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EDWARD WARD 1667–1731: THE GRUB STREET LIFE AND WINE

by *Kathleen Burk*

[*Wine literature printed in the English language before the 18th century is quite scarce. Gabler's* Wine into Words (1st ed, 1985) *lists a mere 150 titles for the 250-year period—most referring to the art of distillation, the way to good health and long life, guides for the household and farm, political entreaties, and the like. In this essay Tendril Kathleen Burk, the Professor of Modern and Contemporary History at University College London, explores the little-known published offerings of one Ned Ward. Kathy, the author of a long list of works in her field, also, in her "off hours," writes for* The World of Fine Wine *and has published the entertaining* Is This Bottle Corked? The Secret Life of Wine (2008). — Ed.]

NED WARD WAS A HARD-DRINKING, womanising, lewd, vulgar writer who produced rapidly-written commentaries on the political and popular cultural scenes in London. Amongst his topics was wine, and amongst his many pamphlets and articles are several which celebrate, and denigrate, taverns, vintners and wine drinkers. These are written in verse, or rather doggerel, and the rhymes can be painful. In the annals of English literature, Ward is not a household name—indeed, he barely makes an appearance.

HE IS PRIMARILY KNOWN as the author of the monthly publication *The London Spy* from 1698 to 1700, later collected into a book.[i] He is also known to scholars of Alexander Pope [1688–1744], because Ward was one of Pope's victims in *The Dunciad*. The academic Pat Rogers, who refers to Ward as 'Dunce and alley-cat of the literary world,' has clearly absorbed Pope's scorn of the Grub Street hack.[ii] This was a writer who wrote for money, and who thus depended upon the vagaries of the market-place. Consequently, he or she could not 'conduct that free-ranging search of topics, themes and styles which Renaissance theory demanded as a prelude to worth-while imaginative writing'.[iii] That, of course, depends on what one means by 'imaginative writing': Ward certainly could not be accused of a lack of imagination. 'Worthwhile', however, puts him on somewhat shakier ground. But his writings were popular in their day.

Edward Ward was born in 1667, probably in Leicestershire in the north of England, but he grew up in Oxfordshire. He clearly had some education, perhaps having attended one of the many grammar schools in the county. Ward himself later thanked a certain noble family 'for the best and greatest share' of his youthful education. According to his biographer, he had a fair knowledge of Latin and French, as well as of earlier English literature.[iv] Sometime before 1691, he left for London to seek his fortune. He had friends there, and was introduced to a life filled with wine, women, food, and perhaps song. After a time, his money ran very low, and it is quite possible that he was describing himself in *The Authors Lamentation in the Time of Adversity*, which was later attached to *The Poet's Ramble* [see below], and which includes the following lines:

... O had you but seen, the sad State I was in,
You'd not find such a Poet in Twenty,

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

I'd nothing that's full, but my Shirt and my Scull,
For my Guts and my Pockets were empty.
As true as I Live, I have but one Sleeve,
Which I wear in the room of a Cravat,
In this plight I wait, to get an Estate,
But the Devil knows when I shall have it.[v]

As mentioned in the final two lines, for some time he was kept going by the prospect of an inheritance from his grandmother—no doubt he had run up his tab in ale-houses and taverns on the basis of this expectation. In *The Poet's Ramble*, published in 1691, he uses this as the basis for a story. One day, a messenger tramps up the stairs to his garret:

Good Morn (quoth he) *I've come to tell-ye,*
Of an Estate of late bell-fell you,
Your Grannum *is this life departed,*
Pleas'd with the News, then up I started:
And is my Grannum *Dead?* (quoth I)
He answer'd me, *Yea verily,*
Thou may'st believe me without Swearing,
She is as Dead as any Herring.
Well, if the News be True, said I,
Excuse me if I do not Cry...
Yet my Heart ak'd, but I protest,
Thro' fear the News should prove a Jest.[vi]

Off he went to the ale-house, got drunk, hired a useless horse, and set off to find out about the estate. On the way, he stops at a tavern, and Ward then spins into a long set-piece, describing the drinking and eating, the talking, the shouting, and the fighting:

Whilst I at distance stole away,
Not Caring for the Heat o'th' Fray,
Yet stood where I might see fair Play,
For Poets (tho' they oft by Writing
Breed Quarrels) seldom care for Fighting.[vii]

After most of the group went home, the Poet sat down with those left, got blind drunk, and then staggered up to bed. In the morning he went off without paying, telling the landlord that he was off to get his estate, and that he would pay him on the way back. But alas!:

To my Attorneys than I Rod,
To ask of him how Matters stood,
Who told me *Grany's* Will (in fine)
Was made quite opposite to mine:
That my Pretensions all were nought,
For she had given every Groat,
T' her Daughter Doll, who liv'd i'th' House,
And had not left poor Ned a Souse.[viii]

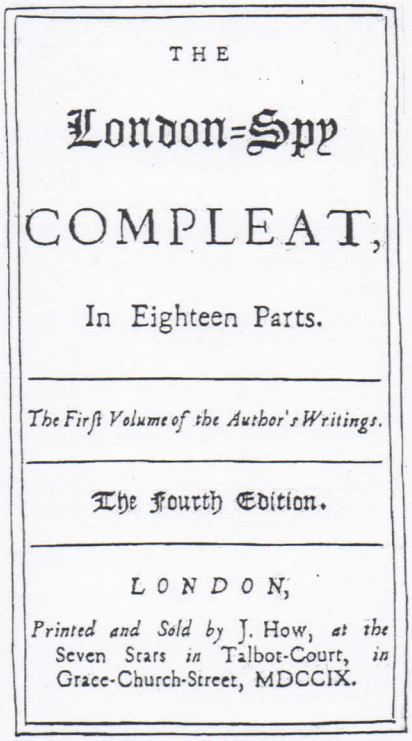
It is a real question just how he supported himself until 1698, when he finally broke through into public notice; the most likely answer is that he continued a career already begun as a Grub Street hack, a category which retained its currency for some years. Geographically, 'Grub Street' referred to a street near Moorfields, just outside of the City of London (but not outside of London itself), but culturally and politically, it was the home of hundreds of hacks who tried to make a living from their pens, writing pamphlets, journalism and even novels as the market demanded. To the extent that they could, it was as a result of 'somewhat of a legislative accident'. Controls had been enshrined in the Licensing Act of 1662, just after the restoration of King Charles II at end of the Civil War and the reign of Oliver Cromwell; these had been revised and strengthened in 1684. There were two overarching reasons for these controls. One was to enable the government to suppress dissent by allowing prior government censorship of all publications; the second was to retain control of the book trade as a monopoly by the Stationers' Company, the guild which controlled the printing trade. The lapse in 1695 of the Licensing Act removed the main legal constraints on the expansion of the press. This meant no more prior censorship, but the laws against obscenity, blasphemy, and seditious libel were frequently enforced.[ix] A number of writers were prosecuted and put in the pillory, which would in due course happen to Ward.

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries constituted a period of ferocious party conflict, which not infrequently included religious conflict. This gave employment to dozens of writers, as they were paid to write hugely pernicious pamphlets, sometimes as poems, against the other side. Satire and lampoon abounded and could be devastating. It was also a period when the pursuit of pleasure emerged as a distinctive feature of English society after the constraints of the Cromwellian period had vanished; it was to become a powerful drive of change around 1700. Sexual license was a notable feature, as is clear from the Restoration comedies which dominated the London stage (and can frequently be found playing in the West End theatre district of London today). It was also a distinctive component of much of the ephemeral writing. This apparently huge market for their wares should have made life easier for the hacks, but 'so powerful was the draw of London [out of a population of about 5 million, about 700,000 lived in London] that labour was rarely in short supply there. Indeed, people struggled to find sufficient well-paid work to allow them to enjoy a reasonable living standard in a city already renowned for exorbitant prices. ... Visitors were frequently struck by the numbers of men and women who existed on the margins'.[x] It is clear why Ward could write *The Authors Lamentation.*

But in 1698, he broke away from the crowd. There was no more literary hack work, his debts grew,

and debtors' prison seemed his destiny. He became desperate, and one day, after drinking two or three gallons of ale, he decided to travel. Lured by the agents of a ship company, in late January 1697 he took passage to Jamaica. This was a remarkably stupid time to travel the Atlantic, what with storms and even pirates, but he arrived safely in Port Royall. However, he found it an appalling place, with conditions little better than those he had left behind, and by November 1697, he was back in London. Early in 1698, he published anonymously a sixteen-page pamphlet entitled *A Trip to Jamaica*, in which he sketched out the story of his travels and wrote scathingly of the island, emphasising the grotesque and unusual, an approach which he was to use repeatedly. Instantaneously popular, the pamphlet went through six editions in a year, which considerably improved his financial situation. In the following eighteen months he published numbers of pamphlets as 'By the Author of the Trip to Jamaica'.

The success of this pamphlet encouraged him to utilise the structure of a trip closer to home: he would take monthly satiric trips within London, which would be heavy with metaphor, exaggerated characterisations, and bawdy comment. Called *The London Spy* and published from November 1698 to May 1700 in the form of a 16-page pamphlet, it was first collected together and published in book form in 1703.


THE

London-Spy

COMPLEAT,

In Eighteen Parts.

The First Volume of the Author's Writings.

The Fourth Edition.

LONDON,

Printed and Sold by J. How, *at the* Seven Stars *in* Talbot-Court, *in* Grace-Church-Street, MDCCIX.

Individual issues of Ward's popular *The London Spy* went through three editions between 1698 and 1701, while the complete collection enjoyed five editions between 1703 and 1718.

To catch the eye of the purchaser with the first issue, and to keep the reader month after month, a periodical had to have an eye-catching title or, perhaps, a lewd Preface, invariably promising more than it would deliver. Ward successfully caught and kept the reader for a much longer period than most. He begins,

> 'After a tedious confinement in a country hut, where I dwelt like Diogenes in his tub, taking as much delight in my books as an alchemist does in his bellows', he decided that he was none the wiser. 'So I resolved to be no longer like a tinker's ass, to carry a budget of the frenzical [sic] notions and musty conceits of a parcel of dreaming prophets, fabulous poets and old doting philosophers', and 'broke loose from the scholar's gaol, my study, and utterly abandoned the conversation of all my old calf-skin companions [books]', finding 'an itching inclination in myself to visit London. But to shun the censure of my sober country friends I projected, for their satisfaction and my own diversion, the following Journal intended to expose the vanities and vices of the town as they should, by any accident, occur to my knowledge, that the innocent might see by reflection what I should gain by observation and intelligence, and not by practice or experience.'[xi]

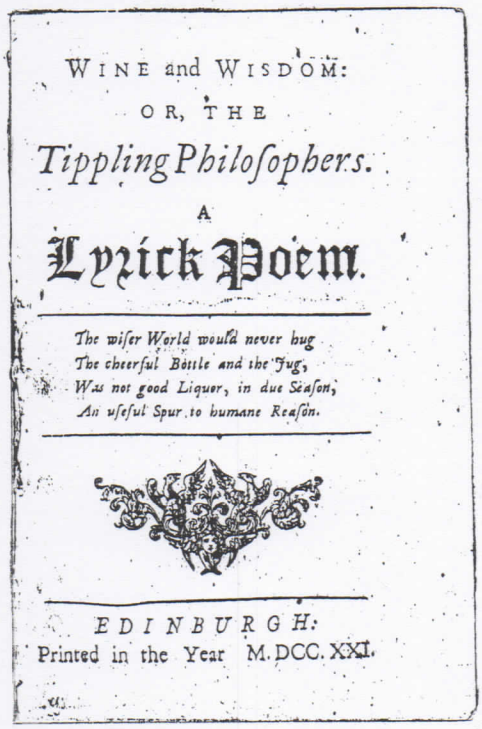
This remarkably hypocritical beginning was intended not to save the sensibilities of his neighbours, but his own skin. In 1698, King William III issued a proclamation against all forms of vice and impieties. Ward, therefore, was probably trimming his sails when he moralised against the 'vanities and vices of the town', insisting that he was reporting on activities, not engaging in them.

