernando, San Luís Rey, San Diego, and above all, San Gabriel, contained about 76% of the mission vines in California, according to statistics compiled by Professor Jacob Bowman. And of these more than half were located at San Gabriel.²⁰

The year 1806 also stands out in the history of southern California winegrowing, specifically at Mission San Gabriel. In that year Father José María Zalvidea arrived and took charge of the mission's agricultural endeavors. This twenty-six year old Basque priest came from a year's service at Mission San Fernando with Father Francisco Dumetz, a native of Mallorca and the last surviving pioneer missionary of those who had come up to Alta California with Father Serra. There is no evidence, but a good probability, that Zalvidea's soon

blossoming enthusiasm for winegrowing was influenced by Dumetz's long service at several missions with a strong interest in winegrowing. During the next twenty years Father Zalvidea transformed San Gabriel into the most important producer of California wine. The vast, fertile, and well watered lands in and near the San Gabriel Valley had already given the mission a powerful agricultural advantage before the new priest's arrival. During the next decade San Gabriel led all other missions in livestock and was second only to San Luís Rey in total agricultural production. Soon the provincial governor would report that Zalvidea had charge of an agricultural institution that possessed "the finest lands in California."²¹

There had been a small vineyard at the mission since 1793 and wine was probably first made in 1796. But there had been a fast turnover of priests at the mission and there was little continuity of staff until Zalvidea's arrival. He went right to work and planted three thousand vines in 1807. He continually expanded his soon elaborately landscaped gardens until he had more than fifty thousand vines in 1818.²²

There was probably a still at the mission in 1806 and it was not long before it was employed to help produce Mistela, the tasty drink that in Alta California had taken on the name Angelica by the 1830s. The padre's devotion to viticulture and wine-

making moved Bancroft to claim correctly that Zalvidea was "the first to introduce this industry on a large scale" in California. Bancroft produced an elaborate Zalvidea bibliography to support the memory of the priest as an efficient manager and spiritual leader. He felt the need for this work because of the several negative published references to the priest's mental stability and sobriety.

All seem to agree that he was extremely eccentric and somewhat superstitious. He did not hesitate to lash out at his



Mission San Gabriel, founded 1771, became the leading wine producer of California's mission settlements, with some 9,000 gals of wine and 3,000 more of brandy annually.

neighbors at the little pueblo of Los Angeles. In 1816 he made no friends when he publicly claimed that the *pobladores* there were lazy and chiefly dedicated to their horses. They "put in grapevines, hiring a few gentiles (non-Christian Indians) for this purpose, teach them to get drunk, and then take jars of *aguardiente* to Christian Indians to exchange for the clothing the latter receive at the mission. . . ." ²³ The spiritual and moral condition of that town was not elevated by the fact that no proper chapel was provided there and that it was impossible for the priests at San Gabriel to attend to the spiritual needs of the *pobladores* in and around the town. It actually took ten years, from 1811 to 1821, to get construction started. To help raise money for the project in 1819 Father Zalvidea contributed several barrels of brandy to the building fund. ²⁴ When his superiors transferred him to San Luís Rey years later it was apparently due to his obsessive attachment to his winegrowing domain at San Gabriel. And he resisted his removal mightily, but in vain.

Independence and Isolation

In 1810 Spain's American colonies began their struggle for independence, which ended successfully for Mexico in 1821. But even before this historic process began the mother country had lost all interest in what happened in California. She had been at war with England almost continually from 1796 until 1808. Then for five years Spain was in continuous revolt against Napoleon's French regime on the peninsula.

The Mexican Revolution had little effect on California directly, but indirectly the effects were great. Supply ships from the south were soon nonexistent, as was any attempt to enforce Spanish mercantile rules against foreign trade. Californians learned almost nothing about the course of the revolution taking place in Mexico, but they were well aware of the increase in what had been a modest illicit trade and now was a large and prosperous exchange of goods with visiting foreign ships, mostly American, Russian and some flying the flags of revolutionary governments of South America. The missions were the chief beneficiaries of this trade, mostly in hides and tallow, but also in modest amounts of locally produced wine and brandy.