The writer, upon arriving in London, providentially runs into an old schoolfellow, who 'had laid down the gown and took up the sword. After we had mutually dispatched our compliments to each other, and I had awkwardly returned in country scrapes his *à la mode* bows and cringes, he would needs prevail with me to dine with him at a tavern hard by with some gentlemen of his acquaintance, which happy opportunity I, being an utter stranger in the town, very readily embraced.'[xii] And so off they went around London, the countryman guided by his more sophisticated friend. In due course, they came to Bartholomew Fair, which combined the business of a cloth fair with a pleasure fair; in 1855 it was to be suppressed for encouraging debauchery. In Ward's day, it already had a mixed reputation, and in issue Number 11, he described the female for-sale section:

> What further lay within our observation were the sundry sorts of women who sat ready, upon small purchase, to gratify the lust of every drunken libertine. Some were very well dressed, and wore

masks, but notwithstanding their demure appearance, were as ready at your beck as a porter plying at a street corner; others were bare-faced, and in mean garb, whose poverty seem'd equal to their impudence, and that so fulsome and preposterous that they were as great antidotes to expel the poison of lust as the counterfeit modest behaviour of a cunning, pretty harlot is a means to enforce desire and beget a liking. A third sort of strumpets were in blue aprons and straw hats and, either by taking much mercury or the loud bawling of oysters about the streets, were as hoarse as a jack-pudding at the latter end of the Fair. These were all good subjects of the Government, contributing more towards the maintenance of Her Majesty's Foot Guards than any other people in the nation. For everyone has a soldier or two at her tail, of whom she takes as much care as a bitch does of her puppies [including paying them for their personal services to her].[xiii]

By the autumn of 1700, Ward's reputation was assured. In a little over two years he had published —i.e., supplied his publisher-bookseller—with twenty-five 16-page pamphlets in prose, four broadsides, a half-dozen pieces in verse, and a periodical, along with his political writings. Over the next dozen years he added another seventy-five, ranging from small pamphlets to a three-volume digest of Clarendon's *History of the Great Rebellion* in verse. He also published his first wine-based piece, *Wine and Wisdom: or The Tippling Philosophers*, in 1710.


WINE and WISDOM:
OR, THE
Tippling Philoſophers.
A
Lyrick Poem.
The wiſer World would never hug
The cheerful Bottle and the Jug,
Was not good Liquor, in due Seaſon,
An uſeful Spur to humane Reaſon.
EDINBURGH:
Printed in the Year M.DCC.XXI.

Ned Ward's first wine-based piece, 1710.

The first six verses were 'Set and Sung by Mr Leveridge at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields' in 1708; he considerably expanded this original production for the printed edition of 1710.

Ward took fifty-two ancient writers, and summed up their relationship with wine, following each with a very short comment. It is probably best not to use this publication as a textbook. Here are two of them:

Old SOCRATES ne'er was content,
Till a Bottler had heighten'd his Joys,
Who, m's Cups to the Oracle went,
Or he ne'er had counted so Wise.
Late Hours he certainly lov'd,
Made Wine the delight of his Life,
Or *Xantippe* would never have prov'd,
Such a damnable Scold of a Wife.

SOCRATES [Ward continues] was born at Alopece, an Athenian Village, and was called by the Oracle, the wisest Man. For the better trial of his Philosophical Temper, he had a very perverse Wife, nam'd Xantuippe, who us'd to tell him, that he only marry'd her to exercise his Patience.[xiv]

ARISTOTLE, that Master of Arts,
Had been but a Dunce without Wine,
And what we ascribe to his Parts,
Is but due to the Juice of the Vine.
His Belly some Writers agree,
Was as large as a watering Trough,
He therefore jump'd into the Sea,
Because he'd have Liquor enough.

ARISTOTLE was born at Stageira, and so improv'd his Knowledge in all manner of Learning, that his body seem'd to be a Storehouse for the Souls of all the rest of the Philosophers; yet it is reported by some Authors, that he, at last, flung himself into an Arm of the Sea, call'd the *Eurippus*, because he could not find out the reason of its ebbing and flowing seven times a Day, but others say his death was Natural.[xv]

A proportion of his time during this period was spent on politics—writing about them, not involved with them. He was a keen Tory, supporting the traditionalist and conservative political faction, and therefore supporting a conservative religion as well. All dissenters, papists, low-church Anglicans, all who called for religious toleration, such as the Whig political faction, were to him detestable. The party strife could be hellish, and 'there are few more adequate records of the prejudice, the unreasonable fears, and the violent hatreds which swayed the eighteenth-century reader than Ward's writings.'[xvi] This was to get him into trouble.

In August 1705, he began *Hudibras Redivivus, or a Burlesque Poem upon the Times*. (*Hudibras* was a reference to Samuel Butler's satirical poem of the previous century, which was directed against the hypocrisy and intolerance of the Puritans. It was written in doggerel couplets, giving rise to the

adjective hudibrastic, meaning mock-heroic.) This was intended to be a long poem issued in monthly parts, in which Ward would discuss—or rail about—the current controversy and behaviour of the Whigs. In the first issue, there was heated controversy, with the political factions calling each other names, arguments flaring up into quarrels, quarrels resorting to blows, the loser stalking off in sullen anger, and the pulpit taking sides, with every Sunday the sermon devoted to the issue. By late 1705, the Queen was exasperated by the invective and attacks, and, supported by the Whigs, issued a proclamation for the arrest of the writer of a pamphlet attacking toleration; this was, of course, a warning to other writers indulging in these sorts of diatribes.

Ward was incensed at the behaviour of the government and the Queen, and in the January 1706 issue of *Hudibras Redivivus* he made a thinly-disguised attack on the Queen, accusing her of speaking fine words but failing to support them with action. At the same time, he ferociously denounced the Whigs in over-zealous terms. On the 7th of February he was taken into custody, and on the 11th of April he was again brought before the Queen's Bench court. During this period, the periodical continued to appear. On the 13th of June, when he was arrested for being its author, he pleaded guilty, and was sentenced on the 14th of November. It was reported in The London Gazette that

> Edward Ward, being convicted of Writing, Printing, and Publishing several Scandalous and Seditious Libels, ... highly reflecting upon Her Majesty and the Government; was likewise on Thursday last fined for the same by the Court of Queen's-Bench 40 Marks, and ordered to stand in the Pillory on Wednesday next at Charing-Cross for the space of One Hour, between Twelve and Two in the Afternoon, with a Paper on his Head denoting his Offence; and also to stand in the Pillory on Thursday next near the Royal Exchange in Cornhill in like Manner. [xvii]

The pillory was a wooden frame, supported by an upright pillar or post, with holes through which the head and hands were put as a punishment. It was an implicit invitation for the crowd to pelt the convicted with eggs and rotten fruit and vegetables. England finally abolished its use in 1837.

However, the major portion of Ward's writings during the reign of Queen Anne was non-political in character. In the period from 1700 to 1712, probably only Daniel Defoe published more than he did. Therefore, 'if it is apparent that he shamelessly catered to a certain grossness and vulgarity inherent in the crowd, it is equally true that he demonstrated once and for all that a scribbler, a mere Grubstreet wit, could, without the support of a political faction or the patronage of the rich, earn a livelihood with his pen.' As Ward claimed, he did not need patrons—he could do it himself.[xviii]

Yet in the autumn of 1712, he opened an ale-house at the 'Great Gates in Red-Bull-Yard between St. Johns-Street and Clerkenwell-Green'. He had before castigated vintners in *The London Spy* for their unscrupulous activities, whilst in 1712 he had published *The Quack-Vintners: or, a Satyr Against Bad Wine. With Directions Where to Have Good. Inscribed to B----Ks and H----r.* So why did he now join their ranks? First of all, writers of pamphlets and journalism could never be certain of an income. They were dependent on the vagaries of the reading public, and the market could change rapidly. By 1712, Ward had pretty well exploited most genres. Furthermore, the popular writer had very little status. He was considered dissolute and licentious, penurious and unprincipled, a corrupter of youth. There was considerable contempt for those who earned their living by the pen, since he was, *ipso facto*, a hack writer, a mere scribbler. Ward probably yearned for a bit more respectability, as well as for a dependable income.

From: *A Vade Mecum for Malt=Worms: or A Guide to Good Fellows*, 1715. Old Ned once sagely said that it was better 'To *Live* by *Malt*, than *Starve* by *Meter*'

For some months after he opened the ale-house he continued to write; it is unknown just how profitable the business was, so also unknown is whether he continued to write because he enjoyed it, or because he needed the income. At some point the ale-house became profitable, and these profits enabled Ward to leave the ale-house for the more profitable Bacchus Tavern in Moorfields. This was a distinctly upward step. From hack writer to ale-house keeper was a step-up to respectability, but only just, since the cliental was not the most desirable proportion of the population. A tavern, however, could be eminently respectable, and the Bacchus appears to have been so. Ward later made the comparison in his *Delights of the Bottle...*:

For all we write, do, say, or think,
Are but the Sportings of our Drink.
When a low Purse (the Lord defend us)
Does to the Alehouse humbly send us,
We fuddle, just like Grooms and Coachmen,
Belch, wrangle, fart, and talk like *Dutchmen*,
And not one merry Word, that's bright,
Shall pass the Board from Noon to Night.
But when we to the Tavern steer,
With pockets full and Temper clear,
My Landlord's Bacchanalian Face,
The charming Bottle and the Glass,
The tinkling of the Bell at Bar,
The grateful News of, *Coming Sir*,
Madam's sweet Voice, which, like a Law,
Keeps all the list'ning Draw'rs in awe,
Yield such a Harmony of Sounds,
As the kind Bottle goes its Rounds,
That Wit and Wine fill ev'ry Brain,
And make us rather Gods than Men. [xix]

He was the owner and 'merry host' for thirteen years, and he seems to have prospered. Men of his political sympathies made it a centre, and respectable tradesmen flocked in. 'Others, attracted by the unique phenomenon of a scribbling taverner, came to enjoy the wit and humor of the host, whose own gilt-embossed volumes adorned the shelf above the bar.' Even Alexander Pope drank there. Giles Jacob wrote of Ward in *The Poetical Register* in 1723 that 'Of late Years, he has kept a publick House in the City (but in a genteel way) and with his Wit, Humour, and good Liquor has afforded his Guests a pleasurable Entertainment; especially the High-Church Party, which is compos'd of Men of his Principles, and to whom he is very much oblig'd for their constant Resort.'[xx]

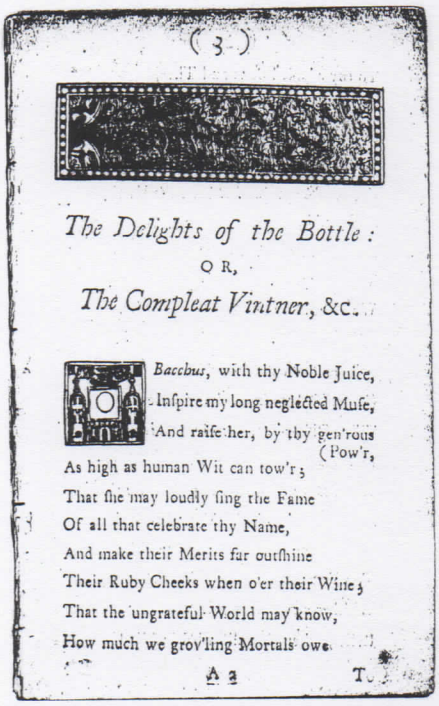
Three years later, Ward again picked up his pen and wrote *The Delights of the Bottle; or, The Compleat Vintner*. This is probably a description of his own tavern, but it is also considered valuable for the general picture it presents of tavern life. Earlier he had castigated: now, behind the bar, he celebrated. No more diluted wines, nasty vintners, excessive prices, and morning hangovers: now,

What Priest can join two Lovers Hands,
But Wine must seal the Marriage Bonds; ...
No Love, no Contract, no Handfasting,
No Bonds of Friendship can be lasting,
No Bargain made, or Quarrel ended,
No Int'rest mov'd, or Cause defended,
No Mirth advanc'd, no Musick sweet,
No humane Happiness compleat,
Or joyful Day, unless it's crown'd,
With Claret, and the Glass goes round.[xxi]

Here is the hope of every vintner:

Give me the gen'rous Soul that dares
To drown in Wine all worldly Cares;
The jolly Heart, who freely spends
His Surplus with his Bottle Friends,...
But one that does for Pleasure chuse,
Some Tavern where Good-Fellows use,
And ne'er seems backward when he's there
Of spending what he can well spare. [xxii]

He spends a good deal of time in describing and condemning a number of types of villainous fellows who also visit a tavern, but the good times clearly outweigh the bad. The general descriptions of the work of a tavern-keeper and his wife give a lively picture of the life and its sociability. The work was engrossing, or tiring, enough that his writing became desultory, until he was attacked by Pope.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The Delights of the Bottle:

OR,

The Compleat Vintner, &c.

Bacchus, with thy Noble Juice,
Inſpire my long neglected Muſe,
And raiſe her, by thy gen'rous (Pow'r,
As high as human Wit can tow'r;
That ſhe may loudly ſing the Fame
Of all that celebrate thy Name,
And make their Merits far outſhine
Their Ruby Cheeks when o'er their Wine;
That the ungrateful World may know,
How much we grov'ling Mortals owe

A 2 T

Ward's 56-page *Merry Poem* includes *'The Humours of Bubble Upstarts, Stingy Wranglers, Dinner Spungers, Jill Tipplers, Beef Beggars, Cook Teasers, Pan Soppers, Table Whitlers, Spoon Pinchers ... And other Tavern Tormentors'*

In 1727, Pope, writing as Martinus Scriblerus, published *Bathos, or the Art of Sinking in Poetry*, in which he referred to Ward (and two others) in the following manner: 'The *Frogs* are such as can neither walk nor fly, but can *leap* and *bound* to admiration: They live generally in the bottom of a ditch, and make a great noise whenever they thrust their heads above water.' [xxiii] But it seems to have been Pope's references to him in *The Dunciad*, published in 1728, which really raised Ward's ire. He was the metaphor for Pope's contempt for the 'crowd' or 'vulgar herd':

Millions and millions on these banks he views
Thick as the stars of night, or morning dews,
As thick as bees o'er vernal blossoms fly,
As thick as eggs at Ward in Pillory.[xxiv]

He was a warning example for the Christian:
'O born in sin, and forth in folly brought!
Worksdamn'd, or to be damn'd (your father's fault)
Go, purify'd by flames ascend the sky,
My better and more Christian progeny!
Unstain'd, untouch'd, and yet in maiden sheets,
While all your smutty sisters walk the streets.
Ye shall not beg, like gratis-given Bland,
Sent with a Pass, and vagrant thro' the land;
Not fail with Ward, to Ape-and-monkey climes,
Where vile Mundingus trucks for viler rhymes:
Not sulphur-tipt, emblaze an Ale-house fire,...'