The mission trade in wine and brandy was also often among one another. Far less abundant at northern than at southern missions, brandy often headed north, especially from San Gabriel and from its neighbor San Fernando. It was usually traded for credits accumulated from the growing traffic in hides and tallow. ²⁵ The bulk of the trade in wine was between missions north and south and the gradually growing "urban" populations at the pueblos and

around the presidios. The missions at San Luís Rey and San Juan Capistrano also carried on a lively trade with passing ships. A young Indian, who had grown up at San Luís Rey and later attended a religious seminary in Rome, left an interesting account of this complex trade which brought the padres clothing for the neophytes and linen for the church, among other things, in exchange for hides, tallow, wine, brandy, butter, oil and bull horns. ²⁶

The wars for independence in Spanish America touched California directly only once, but that moment brought to the province a man who highlights a tiny but important footnote in the state's wine history. In 1818 the revolutionary government at Buenos Aires authorized the outfitting of a privateer craft under the command of a Frenchman, Hippolyte de Bouchard. His task was to harass Spanish shipping and ports from Chile to California. During his voyage he visited Hawaii where he picked up another ship and took into his service a tawny-haired, twenty-five year old Boston man who had worked as a ship builder at home. Joseph Chapman left service aboard the *Argentina* when Bouchard attacked the California coast a few weeks later. The circumstances of his arrival on the California shore is hidden in a comically contradictory collection of stories. Although Chapman is on record as to the origins of his history in winegrowing, he left no record of his trip to or his arrival in California. ²⁷

The Californians had heard of Bouchard's plans long before his men came ashore at Monterey and sacked the by then almost empty town. He then headed south in late November, intent on looting the rich Refugio Rancho, about twenty-five miles up the coast from Santa Barbara. The Ortega family had received its land grant there in 1794 and early established a reputation for wine and brandy production, and for smuggling. The padres at Missions Purísima Concepción and Santa Barbara apparently employed the Ortegas as agents to help them sell their mission products to passing vessels, before 1810 an illicit and then until 1821 a de facto and prosperous trade. After looting the rancho and taking as much brandy and wine as he could find, Bouchard headed south and on December 14 came ashore and attacked the little pueblo at San Juan Capistrano. His men discovered a large storehouse full of wine and brandy, mostly produced at the nearby mission. They dumped out all they did not carry off. One of Bouchard's officers later wrote that "Next morning we punished about twenty men for getting drunk." ²⁸

Meanwhile Joseph Chapman headed south, now under parole with Antonio Lugo, a southern California ranchero and currently alcalde of Los Angeles. For a while the American worked at Mission Santa Inés building a grist mill and in 1821 did the

same for Mission San Gabriel. Soon he received a full amnesty from the governor, was baptized at the mission, and married Guadalupe Ortega, whose family owned the Refugio Rancho. In 1826 he made history after the new Mexican governor granted him a sizable piece of Los Angeles land along the river, where he planted a vineyard of four thousand vines in the same year. Since he did not become a naturalized Mexican citizen until 1831, this action gives him the distinction of having been the first American winegrower in California.²⁹ He continued to live an active and very prosperous life until his death in 1849. Bancroft wrote, "Among all the earliest pioneers of California there was no more attractive character, no more popular and useful man, than Joseph Chapman, the Yankee." His son Charles Chapman, apparently no relative of the famous California historian of that name, inherited the vineyard which was still in his hands in 1860. In that year its three acres produced seven and a half tons of grapes.³⁰

The Russians

A n important development on the northern coast during these years of isolation was not the direct result of the revolutionary events of that period. But the establishment of a solid Russian settlement along the coast of today's Sonoma County was eased by Spain's inability to oppose it. We have already noted Nikolai Rezánov's 1806 visit to the San Francisco Bay area. He learned that the Spanish officials there could easily be coaxed into accepting Russian goods in exchange for much needed food supplies, destined for their fur harvesters in Alaska waters. Rezánov died on his trip back to Russia but his reports encouraged the government to support this trade and the establishment of a settlement on California's northern coast that might produce food for their northern operations.

In 1808 the Russians sent a ship under Ivan Kukov to examine this coast and report places that might be useful for landing, settlement and food production. His favorable report led to his return in 1811. He selected two areas for development. Port facilities would be built at Bodega, about fifty miles north of the Golden Gate, and a stockade would be constructed about fifteen miles farther to the north. He returned in 1812 and followed up on these plans. The little fortress was finished in September and an elaborate christening ceremony gave it the name Ross, perhaps from *Rossiya* (Russia), or *chastokol Rossii* (Russian stockade).³¹ The original complement at the Ross settlement was ninety-five Russians and fifty Aleut hunters. To these were soon added large numbers of very friendly local Indians.

At first the Russians spent most of their energy

harvesting furs from the plentiful supply of seals and sea otters along the northern coast. Eventually livestock and grain production were their agricultural mainstays. What is historically important about the Ross settlement is what happened outside the stockade, not in it. Soon there were three large ranches established inland: Kostromitinov, Tchernisch and Khlebnikov.³² Within a few years all the arable land within walking distance of the stockade had been planted. Here and on the ranches the Russians were very successful in the production of fruit and vegetables for use in the settlement. Several small orchards were planted, mostly to apples, pears, cherries, quince and peaches. And there were wine grapes planted in several places.³³



Ft. Ross Colony, on the northern Sonoma Coast

In 1815 Captain Leontii A. Hagemeister sailed his brig *Suvarov* on a trading mission down the coast to Peru. He went again in 1817 and brought back grape vines, probably as cuttings. V. M. Golovnin reported having seen the vines, newly planted, in his 1822 book published in St. Petersburg. They came to bear in 1823.³⁴ That the Russians' little vineyards were useful and survived is recorded in several contemporary sources, particularly those related to the immediate aftermath of the Russians' departure from the area in 1841. John Bidwell counted two thousand vines in that year at the Tchernisch ranch east of Bodega.³⁵

How the fruit from the Russian vines was used is something of a mystery. I find no word concerning winemaking or brandy production in any of my sources. And, although archeological work in the outlying areas of the Ross settlement has been fairly intense in recent years, none of the findings suggests wine production. I find it hard to believe that the thousands of pounds of grapes produced at the vineyards described by Mariano Vallejo and John Bidwell were all eaten. Bidwell noticed mostly a white variety and we have it from Charles Krug himself that the Russians' vineyards were the original sources of the North Coast's Palomino vines, a Spanish variety that Hagemeister had brought up from Peru.³⁶

Anthropologist Kent Lightfoot has made a detailed

study of all the Ross settlement so far uncovered. He describes the sizable improvements made by the Russians in the 1830s at Bodega, which they called Port Rumiantsev. There were several residences, port facilities, even a bathhouse. There was also "a large warehouse for storing grain, kegs of wine, hides, rigging and other marine stores." We can be fairly sure that this storage facility was not used for imported wine. The Russians, Aleuts and local Indians were partial to distilled spirits.³⁷ But there is no evidence of wine production at Ross, or wine exports to the Californians. There is also no evidence of grapes having been transported south. But that wine grapes were grown for more than twenty years at the Ross settlement strongly suggests that some wine was made from them by someone. But this apparent probability is so far nothing more than a logical inference.

Of what significance is this tiny viticultural segment of the Russian presence at Ross to the history of winegrowing in California? Practically none, except for their introduction of the Spanish Palomino grape, which became one of the workhorses in the production of inexpensive California white wines before Prohibition. Within a few years viticulture virtually disappeared from these cool western areas of Sonoma County. (Since the 1970s the region has become famous for its production of Pinot Noir.) What is most significant about Russian viticulture in California relates to the continuing interest in "firsts" about the Golden State's wines. "Who planted Napa's first Cabernet? Where was California's first Pinot Noir planted?" are typical of the questions regularly put to me over the years. I wrote a book about Zinfandel's firsts in California.

I suspect there are few who would argue that there are other places in the Western Hemisphere more famous for their fine wines than California's North Coast Viticultural Area, that is, the winegrowing areas located primarily in Sonoma, Napa, and Mendocino Counties. Some years ago at a wine conference I was asked if the first wine grapes in the North Coast were planted in Napa or Sonoma. When I answered, "Sonoma, by a Russian," I had to do some explaining.

Before the Russians left California they sold their moveable holdings to John Sutter, who transported what he could to his huge ranch in the Sacramento Valley. The land itself immediately came under the control of the Mexican governor of California. In 1842 he made a land grant of 35,487 acres to Stephen Smith, who first came to California by sea in 1841. In the next few years the stockade, Bodega and most of the Russians' agricultural land were acquired by Smith. He was later known to serve wine to his guests, but we do not know if it was produced from

grapes grown on the old Russian vineyard he now owned.³⁸

The Russians abandoned their Ross holdings finally when the last of them sailed away in January 1841. They left for several reasons, the most important of which was the growth of now Mexican California in the years after independence, particularly in the Sonoma region, the *frontera del norte*. By the 1830s Russian officials had decided the Ross settlement would eventually become economically useless unless much more agricultural land could be acquired to the east and south, in the Russian River Valley and in the area around today's Santa Rosa. By 1839 it had become clear that the growth and prosperity of Mexican northern California made such Russian expansion impossible and the decision was made to leave.³⁹