With regard to 'Not fail with Ward, to Ape-and-monkey climes', presumably a reference to Jamaica, Pope later adds in a Remark that 'Edward Ward, a very voluminous poet in Hudibrastic verse, but best known by the London Spy, in prose. He has of late years kept a public house in the City, (but in a genteel way) and with his wit, humour and good liquor (ale) afforded his guests a pleasurable entertainment, especially those of the high-church party [JACOB, *Lives of Poets*, vol. ii, p. 225]. Great number of his works were yearly sold into the Plantations.'[xxv] What Pope did was to take the complimentary quotation from Jacob, as given earlier, and insert '(ale)', a tremendous dig at Ward. To keep a tavern was respectable; to keep an ale-house was much less so. Indeed, Pope returns to this theme later in Book III:

From the strong fate of drams if thou get free,
Another Dursey, Ward! Shall sing in thee.
Thee shall each alehouse, thee each gillhouse mourn,
And answe'ring gin-shops sowrer sighs return.[xxvi]

Ward was bewildered by Pope's attack. Pope knew very well that Ward kept a tavern, not an ale-house, because he had drunk in it. In reply, Ward in 1729 published *Durgen, or a Plain Satyr upon a Pompous Satyrist*, inscribed to those gentlemen who had been misrepresented 'in a late invective poem call'd the *Dunciad*.' It was written more in sorrow than in anger: he had never written a line to provoke Pope —and why attack those who admired him? And why attack poverty? Pope increased the jabs with his 1729 *The Dunciad Variorum with the Prolegomena of Scriblerus*. He now spelt out Ward's name, instead of referring to him as E.W., and it was here where he added '(ale)' to Jacob's complimentary reference. Furthermore, in the index under the entry on ale-houses, under the letter W he listed 'Ward, Edw, a Poet and Ale-house-keeper in Moorfields'.[xxvii]

In the 'Postscript' to *APOLLO'S MAGGOT IN HIS CUPS: or, The Whimsical Creation of a Little Satyrical Poet.*, published in 1729, Ward replied to the distorted quotation from Jacob by protesting that he had never kept a public house in the City. Moreover, since he had moved to Moorfields, he had sold no ale nor any kind of malt liquor. To the listing of him in the index as an ale-house keeper, he wrote 'But that which makes the insincerity of Pope the more provoking, is, his reporting things contrary to his own Knowledge and Conscience, for Pope has drunk Wine at Ward's House, and knows it to be a Tavern.' And to Pope's charge that his works were exported to the plantations, or colonies, Ward replied, 'And as for Ward's Works, which he never was proud of, they have had as great a sale in England, as ever they had Abroad, without much expensive Advertising or the recommendation of Flatterers.' This response to Pope was the last of Ward's efforts.[xxviii]

Sometime between August 1729 and October 1730, he gave up the Bacchus Tavern in Moorfields and moved to the British Coffee-House in Fullwood's Rents, near Gray's Inn. This might well have been a step up in the world. Coffee-houses were expensive to patronise, charging admission of a penny, and thereby kept out the poorer sort. They served coffee, chocolate, and other drinks, provided newspapers and pamphlets—literacy was a common denominator—and were centres for the spreading of news and rumours, for conversation, and for meetings between buyers and sellers. They were clubs for friends. As one historian has summed up, 'The common people and low populace have their taverns, or rather spirit shops, but amongst skilled artisans, shopkeepers, tradesmen, and successful businessmen, coffee-houses were vital places of resort.'[xxix] His biographer speculates that it may have further helped to retrieve the dignity that had been compromised when the gentleman—even as a Grub Street hack he could still have been considered a gentleman—had turned tradesman.[xxx] No gentleman could be a tradesman. Yet the one extant engraving of him shows him in a gentleman's wig and attire. The questions seem unanswerable, because he wrote nothing about the coffee-house.

In any case, he had little time left to enjoy it. He died on the night of the 22nd of June 1731, and was buried, as he wished, in the peaceful and quiet churchyard of St Pancras. After his debts were paid, what was left was to go to his wife and children. The amount was probably not large:

My Blessing unto each I give,
Let that suffice instead of Wealth:
May Grace attend 'em whilst they live,
And Virtue long preserve their Health. [xxxi]

This portrait of Ward is strikingly similar to an unidentified woodcut portrayed in *A Vade Mecum for Malt=Worms*, 1715. See the woodcut initial letter at the beginning of this article. Although the anonymous *Vade Mecum* has been attributed to Ward, his biographer Troyer argues this.

Ward had mellowed as he grew older. Although he never lost the earlier vigour of his writing, it became marginally less vulgar. He was no longer the randy, hard-drinking, young man about town, but a more sober and responsible citizen, especially as portrayed in *The Delights of the Bottle*. But his was the sort of fame that is quickly lost: were it not for *The London Spy*, he would be of little interest, except to those annotating Pope's *The Dunciad*. And, of course, to those who collect books about wine.[xxxii]

NOTES

i. A modern edition is Kenneth Fenwick, ed., Ned Ward, *The London Spy* (London: Folio Society, 1955), 327 pp. The text is based on the 1703 edition, the first publication of the individual parts in book form, but, unfortunately, 'certain passages, largely of a scatological nature which would only disgust the modern reader, have been cut, as has some of the verse, which was either tediously repetitious or just downright bad.' (p. xiv). This is the edition I own, and the one to which any specific reference is made.

ii. Pat Rogers, *Grub Street: Studies in a Subculture* (London: Methuen & Co., 1972), p. 27.

iii. *Ibid.*, p. 208. This might, of course, require living off the largess of a patron.

iv. Howard William Troyer, *Ned Ward of Grub Street: A Study of Sub-Literary London* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1967; first published 1946), p. 5.

v. Edward Ward, *The Poet's Ramble After RICHES: with REFLECTIONS Upon a Countrey Corporation. Also the AUTHOR'S Lamentation in the Time of ADVERSITY. By the Author of the Trip to Jamaica. The Third Edition* (Gale ECCO Print Edition of Eighteenth Century Collections Online, 1701 edition, but first published 1691), p. 16. A standard length for these publications was 16 folio pages. Some 140 printed examples of his work can be found in the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, but for those who might find it inconvenient to visit Oxford, they can be found on-line, or as a print-on-demand facsimile reprint.

vi. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

vii. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

viii. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

ix. John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), pp. 130-31; quotation on p. 131.

x. Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England 1689–1727* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 428.

xi. *The London Spy*, pp. 1-2.

xii. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

xiii. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

xiv. *WINE and WISDOM: or, the Tippling PHILOSOPHERS. A LYRICK POEM. To which are subjoin'd, the most remarkable memoirs of the following Antients. ... To which is added, A New LITANY, Very proper to be Read by a merry Society, over a Glass of good Liquor* (Gale ECCO Print Edtns, 1751 edition; 1st ed., 1708), pp. 7-8.

xv. *Ibid*, p. 13.

xvi. Troyer, *Ned Ward of Grub Street*, p. 87.

xvii. Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 95.

xviii. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

xix. *THE DELIGHTS OF THE BOTTLE: or, The Complete Vintner. ... A Merry Poem. To which is added, A Song extempore over a Bowl of Punch. By the Author of the CAVALCADE. 3rd ed.* (1743), p. 11. ['Compleat' has changed to 'Complete' from the 2nd to the 3rd edition.]

xx. Troyer, *Ned Ward of Grub Street*, p. 175.

xxi. *THE DELIGHTS OF THE BOTTLE*, pp. 17-18.

xxii. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

xxiii. *The Works of Alexander Pope Esq. Volume VII. Containing His Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose.* (London: Knapton, 1754). 'Bathos, or the Art of sinking in Poetry', pp. 99-176, quotation on p. 118.

xxiv. *The Works of Alexander Pope Esq. Volume V. Containing the Three First Books of The Dunciad* (London: Knapton, 1754), Book III, lines 31-4, p. 198.

xxv. *Ibid.*, Book I, lines 225-235, and Remarks, pp. 121-22. The Remarks were published in Pope's 1729 publication *The Dunciad Variorum with the Prolegomena of Scriblerus*. My own volumes of *The Collected Works* include the Remarks from the *Variorum*.

xxvi. *Ibid.*, Book III, lines 143-48, pp. 207-8.

xxvii. Troyer, *Ned Ward of Grub Street*, pp. 199-200.

xxviii. *Ibid.*, pp. 201-2.

xxix. Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty?*, pp. 432-3, quote on p. 432.

xxx. Troyer, *Ned Ward of Grub Street*, p. 202.

xxxi. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-3, quotation on p. 203.

xxxii. James Gabler, *Wine into Words, 2nd ed.* (Baltimore: Bacchus Press, 2004) provides an annotated list of Ward's wine-related books, p.391; Troyer, *Ned Ward...* includes two valuable appendices, 'Writings of Edward Ward' and 'Doubtful Attributions', pp.231-282.

BOOKS &
BOTTLES
by
Fred McMillin

[EDITOR'S NOTE: *In this Books & Bottles column, Professor Fred pulls another favorite, classic wine book from his reference shelf and gives us some highlights, in the form of questions and answers. In each set, one statement is false. Three correct earns you an A.*]

"WINE BOOK OF THE MILLENNIUM"

The Book: ***The World Atlas of Wine. A Complete Guide to the Wines and Spirits of the World*** by Hugh Johnson and Jancis Robinson. Octopus Publishing Group Ltd. 6th edition, 2007. 400 pages. Illustrated.

HUGH JOHNSON, ACKNOWLEDGED AS ONE of the world's best, and most popular, writers on wine, has earned virtually every wine industry literary award and honor. His contributions are legendary—*Wine* (1966), *Vintage. The Story of Wine* (1989), *The World Atlas of Wine*, the list goes on—and are indispensable reference works for any student of wine. *The World Atlas of Wine*, first published in 1971, came to be known over the years as the "Wine Book of the Millennium." In 2001, Jancis Robinson, MW, teamed up with Hugh Johnson to produce the completely revised 5th edition. We explore some fascinating facts from the latest edition.

Spain (Chapter 4)

a) Spain's vineyards were humming as early as the turn of the century.

b) *Bodegas* is Spain's word for anywhere wine is made, matured, or sold.

c) A good 90% of all Spanish vineyards lie at altitudes higher than any major French wine region.

d) Spain has more land under the vine than any other country except France.

WHICH IS FALSE?

d) Spain, not France, has more land in vineyards than any other country.

Bulgaria (Chapter 14)

a) Wine exports reached a peak in 1996, and even now constitute almost half of the wine produced.

b) Lenin's 1980s' anti-alcohol purge had a profound effect on Bulgaria.

c) In the 1990s the wineries and bottling plants that were once state-owned were privatized, with some of the better wineries attracting investors from Western Europe and EU investment funds.

d) The great majority of Bulgaria's Cabernet, Merlot, and Pamid grapes are grown in the south of the country where wines typically are riper and more structured, while the reds produced on the best sites in the north have more finesse.

WHICH IS FALSE?

b) It was Gorbachev, not Lenin, whose 1980s' anti-alcohol purge had such a profound effect on Bulgaria.

North America: Napa Valley (Chapter 20)

a) Twenty per cent of the value of all of California's wine comes from the Napa Valley–from only 4% of the state's volume.

b) Napa Valley's modern history started in 1966, with the construction of the Quady winery.

c) Detailed surveys undertaken in recent years have established that half of the soil types on earth are to be found in Napa Valley.

d) The principal grape varieties in Napa Valley are Cabernet Sauvignon, Merlot, and Chardonnay.

WHICH IS FALSE?

b) Napa Valley's modern history started in 1966, with the construction of the Robert Mondavi winery, not the Quady winery.

New Zealand (Chapter 23)

a) By 2006, the total area in production was more than 54,000 acres, and there were 530 wine producers.

b) Sauvignon Blanc is the country's most important grape.

c) Pinot Noir has enjoyed success for much of the same reason as Sauvignon Blanc: New Zealand's warm climate.

d) Hawke's Bay is an historical wine region, having been planted by Marist missionaries in the mid-19th century.

WHICH IS FALSE?

c) New Zealand's cool, not warm, climate has given Pinot Noir, like Sauvignon Blanc, much success here.

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.

- 2008 Sauvignon Blanc. Monkey Bay Wines, New Zealand-Marlborough, $7.
- 2009 Muscat Ottonel. Targovishte Winery, Black Sea, Bulgaria, $9.
- NV Brut Cava. Jaume Serra Cristalino, Spain-Penedes, $10.

continued on p.13 —

THE CELEBRATED DIRTY DICK & HIS CURIOUS PAMPHLETS

by *Gail Unzelman*

SEVERAL ISSUES PAST, we were introduced to Nathaniel Bentley, the curious and eccentric gentleman who has been immortalized as "Dirty Dick" (See WTQ, v.18 #3, July 2008). Tendril Joe Lynch had recovered from his to-be-catalogued items an interesting early 20th century booklet in brown card wraps with the title, *Ye Olde Port Wine House of Dirty Dick. Established 1745* ... and brought it to our attention. Recently, another form of the booklet, with a similar title, appeared, so we thought we should investigate—especially since Jim Gabler's bibliography lists only the one title (under the proprietor William Barker & Son), and does not mention multiple printings.

BISHOPS GATE – *circa* 1860

FOR OUR NEW Tendrils, and as an introduction to this new look into the matter of Dirty Dick and his pamphlets, here is our July 2008 notice: "'Gem of a Booklet' — Unearthed from a messy pile of papers on his desk, Joe Lynch shares his latest 'find', *Ye Olde Port Wine House of Dirty Dick. Established 1745. A Legend of Bishopsgate from 'Household Words' Conducted by Charles Dickens.* This original 16-page promotional pamphlet was published in the early-to-mid-1900s by the owners of Dirty Dick's, the 'World Famous Cellar & Vaults, 202–204, Bishopsgate, London.' The story of Dirty Dick's life was told many years ago in the popular journal Household Words (8 January 1835) under the direction of the late Charles Dickens. The poem of The Dirty Old Man (Dirty Dick) begins: 'In a dirty old house lived a Dirty Old Man / Soap, towels or brushes were not in his plan / For forty long years as the neighbours declared / His house never once had been cleaned or repaired...' and goes on for fifteen verses. The pamphlet reproduces the poem in full, and gives the story attached to 'D.D. Cellars / Ye Olde Port Wine House' [Dirty Dick's], established in 1745 by Nathaniel Bentley, one of the great characters of the City of London. After inheriting a fortune and the family business, Bentley, 'one of the sprucest young men in London, with considerable scholarly attain-ments,' was engaged to be married to the daughter of a wealthy citizen. On the day that he was due to honour her and all their friends at a sumptuous dinner at his place of business, his beloved tragically died. He was so distraught that he ordered the banqueting chamber to be locked up for the remainder of his lifetime—leaving all the festive food to the rats, mice and spiders. He adopted an eccentric, solitary, miserly behavior, limiting his daily living expenses to eighteen-pence, while suddenly acquiring an aversion to cleanliness, arguing that 'if I wash my hands to-day, they will be dirty again tomorrow.' The booklet is a charming piece of promotional ephemera, illustrated with an old print of Dirty Dick 'selling spirits fine and old' at Bishopsgate, and several other illustrations of the cellars and vaults."

"the relics are nevertheless perfectly genuine"

There is quite a different story told in Leopold Wagner's *A New Book about London. A Quaint and Curious Volume of Forgotten Lore* (1921) in his "Tavern Curiosities" chapter. Wagner soundly states, "As a matter of fact, Nathaniel Bentley never had the remotest connection with Bishopsgate, neither was he ever a wine-house keeper. If we turn to an authoritative book titled *Celebrated London Characters*, it will be found that he kept an ironmonger's shop at 46 Leadenhall Street. Until the landlord succeeded in turning him out of it in the year 1804, people generally referred to the place as 'The Dirty Warehouse.' The same thing happened to him in Jewry Street, Aldgate, whereupon he removed to Leonard Street, Shoreditch. Disposing of his business for a good round sum, he then led a wandering life, and eventually succumbed to a fever whilst putting up a small Scottish inn [1809]. Meantime, the licensee of 'Ye Olde Port Wine House' in Bishopsgate had bought up the contents of the Leadenhall Street banqueting chamber for a cellar attraction, and displayed a portrait done in oils of Dirty Dick by way of a sign. He it was—one William Barker by name—who framed the set of rules for the conduct of the house which are printed in the little book handed to visitors at the 'D.D. Cellars.' [1] With the exception of that relative to Sunday Closing, all these have long ago been rescinded. As a further proof that Dirty Dick's does not occupy its original site, a diligent search through the volumes of Household Words, in which some forgotten contributor wrote a versified account of 'The Dirty Old Man,' would bring to light the plain statement of his business activities in Leadenhall Street. Accordingly, the heading 'A Legend of Bishopsgate,' as set forth on the 'D.D. Cellars' presentation booklet, is altogether misleading. The relics are nevertheless perfectly genuine."

Bishopsgate and Dirty Dick's

In the early part of the 18th century, Old Ned Ward [1667–1731], whose story is told elsewhere in this WTQ issue, compiled his *Vade Mecum for Malt=Worms: A Guide to Good Fellows. Being a Description of the Manners and Customs of the most Eminent Publick Houses...in and about London.* Pages 18 and 19 cover the territories of Shoreditch and Bishopsgate, poetically listing their Taverns of Note. Although Ward's good fellows guide predates the founding date of Dirty Dick's Cellars, he mentions a Bishopsgate tavern keeper "of a prodigious Stinking Name ... who sells fine Amber Beer, but is for no Calicoes."

Bishopsgate, a road and ward in the northeast part of the City of London, is named after one of the original seven gates in London Wall. For centuries it was the location of many coaching inns which accommodated passengers setting out on the Old North Road. Today Bishopsgate is in the heart of London's banking district; the ever flourishing Dirty Dick's Publick House is a prominent neighbor. The historic pub, with its old wine and spirit vaults and many of the well-known accessories and relics still preserved, is "recognized as one of the sights of London" and well-known on the pub scene. For years the cobwebs, dead cats, and other lingering artifacts were hung around the cellar/bar, but these have been tidied to a glass display case.

Young's Market, who now owns D.D., has recorded a picturesque 1866 description of the legendary pub:

> A small public house or rather a tap of wholesale wine and spirit business ... a warehouse or barn without floorboards; a low ceiling, with cobweb festoons dangling from the black rafters; a bar battered and dirty, floating with beer; numberless gas pipes tied anyhow along the struts and posts to conduct the spirits from the barrels to the taps; labelled bottles of wine and spirits on shelves; everything covered with virgin dust and cobwebs.

By the end of the 19th century, its owner, a public house company called William Barker's Ltd., was producing commemorative, promotional booklets to advertise the pub. Not having had the pleasure of a visit to Dirty Dick's, I assume the establishment continues to hand out its colorful brochure, telling its strange story.

These booklets have taken on different looks over the years, but they are not easily dated. The earlier ones served a somewhat practical purpose, rather than merely a promotional one, and listed a sampling of the wares available from "D.D." In only two that I have seen is there a vintage year listed that might help one to date the publication: an "1889 or 1898 Champagne Jules Ducrene & Cie," and a "1900 Champagne" from the same maker. The address for the cellars is 48–49 Bishopsgate (which at some later time would become 202–204, although the images of Dirty Dick's in the brochures remains the same). Two other samples, using flimsy paper, with the covers outlined in a border of rats and spider webs, look *c*1880s–1890s, but there are no vintage years to verify this. Another dating tool that could be helpful is "The History of 'Dirty Dick'" printed in all the copies: some begin the story with "about seventy years ago...", others say "130 years ago..." and others "over 200 years ago." But what is our reference date?

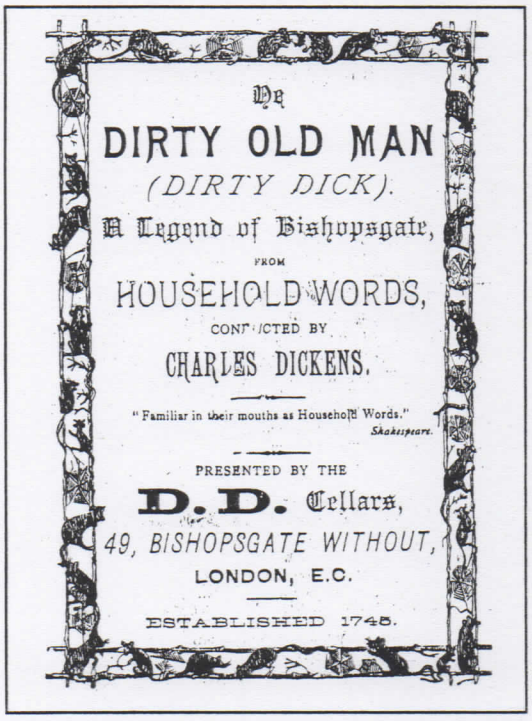
Dirty Dick Pamphlets

For our purposes we will organize this checklist in chronological order—although admittedly this is an "educated guess." They are listed by their cover titles. If anyone has other variant issues, or can help with dating these charming Dirty Dick's, please contact me.

▪ *Ye Dirty Old Man (Dirty Dick), A Legend of Bishopsgate, from Household Words, conducted by Charles Dickens.* Presented by the D.D. Cellars, 49, Bishopsgate Without, London, E.C. Established 1745.

Tucker Johnson & Co. Printers. *c* 1880s. [6] pp. Price Lists of Wines / Spirits printed on inside front / rear covers. Not illustrated. 6½ x 4½. Buff colored fragile wraps, with the title printed within a border pattern of rats and spider webs; sewn.

The history begins: "about seventy years ago..."



■ *Ye Dirty Old Man (Dirty Dick), A Legend of Bishopsgate, from Household Words, conducted by Charles Dickens.* Presented by the D.D. Cellars, 49, Bishopsgate Without, London, E.C. Established 1745.

[no printer listed] *c* 1880s. [8] pp. Price Lists of Wines & Spirits / Tea, Cigars, Tobacco printed on inside front / rear covers. Not illustrated. 6½ x 4½. Blue colored fragile wraps, with the title printed within a border pattern of rats and spider webs, slightly different from one above; sewn.

The history begins: "about seventy years ago..."

■ *Ye Olde Port Wine House. Dirty Dick (D.D.). A Legend of Bishopsgate, From "Household Words," conducted by Charles Dickens.* Presented at the D.D. Cellars, 49 Bishopsgate Without, London, E.C. Established 1745.

D. Greenaway & Sons, Printers. *c* 1900. 12 pp. Price Lists of Wines / Spirits printed on inside front / rear covers; Liqueurs, Cordials, Champagnes printed on outside rear cover ("1889 or 1898 Jules Ducrene & Cie" Champagnes listed). Illustrations: 7 (including Dirty Dick's establishment, cellar views, the gentleman of the cellar, interior views of the shop with its eerie decor). 6¼ x 4. Buff card covers, with the title printed within decorative art-nouveau ribbon border; stapled.

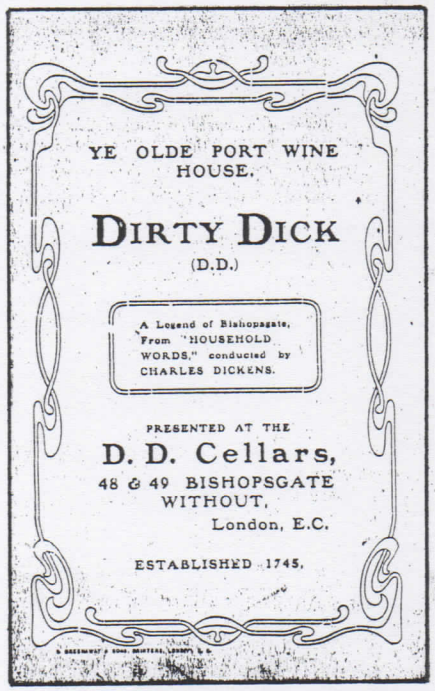
The history begins: "about 130 years ago..."

■ *Ye Olde Port Wine House. Dirty Dick (D.D.). A Legend of Bishopsgate, From "Household Words," conducted by Charles Dickens.* Presented at the D.D. Cellars, 48 & 49 Bishopsgate Without, London, E.C. Established 1745.

D. Greenaway & Sons, Printers. *c* 1905. 12 pp. Price Lists of Wines / Spirits printed on inside front / rear covers; Liqueurs, Cordials, Champagnes printed on outside rear cover ("1900 Jules Ducrene & Cie" Champagnes listed). Illustrations: 7 (including a colored "Fac-simile of Label 'D.D' Brand," Dirty Dick's establishment, cellar views, & interior views of the shop & its eerie decor). 6¼ x 4. Pale green card covers, with the title printed within art-nouveau ribbon border; stapled.

The history begins: "about 130 years ago..."