La Frontera del Norte

It was the movement of the mission frontier above the Golden Gate between 1817 and 1823 that convinced the Russians that the Ross settlement had no future. This movement into the *frontera del norte* began as an attempt by the mission padres at San Francisco to stem the high Indian death rate there, which they traced to the almost year-round foggy weather. A sort of crude sanatorium was built in 1817 at sunny San Rafael, about ten miles north of San Francisco in today's Marin County. At first it was simply a branch, or *asistencia*, of the San Francisco mission. Two years later Father Juan Amorós, a Catalan, and like Father Durán from Gerona, took charge of what was then a full-fledged mission. Probably in 1820 he planted a little vineyard with about two hundred vines, which were still flourishing in the late 1840s after the mission was secularized.⁴⁰

Events in 1823 set off a far more consequential move into the *frontera del norte* than those at San Rafael, heralding developments that certainly caught the Russians' attention. Father José Altimira had come to the San Francisco mission in 1820 and when the word of Mexican independence arrived he contacted the new governor of now Mexican California, Luis Argüello. He suggested the establishment of a new mission well north of the great bay. In 1822 the governor actually decided to move the San Francisco mission north into what is today Sonoma or Napa County. He and Altimira worked out a plan to make the transfer to some spot between today's cities of Petaluma and Vallejo. On April 30, 1823 the padre made these plans known to his church superiors; they refused to reply. Even though in the days of Spanish rule such a plan would have required authorization from church officials, Argüello decided to present them with a *fait accompli*. The first step was to explore the area and select a site for a new mission.

Accordingly on June 25, Altimira, with two of Argüello's officers and nineteen men, set sail from the presidio's embarcadero and headed for San Rafael.

The next day they marched north into "a place called Sonoma." It was a perfect time of the year to make such a tour. They marveled at the wonderful weather. And they were impressed by the abundance and vigor of the wild grape vines growing there. It was a "very proper locality for a mission."

Then they crossed the rolling hills north of the bay, today's Carneros region, and passed through Brown's Valley into the southern end of Napa Valley. It was a "special place," much like Sonoma but without so good a supply of water. They camped on Napa Creek and then headed east up Tulocay Creek into today's Solano County. There they parleyed with friendly Indians, but decided that this area was too far removed from the presidio. They returned to Napa on July 1, where Altimira noted prophetically in his diary that there were large areas of land "quite proper for the cultivation of the vine." Then they returned to Sonoma for a closer look. Altimira decided that the Sonoma Valley was the place for the new mission. He also knew that it was well located for the governor, who had his eye on Russian activities to the north. On July 4 he raised a great redwood cross at the site of the "new San Francisco mission." Two days later they were back at the presidio.



Sonoma Mission, established 1823

It took a while for church officials to accept the new mission, whose official title became San Francisco Solano, named for a Spanish missionary in Peru. (In later years it was invariably called the Sonoma Mission.) By the end of 1824 Altimira had a thriving operation housing more than six hundred neophytes. The usual crops were planted but Altimira was quick to put in a vineyard from cuttings sent up from Mission San José by Father Durán. By the end of the year about a thousand vines were in place. By the 1830s there were 3250 vines east of today's restored

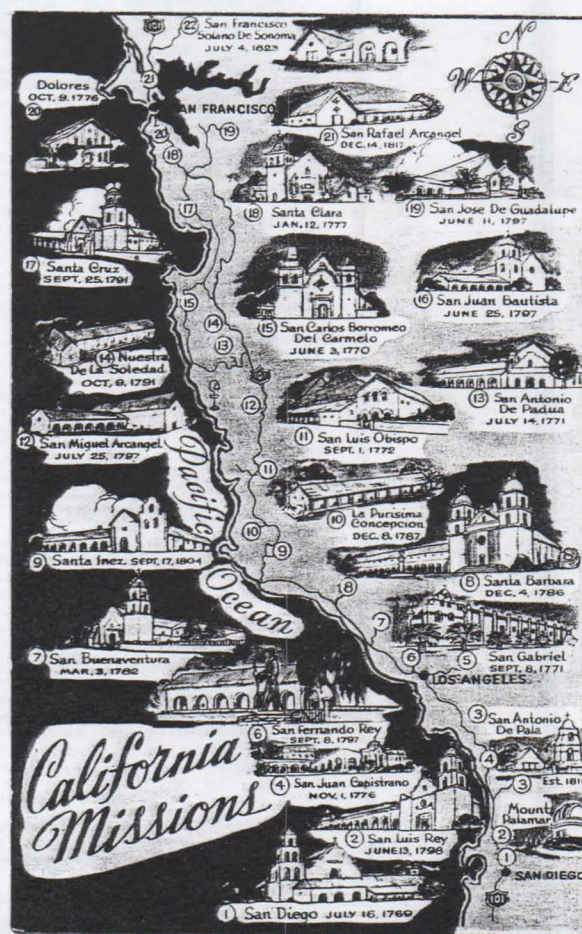
mission church. They were surrounded by a tiled stone and adobe wall.⁴¹

We shall see that within a few years of this pioneer effort the *frontera del norte*, particularly in today's Sonoma County, was integrated into the greater Mexican province. And by the 1840s settlers were moving into the Napa area, the great valley to the east.

NOTES

1. George Vancouver. *Vancouver in California, 1792-1794*, Marguerite Wilbur, ed. Los Angeles, 1953, 40, originally published in three volumes in 1798.
2. Bowman, *Wine Review*, April 1943, 10.
3. Webb, 224-226.
4. Bancroft, *History*, IV, 246-248.
5. Webb, 98-99.
6. Frances Florence McCarthy, *The History of Mission San Jose California, 1797-1835*. Fresno 1958, 229-230.
7. "Recuerdos sobre California...en 1834," Bancroft Library, U. C., Berkeley; Bowman, *Wine Review*, June 1943, 20.
8. Ruth Teiser and Catherine Harroun. *Winemaking in California*. New York, 1983, 6.
9. Webb, 102-103, 222.
10. Bowman, *Wine Review*, July 1943, 11. Prof. Bowman found this report in the archives at Mission Santa Barbara. Previously he had noted that in 1797 brandy "was reported as produced in both Californias," but his source is not indicated.
11. H. H. Bancroft, *California Pastoral, 1769-1848*, San Francisco, 1888, 627 (various uses of brandy and wine thought useful at the missions for specific ailments).
12. Bancroft, *History*, I, 641; II, 425.
13. Mistela is still a standard product of wine producers in Catalonia and in some other parts of Spain, particularly in the Tarragona region south of Barcelona, and on the island of Mallorca. Today it is usually made from the White Grenache or Muscat of Alexandria varieties. An internet search of "mistela" produces thousands of references. My Spanish-English dictionary translates the word "needled or spiked must."
14. M. A. Amerine and A. J. Winkler, "Angelica," *Wines & Vines*, September 1938, 5-6; Brian McGinty, "Angelica," *Vintage*, October 1975, 33-36; Hank Shaw, "Chasing Angels, the Sweet Wine Angelica," *Gastronomica*, Summer 2008, 74-78.
15. The legend is partly false. It has long been believed that the Russian rushed back home to obtain permission to marry his Roman Catholic sweetheart. On the way home he died. What is not true is that he ever intended to return to California. Lydia T. Black, *Russians in Alaska, 1732-1867*. Fairbanks, 2004, 175-177, 186-187. Professor Black has made excellent use of Russian documents, particularly Rezanov's correspondence. His activities in these years were often obviously less than honorable. In