■ Another copy very similar to previous, but with the address now 202 & 204 Bishopsgate, and there is a different colored illustration on the first page, captioned: Recovered from his loss behold! / Dick selling spirits fine and old / His wines, too, are the market's pick / Keep on so doing, "Good old Dick."



■ *Ye Olde Port Wine House of Dirty Dick (D.D.) Established 1745. A Legend of Bishopsgate, From "Household Words," conducted by Charles Dickens.* D.D.'s Famous Cellars & Vaults, 202–204 Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

Printed by Daniel Greenaway & Sons, London, for the Proprietors Mssrs William Barker & Son, Ltd. Early-mid-1900s? 16 pp. Inside front cover: "Old Crusted Ports a Specialty." Inside rear cover: "Famous for Douro Ports..." Illustrations: 9 ('Dick selling spirits...wine', Dirty Dick's establishment at 202/204 Bishopsgate, a small bar in vaults, portion of ground floor cellars, corner of spirt vaults, portion of a bar in the vaults, a few relics of the past, bottling from the wood, a wine vault—all full page except two). 5½ x 4¼. Brown paper covers, with title printed within lined border; stapled.

The history begins: "nearly 200 years ago..."

■ *Ye Olde Port Wine House of Dirty Dick (D.D.) Established 1745. A Legend of Bishopsgate from "Household Words" conducted by Charles Dickens.* D.D.'s World Famous Cellars & Vaults, 202–204 Bishopsgate, London E.C.2.

Printed by Adams Bros. for William Barker & Son, Ltd. Later printing, 1950s? 16 pp. Inside front cover: "Dirty Dick's Cellars–Wines and Spirits at

controlled prices..." Inside rear cover: "Dirty Dick's is recognised as one of the sights of London–Famed for Douro Ports..." Illustrations: 8. Text and illustrations in a brown tone. 5½ x 4¼. Printed in dark brown on a buff card stock, title within ruled border; stapled. Price on front cover: Threepence.

The history begins: "over 200 years ago..."

- *Dirty Dick's Wine House. Ye Olde Port Wine House.* Printed by Albert Bailey & Sons Ltd. for William Barker & Son (D.D.'s) Ltd. Later printing, 1950s–1960s? 15 pp. Inside front cover: Portrait of Nathaniel Bentley. Inside rear cover: "Dirty Dick's is recognized as one of the sights of London... 202/204 Bishopsgate..." Illustrations: 9 (including some scenes from previous issues, and an old print of the "once elegant dining room," but also new, up-to-date images showing well-dressed gents sipping wine, and the staff ready for action at the "Snack Bar"). No images of the cats and cob-webs!). 5½ x 4¼. Printed on a pale ivory stock, the title is shown as being a part of the facade of Dirty Dick's wine house; stapled. Price on front cover: Sixpence. The rear cover states that Dirty Dick's is one of the Finch Group of Companies, and lists ten other pubs.

  The paragraph with "the history begins" has been eliminated.

NATHANIEL BENTLEY

NOTES

1. The Set of Rules for Ye Olde Port Wine House:
   - No person is to be served twice.
   - No error admitted or money exchanged after leaving the counter.
   - No improper language permitted.
   - No smoking allowed.
   - This shop being small, difficulty occasionally arises in supplying customers, who will greatly oblige by bearing in mind the good old maxim: "When you are in a place of business, transact your business and go about your business."
   - Closed on Sundays.

SOURCES

Dirty Dick pamphlets.

Wagner, Leopold. *A New Book about London. A Quaint and Curious Volume of Forgotten Lore*, 1921. London: George Allen & Unwin / New York: E.P. Dutton & Co.

Ward, Edward. *Vade Mecum for Malt=Worms: A Guide to Good Fellows. Being a Description of the Manners and Customs of the most Eminent Publick Houses...in and about London...* Illustrated with Proper Cuts, 1865 [Reprint of 1715 edition]. London: T. Bickerston.

McMILLIN, *continued from p.9 —*

- 2009 Orange/Black Muscat-Red Electra. Quady Winery, CA, $13.
- 2010 Sauvignon Blanc. Cupcake Vineyards, New Zealand-Marlborough, $14 .
- 2008 Zinfandel Old Vines. Ballentine Vineyards, Napa Valley, $21.
- 2007 Cabernet Sauvignon. Grgich Hills Estate, Napa Valley, $60.
- 2006 Cabernet Sauvignon. Cakebread Cellars, Napa Valley, $61.

EDITOR CLOSING NOTE: With this "Books & Bottles" column, our octogenarian Wayward Tendril, Fred McMillin, announces his retirement. Fred and his writings have graced our Newsletter / Quarterly from the first issue ... twenty-one years without missing a deadline! We will give him due rest, with our utmost thanks, and wish him wonderful retirement pleasures—which we can be certain will be filled with his wine book treasures.

PINNEY, *continued from p.15 —*

Pacific, and so what? The play and the poem are unaffected. I suppose that we may allow the same freedom to Theodore Winthrop. And maybe we should be grateful for the historical evidence he provides of the ignorance about California wine still prevailing in the East in 1862.

Incorrect as it certainly is, Winthrop's is nevertheless the earliest reference to California wine in a work of fiction that I know of. Can anyone name an earlier one? Or even a contemporary one? I would like to know.

Early Tidings about California Wine
by *Thomas Pinney*

[*Longtime Tendril Tom Pinney, Professor Emeritus of English at Pomona College in Southern California and a noted Rudyard Kipling scholar, is also recognized for his worthy contributions to the literature of wine, including his two-volume* History of Wine in America. *We welcome his latest missive to our* WTQ. — Ed.]

I recently received, from the inexhaustible resources of Charles Sullivan, a copy of a fascinating document, a brief (15 pages) catalog put out by the New York firm of wine dealers, Perkins, Stern and Co., of 180 Broadway, in the year 1863. As Charles has explained in the present issue of WTQ ("Los Angeles Wine 1850–1870"), Perkins, Stern was founded in 1860 expressly to sell the wines of Kohler & Frohling, the pioneer makers and merchants of California wine, to the wineless regions of the east coast. Perkins, Stern, did this successfully, despite some formidable handicaps: there was no rail connection across the continent until 1869, so California wine had to sail round the Horn to reach New York (it was pretended that the voyage improved the wine); the Civil War began soon after they set up shop, and though it evidently did not put a stop to the California trade it cannot have encouraged it; and then there was much scepticism, not to say prejudice, about native wines, and especially about such unknown wines as those of California.

The catalog has several points of interest. (See p.26, rear cover.) It begins with a statistical survey of the vineyards of Los Angeles and Santa Barbara, listing 114 of them. The official U.S. census of 1860 lists only 73, so the little catalog is a big addition to our knowledge of the Los Angeles scene. It provides a list of the company's available wines—Hock, Angelica, Muscatel, and Port—accompanied by the usual flattering descriptions; and it reprints several items from eastern newspapers about wine from California and from Kohler & Frohling in particular. These are interesting as illustrating the current notions about California; their information is highly dubious and sometimes sensationally wrong, but that is not surprising at a time when California was, to most Americans, the subject of fantastic report rather than a place that people actually knew.

One of these reprinted articles, from the Boston Advertiser for 28 May 1862, opens in a way that got my special attention. It begins by saying that many readers would first have heard of California as a wine-producing country from a passage in "John Brent," and then gives the passage as follows:

> "'Come in, stranger,' said Gerrian, 'before we start, and take a drink of this here Mission Dolorous wine.'
>
> 'How does that go down?' said he, pouring out golden juices into a cracked tumbler.
>
> It was the very essence of California sunshine,—sherry, with a richness that no sherry ever had,—a somewhat fiery beverage, but without any harshness or crudity. Age would better it, as age betters the work of a young genius; but still there is a something in the youth we would not willingly resign.
>
> 'Very fine,' said I; 'It is romantic old Spain, with ardent young America interfused.'"

"John Brent"—I had never heard of it—was evidently a work of fiction, and if it could be cited as a familiar reference in 1862, then that curious passage about California "sherry" must be a very early reference indeed. Clearly, I had to find out more. So I did, and I will now tell you what I found.

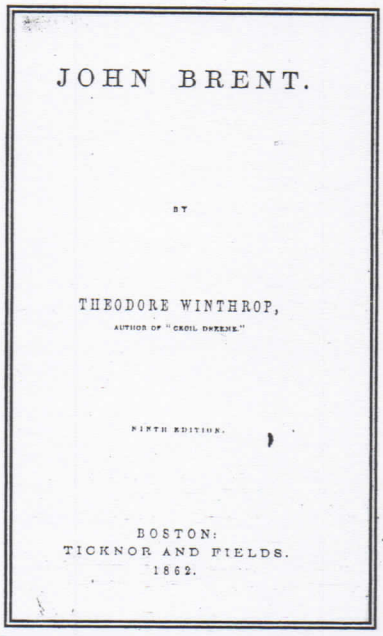
John Brent, it turns out, is a novel published in 1862; they did not have best-sellers in those innocent days, but if they had, then *John Brent* would have been one. The book had five printings in the first ten days after its publication. The author, Theodore Winthrop, did not enjoy this success, for he was already dead, having been shot and killed in what has been called the first engagement of the Civil War. Winthrop (1828–1861) was from an exceedingly well-connected family. On the father's side he was descended from John Winthrop, the first governor of Massachusetts; on the mother's side, he was descended from Jonathan Edwards and from seven (!) presidents of Yale. Winthrop graduated from Yale, but ill-health and restlessness made it impossible for him to settle to a profession. Instead he travelled and he wrote, though most of what he wrote was not published until after his death.

Theodore Winthrop

But what did he know of California? And of California wine? The answer would appear to be, Not much. After considerable foreign travel, and a number of false starts at one kind of work or another, he arrived in San Francisco on 24 March 1853. He stayed there for just a month, and then went on to the Oregon territory and never returned to California. He would, however, have had some chance to hear about California wine during the month that he was in San Francisco, and perhaps he even drank some then. Who knows? If he did, what he had almost certainly

came from Los Angeles, at that early date the only source of a commercial supply of wine in the state.

As a student of California wine history I plainly had a duty to read *John Brent* and see if I could find anything more about California wine in it. Let me say at once that I did not; and let me also say that *John Brent* is a rotten novel. I had to grit my teeth to get through it, but I did my duty. The characters are wooden puppets, the story is a degenerate version of knightly romance in western dress (Mormons are the villains), and the whole is padded out with interminable moralizings and psychological observations of no merit. Now let us look again at the passage that led me to this dreadful labor.


JOHN BRENT.

BY

THEODORE WINTHROP,

AUTHOR OF "CECIL DREEME."

FIFTH EDITION.

BOSTON:
TICKNOR AND FIELDS.
1862.

It is found at the end of the second chapter of the book, when the narrator, Richard Wade, having failed at gold mining, determines to ride back to the settled states and is in need of a horse. He finds one, the property of a rancher named Gerrian, who is a Pike. A Pike, we learn, is a type originally identified as coming from Pike County, Missouri. A Pike is everything objectionable, or, as the novel puts it,

> He is hung together, not put together. He inserts his lank fathom of a man into a suit of molasses-colored homespun. Frowzy and husky is the hair Nature crowns him with; frowzy and stubby the beard. He shambles in his walk. He drawls in his talk. He drinks whiskey by the tank. His oaths are to his words as Falstaff's sack to his bread. I have seen Maltese beggars, Arab camel-drivers, Dominican friars, New York Aldermen, Digger Indians; the foulest, frowziest creatures I have ever seen are thorough-bred Pikes.

So it is a Pike who recommends the wine of California to Wade, who is eager to leave on his new horse . The entire passage must be quoted here:

> "Come in stranger," said Gerrian, "before we start, and take a drink of some of this here Mission Dolorous wine."
>
> "How does that go down?" said he, pouring out golden juices into a cracked tumbler.
>
> It was the very essence of California sunshine, —sherry with a richness that no sherry ever had,—a somewhat fiery beverage, but without any harshness or crudity. Age would better it, as age betters the work of a young genius; but still there is something in the youth we would not willingly resign.
>
> "Very fine," said I; "it is romantic old Spain, with ardent young America interfused."
>
> "Some likes it," says Gerrian; "but taint like good old Argee to me. I can't git nothin' as sweet as the taste of yaller corn into sperit. But I reckon thar ken be stuff made out er grapes what'll make all awdoors stan' round. This yer was made by priests. What ken you spect of priests? They ain't more'n half men nohow. I'm goan to plant a wineyard er my own, and 'fore you cum out to buy another quartz mine, I'll hev some of ther strychnine what'll wax Burbon County's much's our inyans here ken wax them low-lived smellers what they grow to old Pike."

The dialect and the slang give some trouble. "Dolorous" is of course a joke. "Argee" could be a spelled-out initialism, like "Esso": "R.G."=rot-gut, bad whiskey. The Dictionary of Americanisms thinks so, and cites this passage from *John Brent* in illustration. "Strychnine" I suppose is meant as a play on alcohol as poison, but how the ignorant Pike could think that he could make wine stronger than whiskey beats me. Pikes are really dumb.