- a letter to a Russian official he wrote that the alleged romance "was naught but another sacrifice on my part for the glory of the fatherland." Also see P. A. Tikhmenev, *A History of the Russian-American Company*, Seattle, 1978, first published in 1863, 96-98.
16. Bancroft, *History*, II, 138-139.
 17. The padres could not have been inspired to produce Mistela from *Agricultura General*, for it gave almost no space to the production of fortified wines such as Sherry and Malaga. And I can find no information on the production of Mistela. Toma I, Libro II, 528-534.
 18. Teiser and Harroun, 7; Bancroft, *Pastoral California*, 449.
 19. Bancroft, *History*, II, 137-138.
 20. *Wine Review*, July 1943, 22.
 21. Bancroft, *History*, V, 621-622; II, 115, 355-356; Pinney, 238-240.
 22. Bowman, *Wine Review*, April 1943, 24; Irving McKee. "The First California Wines," *Wines & Vines*, April 1947, 47-48.
 23. Douglas Monroy. *Thrown Among Strangers*, Berkeley, 1990, 112; Bancroft, *History*, V, 620-623.
 24. Bancroft, *History*, II, 351.
 25. Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 364.
 26. Beebe and Sienkewicz, 331-335; Irving McKee. "Mission Wine Commerce," *California Magazine of the Pacific*, December 1948; Kent G. Lightfoot. *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, Berkeley 2005, 58-59.
 27. Elizabeth R. Rhoades. "Foreigners in Southern California during the Mexican Period." M. A. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1924, 50; Pinney, 245; Chapman, 441-447.
 28. Bancroft, *History*, II, 240-241; Teiser and Harroun, 9, 14; Chapman, 447-448.
 29. Teiser and Harroun, 9-10; a photo at 14 of Chapman and his wife. Pinney, 241; Rhoades, 50-51. Most writers have given 1824 as the date Chapman planted his vineyard, following Bancroft's error in his *History of California*, II, 526. But historian Ruth Teiser found an 1829 statement under oath in the Mission Santa Barbara archives in which Chapman dated the vineyard from 1826.
 30. Bancroft, *History*, II, 727; Ernest P. Peninou and Sidney S. Greenleaf. *A Directory of California Wine Growers and Wine Makers in 1860*, Berkeley, 1967, 15.
 31. Svetlana G. Fedorovna. *The Russian Population in Alaska and California*, Kempton, Ontario, 1973, 135; Bancroft, *History*, II, 294-305; Tikhmenev, 133-134.
 32. Ynez D. Haase. "The Russian American Company in California." M.A. Thesis, U. C., Berkeley, 1949, 59-60; Warren Beck and Ynez D. Haase. *Historical Atlas of California*, Norman, Oklahoma, 1974, 39-40; a map of the settlement with its ranches.
 33. Lightfoot, 122-124; James R. Gibson. *The Imperial Russian Frontier*, New York, 1976, 116; D. M. Dmytryshyn. *Colonial Russian America*, Portland, 1976, 118-121.
 34. Fedorovna, 240-241; Bancroft, *History*, II, 636-637; Dmytryshyn, 121; Tikhmenev, 139.
 35. Edward J. Wickson, "California Mission Fruits, *Overland Monthly*, May 1888, 501-505; Bowman, *Wine Review*, June 1943, 8; Bancroft, *History*, II, 637-638; Haase, 94; Gibson 122-123; A. I. Aleksev, *The Destiny of Russian America*, Fairbanks, 1990, 182.
 36. *Pacific Wine & Spirit Review*, January 26, 1891.
 37. Lightfoot, 121-129, 257-259.
 38. J. R. Munro-Fraser. *History of Sonoma County*, San Francisco, 1879, 191-194, 363-374; Ernest Peninou. *History of the Sonoma Viticultural District*, Santa Rosa, California, 1998, 49.
 39. Tikhmenev, 219, 224-226, 228-232.
 40. Bancroft, *History*, II, 329-331; III, 715-719; Bowman, *Wine Review*, May, 1943, 11.
 41. Bancroft, *History*, II, 496-503; José Altimira, "Diario de la Expedición. . . de 25 de Junio de 1823," Bancroft Library manuscript; Robert S. Smilie. *The Sonoma Mission*, Fresno, 1975, 6-15; Charles L. Sullivan. *Napa Wine, a History*, San Francisco, 1994, 5-8.



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Old Brazil Port, light and dry.....	\$2.00
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Do Extra old, Bone Madeira.....	2.00
Extra choice Bone Madeira.....	2.50
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St. Julien, 1848, pint.....	.65
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do do pints.....	.50
St. Estephe.....	.75
Claret Pouillac.....	.75
do do.....	.75
Chateau Margeaux.....	1.50
Chateau la Rose.....	2.00
do do 1844.....	3.00
do Latite, C. stie bottled 1841.....	3.00
Mouton, 1844.....	1.50
Chateau Ducru, 1844.....	2.00
Latite.....	1.00
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Chateau Latite, choice, 1844.....	3.50
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Chambertin.....	2.50
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Marschino.....	2.00
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Do White.....	2.50
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Clizquot, quarts.....	.60
Do pints.....	1.00
Schneider.....	2.00
Do pints.....	1.00
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Do pints.....	1.00
Fleur de Bouzy.....	2.00
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Do Rogen's Pints.....	1.00
Do Werk's.....	2.00
Do do Pints.....	1.00
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Do do pints.....	1.00
Do do Isabella.....	2.00
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Amontillado.....	2.00
Amontillado X, very pale and delicate.....	2.50
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do do do pint.....	40
London Porter, Brown Stout, quarts.....	75
do do pints.....	40
Harries' Ale.....	40
do pints.....	25
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do do pints.....	20

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