What is said about the particular wine in question here is pretty much nonsense. To begin with, Mission Dolores ("Dolorous"), the San Francisco mission, did not succeed in making wine, the coastal climate preventing the proper ripening of the grapes. So we start with a non-existent wine. The imagined time of the story is some time in the 1850s—there is an internal reference to an event as late as 1858. The secularization of the California missions, after which priestly winemaking ceased, was in 1834. The odds against a mission wine being available to anyone a quarter of a century after the supply came to an end are formidable. And this wine is clearly stated to be young. Nor was mission wine ever part of a regular commerce. And then there is the matter of "sherry." I have never seen any reference at all to a wine known as "sherry" in the early record of California wine-making: lots of "port," "hock," Angelica—but no "sherry" until the 1870s or thereabouts.

So, if most Americans first heard of California winemaking in *John Brent*, what they heard was fiction not fact. Aristotle says that mistakes about fact in poetry are irrelevant to the quality of the poetry. So Shakespeare gives us the seacoast of Bohemia and Keats gives us Cortez discovering the

continued on p.13 —

ALL THINGS CHAMPAGNE

A Book Review by *Dean Walters*

[*Tendril Dean Walters, a very knowledgeable and well-respected seasoned collector and dealer of wine-related antiques, ephemera, and collectibles, has previously contributed several fine vintage articles to our WTQ.* — Ed.]

Champagne Collectibles by Donald A. Bull and Joseph C. Paradi. Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing, Ltd., 2011. 12¼x9¼. Hardback. 336 pp., indexed. $80.

"...many of the rarest and most beautiful objects..."

THE RESOUNDING POP of champagne corks evokes the festive and the celebratory, similar to the excitement I experienced when I first opened the fine new book by veteran collectors of corkscrews and Champagne collectibles, Donald Bull and Joseph Paradi. *Champagne Collectibles* illuminates a collecting genre familiar to some, yet obscure to many who may drink the sparkling nectar but are not aware of the vast field devoted to its romance, lore, and promotion.

Beautifully illustrated with over 1260 color photos in 336 pages, the large, nearly six-pound tome moves through a broad spectrum of Champagne-related collectibles featuring the utilitarian, decorative, and aesthetic. To mention but a few of the chapter titles—Posters & Prints; Drinking & Dining; Fans; Games; Taps; Corkscrews; Nippers & Grippers; Smoking Accessories; Knives; and Whatsits—hints of the diverse content. One chapter focuses exclusively on the prolific producer and promoter, Champagne Mercier.

My great anticipation of this book was personally driven by my nearly thirty-year career buying, selling, and collecting wine and Champagne-related antiques and collectibles. No significant published work has focused exclusively on Champagne collectibles until now, and authors Bull and Paradi do not disappoint. They present many of the rarest and most beautiful objects from around the world in their book. The obscure and pedestrian are not ignored, as many utilitarian tools and gadgets are part of the mix; however, in many cases, utilitarian evolves into the sublime as early designers lent romance to the tool.

The aesthetics are captivating when applied to the design of utility. This application of conventional themes of design becomes most interesting in the 19th century, when the neoclassic, Art Nouveau, Arts & Crafts, and Aesthetic Movement influenced the promotion and enjoyment of Champagne, and continued into the early 20th century with Art Deco and Modernism. Posters and various forms of advertising ephemera exhibit these artistic styles; the same influences were applied to tools designed for the service of Champagne.

Collectors keenly seek the aesthetic as well as the rare. Romantic depictions of putti, Bacchus, nudes, and vine & grape motifs adorn utilitarian tools in the form of advertising and decor. Consequently, tools such as Champagne taps, corkscrews, wire nippers and knives are much more than utilitarian, they can become objects of art. Rare patents and registered designs are well-annotated throughout the book, and a current value is mentioned for every piece. The branding of Champagne producers' names is a focus of the book, and Champagne as a design motif plays a minor but important role.

Beautifully illustrated, *Champagne Collectibles* is photo driven, yet rife with amusing quips, anecdotes, and informative and technical details of what is presented—offering an invaluable compendium for the collector's reference library and visual delight for others.

Meet the authors

Both Don Bull and Joe Paradi have been collecting corkscrews and Champagne-related collectibles for over 30 years.

In a recent chat with Don, he told me that the inspiration for the book seemed obvious to him while reflecting on his own "museum" collection back in the Fall of 2009. Don suggested the concept and a collaboration for *Champagne Collectibles* to his longtime friend and like-minded collector, Joe Paradi, who responded with enthusiasm. Their notion quickly evolved, and a proposal was made to Schiffer Publishing who, Don says, replied immediately with a contract.

Joe recounts that he and Don possess over a thousand Champagne items between them, naturally with some overlapping. In requesting contributions to the book, the response from friends and even distant contacts was staggering, providing a tremendous opportunity to present a book filled with such diversity. Research for the book provided an amazing opportunity for the authors to learn much more than previously imagined about the subject.

The authors promise more reading excitement with a collaboration for another book for Schiffer, *Wine Collectibles*, which is already underway, and going to press sometime next year.

Donald A. Bull

Don retired in 1997 from Goodway Technologies where he served as president of the company. Now a prolific author and photographer, he is a longtime member of the Canadian Corkscrew Collectors Club (CCCC), and the International Correspondence of Corkscrew Addicts (ICCA), in which he serves a leadership role as 'Mirth Right.'

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Joseph C. Paradi, Ph.D.

Joe studied at the University of Toronto, Canada. In 1968 he founded Dataline Inc., which he sold in 1987. Following his departure from Dataline, Paradi joined the University of Toronto where he is executive director of the Centre for Management of Technology & Entrepreneurship, and Professor Emeritus at the Engineering School. Joe holds long-time memberships in the Canadian Corkscrew Collectors Club (CCCC), and the International Correspondence of Corkscrew Addicts (ICCA), in which he serves a leadership role as 'Pro Right.'

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NOTE: For a signed copy, order from www.bullworks.net/books/champagne.

One of the more than 1900 items illustrated in full color in *Champagne Collectibles*

Wine in California: The Early Years
Los Angeles Wine, 1850–1870
PART I
by *Charles L. Sullivan*

[*In this seventh installment of Charles Sullivan's never-before-published, in-depth history of the early years of wine in California, we investigate the prominent pioneer winemakers of Los Angeles County. Extensive, informative footnotes, with a substantial library of sources, are provided.* — Ed.]

WHEN CALIFORNIA WAS OFFICIALLY ADMITTED to the union in 1850, several factors in Los Angeles County pointed to the possible development of a real wine industry. There was a growing number in the southland who knew how to grow grapes and not a few who knew how to make wine and distill brandy. The vines, wine cellars and little distilleries there were located overwhelmingly in town or within fifteen miles of the dusty little pueblo of Los Angeles and its 1600 inhabitants. Here too was the experienced Indian work force that knew how to maintain a vineyard and prune its vines.

Los Angeles Pueblo in 1857

The size of the potential California market for wine continued to grow in the 1850s; even though many Argonauts began heading home, the search for gold in the Sierra foothills was gradually being transformed from a treasure hunt to a sophisticated industrial activity. But in these years there was no letup in the Californians' thirst for all types of alcoholic beverages. By the end of the decade the state's population was growing steadily, approaching 400,000 with no sign of relaxing.

There are a few facts concerning geographic change in Los Angeles County which the reader should keep in mind when looking at its area and its population before the turn of the century. Of primary importance is the fact that we are talking about a county 782 square miles larger than it would be in 1890. The change is due to the creation of Orange County in 1889, formed entirely from Los Angeles County. Before that date all Los Angeles County statistics must be understood to include that lost area of more than half a million acres. For this study this fact is very important, since one of the most important winegrowing operations in the state's history was begun in the late fifties in this "lost" area.

Also, we need to keep some demographics in mind. The town itself continued to contain about half the county's population in both 1850 and 1860. But the county's total numbers were meager when compared to many areas in the north. For example, in 1860 Los Angeles County still had fewer inhabitants than sparsely populated Sonoma County. Nevertheless the county experienced a huge growth in vineyard land in the 1850s.

Between 1850 and 1855 there were several factors that facilitated and encouraged the expansion of Los Angeles vineyard land. The most obvious of these was the explosion of wealth in the southland after 1849

due to the five-year cattle boom. Recently important almost entirely for its production of hides and tallow, the southern California cattle industry now could hardly meet the demand for its beef cattle to feed the hungry newcomers in the north. Recent arrival Horace Bell wrote that in 1852 everybody in Los Angeles seemed rich. "The streets were thronged throughout the entire day with splendidly mounted and richly dressed caballeros." For historian Glenn Dumke, "During the fifties the southland reeked with wealth." But it was all over after 1856 when cattle prices collapsed. Many native Californio families were destroyed financially by what historian Robert Glass Cleland termed, "improvidence and luxury." But I find none of the numerous Californio winegrowers in the county similarly situated.[1]

The good times drove up the demand for the best local wines, which partially explains the increased prosperity of almost all the leading winegrowers discussed in the previous chapter. But a factor that brought great distress to many local families outside town was the requirement to formally defend their land grant titles before the federal Land Commission. That and the debt built up in earlier years ruined some Californio families. But the title to Los Angeles pueblo land was secure and there was plenty of open space within the pueblo's boundaries for additional vineyard planting.

The impetus for this vineyard expansion in the southland did not come solely from the hope for increased wine production. I suspect, but cannot prove, that thoughts of profit from fresh grape sales were behind most of the vineyard expansion. (Even if fresh grape prices quoted in the press were, as I believe, often exaggerated, profits were still astonishing.)

The northern California population explosion between 1848 and 1852 put heavy pressure on food supplies. During these years huge profits were made with crops like potatoes and onions, planted and sold within a year's time. But this was not the story for orchard and vineyard crops. These required several years to bring forth a real crop. Hence the high prices paid for fresh grapes; for a while they had to come from established vineyards. By 1851 we read of grapes packed for shipment north bringing twenty cents per pound; that is $400 per ton for a crop that wouldn't have brought anything close to $100 three years earlier. And at the north, outside the Bay Area, we read of retail prices at seventy-five cents per pound, particularly in Sacramento and the Gold Country.

Los Angeles grapes got to the north after they were packed in sawdust and placed in barrels. The grapes had to arrive sound or there was no sale. By 1852 the steamers *Sea Bird* and *Ohio* were annually hauling thousands of such barrels north. By 1854 it took four such steamers to handle the fall traffic. One day in early October the Los Angeles Star moaned that the *Ohio* had to pull out of the harbor leaving "a great quantity of fruit on the beach at San Pedro." The paper estimated that half of the Los Angeles grapes headed north in 1855. As late as 1857 William Wolfskill's wine and Angelica vintage produced 14,000 gallons. But still he sent 150,000 pounds of grapes north.[2]

The difficult geography of the trade between the southern vineyards and the burgeoning northern markets made substantial profit a necessity. In the fifties the only way a load of grapes could get from Los Angeles to San Francisco was, first by ox-cart, later by wagons, twenty miles over a rough and rutted road to San Pedro, a fishing village on a shallow bay with a rickety pier. The same was true for the barrels of wine headed north, a trade that expanded greatly after 1855.

Cargoes meant for the little steamships anchored in the unprotected San Pedro Bay had to be hauled out from shore in lighters. Then it was up the coast to San Francisco, a voyage of about four hundred miles. Remarkably, in 1858 the cost to transport a pound of grapes north was only about eight cents. The man who made this awkward trade possible was Phineas Banning, who arrived in San Pedro in 1851. By 1853 he was building the wagons, and he owned the freight line and the lighters. He also built a substantial wharf at San Pedro. Los Angeles's isolated condition continued for years. Banning was not able to complete his little railroad from Los Angeles to San Pedro until 1869, the same year that northern California was connected to the rest of the nation by rail. The Los Angeles rail connection to the north was not completed until 1876 . And it was 1860 before there was even a telegraphic connection.[3]

It is ironic that the development of a real wine industry in the southland after 1855 coincided with the collapse of the cattle boom and the end of the opulent lifestyles among many Californio families in and around Los Angeles. Otherwise life didn't change much in the little pueblo. Population had grown from about 1500 in 1850 to about 3000 in 1855, but the pace of growth slowed during the next five years. By 1860 the federal census counted 4385 in the pueblo and 11,330 in the county. The population remained overwhelmingly Spanish speaking, a situation that continued well into the 1870s.[4] The English speaking element grew but not as a percentage. Actually it was the French speaking element that had the largest percentage increase in these years, many of whom had a hand in local wine production and sales.[5]

Whatever the economic malaise in Los Angeles County, there was no decline in the interest in viticulture during the late fifties. Fresh grape

shipments north continued to create a healthy cash flow, and winegrowing itself was soon booming. The key to this growth was the rise of several powerful producers. And despite their continued isolation, it was their ability to move and sell their wines to distant markets that sealed their success years before the building of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. Nevertheless, we shall see that the economic conditions of the early sixties severely tested their staying power.

We have already seen the origins of this development in the work of William Wolfskill and Jean-Louis Vignes. Although today Wolfskill is best remembered for his pioneer efforts in developing the southland's orange industry, he maintained a commitment to grape growing until his death in 1866. In 1856 the State Agricultural Society named his 65-acre Los Angeles Vineyard the best in the state.[6] In 1857 he made news when he sent newly inaugurated President Buchanan a barrel of his "fine old California port." A year later his various properties were assessed as the third most valuable in the county.[7]

William Wolfskill – Diploma for "Best Vineyard"

When the State Agricultural Society's 1858 visiting committee reported on their tour of southern California, they rhapsodized on what they found at Wolfskill's home property. But it is easy to see that viticulture was not what most impressed them. The orchards were "planted in a style of exact neatness seldom equaled." They were a sight "quite superior to anything in the state." His quince trees were like none they had ever seen. He was paying special attention to "choice varieties of peach, pear, plum, and cherry trees." They concluded that no fruit grower in the state "has realized a more complete and satisfactory success" than William Wolfskill.[8]

These published observations correctly suggest that viticulture and winemaking were probably becoming something of a sideline for Wolfskill. Statistics from his 1859 vintage are a reflection of this change. The winemaking at his cellars was directed by the Los Angeles manager of the rising San Francisco firm of Kohler & Frohling. Most of the 50,000 gallons produced under John Frohling's skillful direction went straight to his firm's cellars. Wolfskill marketed some wine himself, but more important to his cash flow was the almost 10,000 gallons of brandy produced at his distillery. Even more profitable were the more than 220 tons of fresh grapes he sold in the northern market. (This may have been enough to compensate him for his considerable losses the year before when he unsuccessfully tried to ship fresh grapes by sea to the East Coast.)[9] Still, in 1859 the Agricultural Society again named Wolfskill's vineyard the finest in the state.

Wolfskill's focus on wider aspects of agriculture than wine production does not indicate any lack of viticultural activity. It is clear that in these later years he was selling almost all his grapes as fresh shipments and to other wine producers. A very detailed analysis of the 1861 vintage in the Los Angeles area fails to list a gallon produced by Wolfskill. But he still had at least a hundred acres in vines.[10]

William Wolfskill died in 1866 of heart failure. To the very end his varied projects, from the earliest years down to the last five years of his life, mark him as one of the city's pioneer greats. Any history of early public education in Los Angeles would name him a hero. He was always ready to use his own fortune to support local schools during these often depressed years. And that fortune grew steadily despite the hard times. He was one of the few who made money raising cattle in the early sixties. He had mining interests in Tonopah, Nevada. And he gathered agricultural property all over the Los Angeles lowlands. He was a master of land speculation and made good money lending funds to businessmen in need. He actually loaned $3400 to the wealthy Benjamin Wilson in 1863.[11]

William Wolfskill [1798–1866]

His will gave half of the home property, including seventy acres of vines, to son Joseph, and half to daughter Francisca.

Daughter Magdalena received two pieces of vineyard land. Granddaughter Alice received the Scott Vineyard south of town. In all, seven separate pieces of vineyard land were mentioned in the will. Apparently any wine and almost all the winemaking equipment had been sold before Wolfskill's death.[12] Joseph Wolfskill increased the emphasis of citrus upon the home property until 1887 when it was divided and sold.

Vignes and the Sainsevains

William Wolfskill and Jean-Louis Vignes both came to California in 1831 and in H. H. Bancroft's words, "may be regarded as the pioneers of California's greatest industry, the production of wine and fruit."[13] But the Frenchman was twenty years older than his winemaking neighbor. In 1855 Vignes was sixty-six years old and ready to savor a bit of retirement.

It was not only his age that prompted his decision to sell El Aliso to his sister's two sons. There was still unfinished family business in France. His wife had died in 1843 and his four children lived on. Eventually they mounted a court case seeking to gain half interest in El Aliso. The reason that Vignes had tried to sell his property in 1851 was probably his decision to settle $3000 on each of his children.[14]

One nephew, Pierre Sainsevain, had come to California from Bordeaux in 1839 and for a while was a useful addition to his uncle's wine operation. Earlier a carpenter, he learned a lot about viticulture and winemaking at El Aliso. The details of his decision to move up to San Jose are not clear, but he certainly was attracted by the growing and prosperous French colony in the Santa Clara Valley. There he settled and built a flour mill outside town on the Guadalupe River. In 1843 he was granted title to the Rancho del Cañada Rincon near today's Santa Cruz. He built a saw mill on the San Lorenzo River near present-day Felton. Certainly his most important connection in San Jose was with Francophile Antonio Suñol, whose daughter Paula he married in 1845. We have met Suñol and his grog shop earlier. By 1840 he was a wealthy landowner.[15]

Pierre headed for gold in the Sierra foothills in the summer of 1848, and with his partners settled along the Tuolumne River, where they found a bounty of pay dirt. The spot became the village of Don Pedro Bar, named for Sainsevain, and is now covered by the reservoir behind Don Pedro Dam.

In 1849 Suñol deeded 700 acres of his Rancho de los Coches, just west of San Jose, to Pierre and Paula. Their sale of portions of this land, plus Pierre's profits from his various enterprises, acted as the financial basis for an important family event in 1855. In that year he moved back to Los Angeles and met with his newly arrived elder brother, Jean-Louis. There is no record of how they cooked up the plan with their uncle. But it called for the two men to round up some capital and buy El Aliso from Vignes. They agreed on a sale price of $42,000, with some money down. But the key to Don Luis's contented future was that he was to live on at El Aliso for the rest of his life and receive $2500 per year from his nephews, for as long as he lived. At the same time Vignes took a second wife, Merced Ruiz.

The brothers' plan was to expand the Vignes wine operation—more wine and more types of wine. Central to the plan was the production of a sparkling wine in the style of Champagne. Pierre went right back to France in 1856 and acquired all the technical material he could find. He also brought back with him a certain M. de Banne, who had been in the employ of the Widow Clicquot in Reims. There is no record of his buying any champagne-making equipment in France.

Thus began the Sainsevain's seven-year campaign to produce California's first commercial sparkling wine. Almost everyone referred to it as "champagne," but their label would read "Sparkling California." It was the state's first. (See label illustration in last issue's installment.) Benjamin Wilson had produced a champagne-style wine which publisher James Warren sampled at the State Fair in 1855. Wilson did not proceed with that project. The Sainsevains' eventual fate surely encouraged a sigh of relief from Wilson a few years later. Historian Thomas Pinney correctly termed the urge to produce "champagne" the Sainsevain brothers' *fata morgana*.[16]

The Sainsevains produced 50,000 bottled sparklers from the 1856 vintage. Pierre also established a depot in San Francisco from which to sell their wines. They had Angelica, Port and a white table wine. They hoped to have the sparkler ready for the 1857 holiday season. But a cruel statistic was a dark portent of things to come. The Daily Alta California reported that about 20% of their bottles were bursting. To help pay for their added expenses they boosted still wine production, 73,00 gallons in 1857, making them the largest producer in the state that year.

El Aliso was a happy place in the fall of 1858. The Sainsevains bought so many grapes that their final production of 125,000 gallons amounted to almost half that produced in Los Angeles that year. Again they were tops in the state. Vignes was still active at El Aliso, putting on a huge and joyous post-vintage party for the workers, attended by an Alta correspondent. For him El Aliso was a "perfect paradise."[17]

The brothers launched a powerful advertising and public relations campaign that coincided with the release of the Sparkling California. Their ads were particularly numerous in the San Francisco newspapers. They shipped a basket of the wine to President Buchanan at the White House. What was

advertised as the president's thank-you note could be read throughout the state. The Sparkling California "was the most agreeable American wine I have ever drunk."[18] In 1858 both the sparkler and the 1857 white wine won gold medals at the California State Fair. The brothers' ads placed great emphasis on these medals.[19] After a comparative tasting held by the California Horticultural Society the Alta praised the wine as "pure, vinous, fruity." One has to wonder what wine was getting all this praise at these events when the obvious commercial failure of the Sparkling California was eventually understood to be its mediocre quality.


SPARKLING CALIFORNIA
CHAMPAGNE.
We have reduced the price of our SPARKLING CALIFORNIA WINE to $12 per case, from one to five cases. A liberal discount to the trade.
SAINSEVAIN BROTHERS,
118 Montgomery street,
Jal-1ptf Basement Pioche & Bayerque's Building.
SAINSEVAIN'S
First Premium Wines,
TWO GOLD MEDALS!
STATE FAIR, MARYSVILLE.
TWO SILVER GOBLETS!
MECHANICS' FAIR, SAN FRANCISCO.

In 1861 the Sainsevains still had 165,000 bottles of unsold sparkling wine in their cellars. In that year they cut their still wine production to only 20,000 gallons, while Kohler & Frohling produced 50,000. In December 1862 the Alta admitted the champagne venture was a failure. The wine was too heavy and poorly flavored. The Atlantic Monthly complained that it had a bitter taste. Today we know that a satisfying sparkling wine cannot be produced from Mission variety grapes. It took the Sainsevains' costly failure to suggest then what was soon obvious. For a sparkler to be compared to the French product a much better acid concentration was needed, to say nothing of flavor. It was reported that the brothers lost $50,000 on this undertaking.[20]

The Sainsevains' great venture in 1856 had coincided with what the Alta termed "a vineyard planting mania" in the Los Angeles area, which really took off in 1857. By the spring of 1858 the newspaper counted thirty brand new vineyards with at least 400 new acres planted, not counting the huge plantings taking place around Anaheim, which I shall discuss later. I think the Alta exaggerated when it claimed in the spring of 1858 that "all the vacant lands of the city have been bought up and appropriated to vines." But the wave of wine oversupply was on its way and hit in 1860. By 1862 the press was groaning about the effects of the grape, wine and brandy depression. By vintage 1863 Los Angeles grapes were selling for a ruinous $12 per ton.[21]

Just before Los Angeles winegrowers were aware of the imminent depression, a historic event took place that was not particularly successful in the short run but which paved the way for at least partial salvation from their being overwhelmed by the torrent of unsold wine they were to experience in the sixties. In 1860 the Sainsevains and the firm of Kohler & Frohling sent a load of wine in barrels to New York from their 1857 and 1858 vintages on the clipper ship E. T. Willetts. The wine arrived in good shape; shortly thereafter they sent even more. The precise history of these shipments is clouded by the confusing and often contradictory claims made later by those directly and indirectly involved. But these early shipments did introduce California wine to the eastern wine market. (The Sainsevains also sent wine down the coast to Mazatlan in 1861.) That this early endeavor coincided with the Secession Crisis and the outbreak of the Civil War certainly had a sobering effect on early dreams of a wine trade with the East Coast. The quick appearance of Confederate privateers in the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico made success in such a trade before 1864 even more doubtful.[22]

Vignes died in 1862 and a few months later the brothers dissolved their partnership. Pierre headed back to San Jose and Jean-Louis stayed on at El Aliso. Pierre still had many years ahead in the world of California wine, which I shall trace as part of the wine history of the Santa Clara Valley.[23] Jean-Louis also had more years of winegrowing ahead of him. Out in San Bernardino County John Rains had revived winegrowing on the old Rancho Cucamonga. But the property declined after his death in 1862. Jean-Louis was hired in 1865 to bring back the large vineyard and in 1868 he was able to buy the place. The money he acquired from his sale of El Aliso in 1867 helped him swing the deal. The new owner of the Vignes/Sainsevain property was Alexander Weil, a French banker. His agent in Los Angeles, Asa Ellis, ran the famed property and continued to grow and sell grapes until the eighties, when it was finally subdivided. In Cucamonga, Jean-Louis made 97,000 gallons of wine in 1868 and gradually developed a fine reputation for his sweet wine, which the Alta called "Medeira." He was also involved in Los Angeles city government for several years before his death in 1889.[24]

Kohler & Frohling

The pioneer winegrowing work of Vignes and Wolfskill was important to the development of a wine and brandy business in Los Angeles County in the 1850s and early 1860s. But their businesses did not last. These men were also able to tie their production efforts to the state's large northern markets. But no one suggested, looking back

from the wine booming days of the 1880s, that they were the ones primarily instrumental in the creation of California's powerful and profitable wine industry.

When Charles Kohler suddenly died in 1887, the leaders of the industry were virtually unanimous in proclaiming that he was the founder of the California wine industry as it was then constituted. This uniform praise was aimed at his contributions to the industry as a whole, not simply because he had left his heirs the largest wine firm in California. It is also worth noting that the many obituaries that appeared in the press did not devote all of their space to Kohler's contribution to California wine. They also emphasized his continuous and generous contributions to the well being of his family, his friends and his community.[25]

How did two young men in their early twenties successfully build this historic business enterprise? Charles Kohler was an accomplished musician when he arrived in America in 1850. Grabow, where he was born in 1830, was located in northern Prussia, a long way from the German wine country. He went right to work as a violinist with New York's Italian Opera Company. Then, like many young men of that time, he was lured to California by the popular image of the Golden State, and perhaps by the knowledge of the growing German colony in San Francisco, where he stepped ashore in 1853.

Perhaps even more important was the powerful lure of San Francisco's burgeoning classical music industry. Within three years of the discovery of gold, the city's polyglot folk were able to hear a performance of Bellini's "La Sonnambula." By 1853 opera, choral concerts, and symphonic concerts were a regular part of the genteel side of San Francisco's night life. By 1854 the city had a repertory opera season with fourteen different productions. Kohler's operatic experience in New York gave him steady employment for the next five years after his arrival.[26] It is not clear how Kohler came to know of San Francisco's musical prospects. But it may not have been a coincidence that San Francisco's first music store was founded in 1850 by a certain Andrew Kohler.[27]

The young Kohler plunged into the city's music community and was soon one of its leaders. There he met John Frohling, a German flutist three years his senior. He too came from a town in northern Prussia, Arnsberg, well removed from Germany's vineyards.

The story of how these two young men moved from a life of music and song to a life of wine has been told by many writers, but the only primary source is Kohler himself, chiefly his manuscript for Bancroft, but also from his own lips over the years and then repeated later by his interlocutors. That there are numerous variations in the story is not important. The basic facts are clear.

Kohler, Frohling and John B. Beutler, also a musician, worked mostly in the evening and often had free time during the day. On one such day they had walked out to view the Pacific surf and the seals on the rocks where the Cliff House was later built.[28] Kohler had bought some fresh grapes, just off the boat from San Pedro. Beutler was a southerner, a native of the Grand Duchy of Baden, one of Germany's most important wine regions, and its warmest. According to Kohler, Beutler marvelled at the perfection and size of their Los Angeles grapes, comparing them in laudatory terms to those of his German homeland. The three discussed the possibilities of viticulture and winegrowing in a land like Los Angeles that could produce such grapes. This took place in September 1853. Then the story goes blank until May of the next year.

By then Frohling had arrived in Los Angeles backed by notes of credit for $12,000. He wrote back that for $4000 he was able to buy a twenty-acre tract with twelve acres of Mission vines, planted between 1844 and 1846. By then Beutler was out of the picture, called back to New York on word of his wife's ill health. There were several other names used by the new wine company as investors entered and left the operation during the early years. But Kohler & Frohling (K&F) was the name that stuck. Frohling was able to make a small amount of wine in 1854, employing a few local Rhinelanders who had some winemaking experience.[29]

Back in San Francisco it was Kohler's job to sell wine. He soon had a small cellar on Merchant Street for storage; there he was fortunate to employ another young German recently arrived in San Francisco. He became the unsung third of the Germanic triumvirate, but he came to California well experienced in making and selling wine. After 1860 his name became indelibly associated with K&F, but his contributions before that year have rarely been noticed.[30]

Charles Stern

Charles Stern came to California in 1849 and to San Francisco in 1854. He was born in Ernsbach in the Rheinhessen, southeast of Frankfurt, into a Jewish family "who had enjoyed a long and valuable experience in the wine business...." After 1860 he became an important part of this story as the head of the firm that established the K&F business on the East Coast.[31]

Stern may have accompanied Frohling to Los Angeles on his 1854 buying trip, but he did not stay. Frohling had plenty of skilled help in the vineyard, but we have no record of his development as a winemaker in 1854–1855. In fact we know little about the wine made in those two years except that Kohler and Stern were selling it in 1855 and 1856. By 1856 it is obvious that Frohling had applied his keen intellect and organizational skills to whatever technical infor-

mation he was able to acquire. And by 1856 he was able to produce 15,000 gallons of wine, hardly a splash in the total of 200,000 gallons produced in Los Angeles that year.

That Frohling was getting it right could be seen at the State Fair at San Jose in 1856. Simply put, the award for the best wine made from Mission grapes went to "J. Frohling, Los Angeles." In 1857 "Kohler and Frohling" received the fair's diploma for their "native wine."[32] Later that year the firm of "Jn. Frohling & Chas. Kohler" began advertising its wines in the San Francisco press. Kohler and Stern had set up a little bar at their Merchant Street cellar, near the city hall. There patrons could sample a glass of any of their wines for one bit (12.5 cents). The publisher of the California Farmer, James Warren, dropped in to taste these wines.[33] He was impressed by their Port and Angelica. Their "claret" would improve with more time and care. The white table wine was a bit tart. He later wrote that K&F was now encouraging "orders from the interior."[34] The firm soon acquired a larger storage facility on Montgomery Street with a more attractive sampling bar.

Early Kohler & Frohling Angelica Label (reduced)

Charles Kohler developed a remarkably effective system for marketing the firm's products in the city. His purpose was to make sure that their wines, and later brandy, were offered in most of the saloons and hotels there. Within three years "most" could be replaced by "almost all." Kohler and Stern took their samples all over town. One could also place an order at their little bar and have the wines delivered to a place of business or to the customer's residence. Looking back Kohler later wrote that in the early months they "would feel remarkably encouraged when we received an order for half a dozen bottles." At first they delivered the wines door to door, "basket in arm." Soon they hired a horse and wagon; by 1856 they had a team "constantly employed." By 1857 they had two cellars on Montgomery Street. Five years later they had ten cellars in the city. By then Kohler was selling every drop of wine Frohling could get to San Francisco. Their wines had also found their way to Sacramento and thence to the Gold Country.[35]

Why were the K&F wines so successful? Clever and intensive marketing couldn't move poor wine for long. These wines were popular in the late fifties while the press of San Francisco and Los Angeles was repeatedly groaning over the amount of poor California wine on the market. K&F wines won their medals and diplomas, but their success was due to the fact that the retail purveyors of wines and brandies in bars and hotels came to know that their customers liked these K&F wines, particularly the Port, Angelica and white wine. The latter Frohling laced with some Muscat to give the poorly flavored Mission white a hint of "riesling" flavor.[36]

The K&F wines succeeded because customers liked them. But is there a more understandable explanation for this good reputation? There are a few factors that stand out. Every description coming from the cellars in Los Angeles and San Francisco has stressed cleanliness. There are no stories of sewn cowhides suspended with sweaty Indians treading the grapes. Frohling had a contraption with wooden rollers to crush the grapes. They were wide enough apart not to crush the seeds. The must was disinfected with sulphur and all the equipment that had touched a grape was scrubbed down at the end of the day. Sulphur sticks were burned in casks and barrels to avoid acetification. After fermentation wines were carefully racked off the sediment and racked twice again in the spring. By 1857 Frohling was building a two-story brick winery which held down fermentation and storage temperatures. The bricks came from just up the road at the factory of the Franco-Swiss winegrower Jean Bernard. The new structure was soon being called the Pioneer Winery by the partners.[37] There was also a financial factor which helps explain K&F's success. For five years after he and Frohling founded their business, Kohler was able to continue his life in music and made enough money to help sustain the company.[38]

Thomas Pinney describes Kohler as a huge man, "a fine personal presence," who "made an instantaneous impression on any assemblage he entered." His powerful yet pleasant personality, and his connections to the potential wine drinking community, rather than the whisky and beer drinking majority, certainly helped him sell K&F wine in the city. Those five years of almost nightly productions and personal performances were a powerful economic boon for K&F.[39]

Kohler had no trouble selling the wine from the 1856 vintage, but the narrow profit margin with which the partners were working led them to the

obvious. They had to expand production radically. Their own fifteen acres of vines had not even sufficed in 1856. During the next three years Frohling began moving production into six figures.[40] He did this by purchasing large amounts of grapes from others and, wherever possible, using the owner's production facility to make the wine. The 1859 vintage shows Frohling at his best as an organizer of production. His task was eased some by hiring William Koenig, an experienced winemaker.[41]

He had lined up vineyardists all over the Los Angeles area and organized a large crew of vineyard and cellar workers. Where he could he used on-site equipment. But he also knew exactly what he would need at each location. He began late in September at La Puente, southeast of the San Gabriel Valley. There his crew took in the grapes at the rancho estates of William Workman and John Rowland. Then he returned to Los Angeles, starting out at William Wolfskill's winery. It took him two weeks to bring in the grapes and make the wine there.[42]

K&F paid the vineyardists $60 per ton, which included storage at the facility and the use of equipment. Frohling employed his own two-man crusher for the Wolfskill job, since treading had been the practice there earlier; Frohling would have none of that.[43]

They started early in the morning. The grapes were picked and hauled to fermenters in one-horse carts. They were stemmed into a large hopper through a huge wire sieve. Then they went through the crusher and immediately to a spiral screw-press for the white wines. For reds the pressing began well after fermentation began, usually six or seven days. Whites were placed in large casks holding about 140 gallons. As fermentation proceeded the casks were gradually filled and finally stoppered when all was quiet. After a few weeks the wine was racked off the sediment and placed in a clean cask. In March or April, when the malolactic fermentation usually began in the reds, the cask was opened and the wine was again racked at least twice. It is difficult to imagine how Frohling was able to manage all these production steps, here greatly over-simplified, at so many places and for so great a number of wine products. But he did it, probably with the help of well-trained crew leaders and assistant managers.

After he finished at Wolfskill's he did the K&F vineyard, then Antonio Coronel's, Matthew Keller's and those of several smaller vineyardists. When the vintage had ended, Frohling had produced wine from more than 300 acres of vines in the Los Angeles area.[44]

Then there was the problem of storing the wine. The vaults of the numerous K&F clients were useful but not enough. Eventually Frohling was able to rent the entire basement of the Los Angeles City Hall. Wagons loaded with K&F casks were a common sight on the road to San Pedro for shipment to San Francisco. But Kohler had to step lively to keep up with them after arrival. The number of K&F cellars in San Francisco continued to grow; he had 120,000 gallons stored in 1860. Two years later Kohler claimed the firm had a total of 500,000 gallons of wine in storage, north and south.

When the partners had been thinking about larger sources of grapes, they had met in 1855 with two other prominent California Germans to exchange ideas. Frohling again met with these two later in the year in Los Angeles. By then they had developed a plan to develop a German wine colony in Los Angeles County, a plan that came to fruition in 1857 in the Anaheim Colony. Frohling was very active in the organization and activities of the colony. He bought all their grapes from their first crop in 1861. But his untimely death in 1862 was followed by a steady decline in K&F's association with the project. I shall trace the early history of the Anaheim Colony in a later section.[45]

Although the California market was looking very good for K&F in 1857, the partners had some reason to believe, and to hope, that the East Coast would be able to take a good part of their expected growth. The answer to this hope came from a man who had become a regular customer at their Montgomery Street sales room.

Perkins & Stern

Richard F. Perkins came to San Francisco from Boston in the early fifties and became an active member of the newly formed Republican Party. (He was appointed San Francisco Postmaster by President Lincoln in 1864.) Moderately wealthy, he had good financial connections on the East Coast. Perkins was fascinated by what was happening in California and took an active interest in K&F's meteoric growth. He also took a very personal interest in Charles Stern, and they were soon fast friends. Perkins could see that the young German's family background in the wine trade and the technical knowledge he was picking up with K&F equipped him for an excellent future in the world of wine. Stern also had family and business connections in New York.

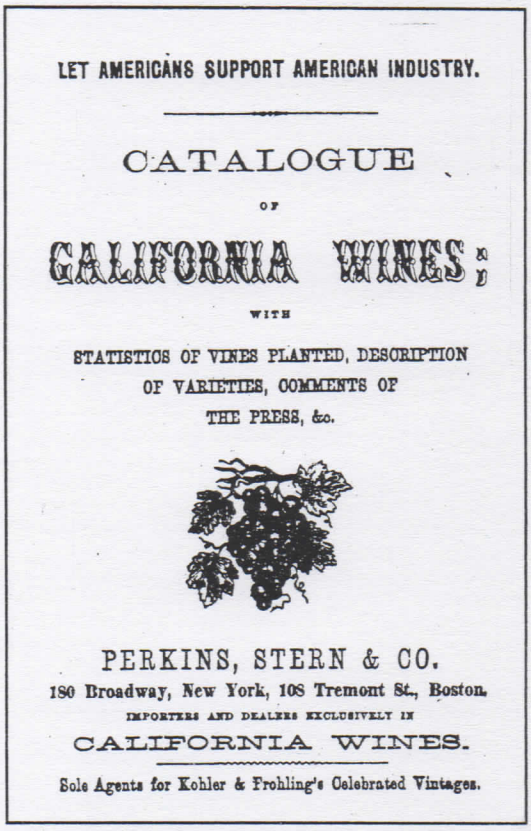
These two and the K&F partners decided to test the possibility of shipping their wine to the East Coast, and in 1858 sent about 1200 gallons of wine to Boston, consigned to Samuel C. Perkins, Richard's son and a Boston businessman. We have no other details of the shipment except that the wine arrived in good condition and that the four men decided to move ahead. Richard Perkins would supply the capital to get the wine to New York and set up an agency there. K&F would supply the wine and Charles Stern would

head off to New York to run the new company, Perkins & Stern (P&S). Samuel Perkins also set up a P&S depot in Boston. Kohler wrote to Benjamin Wilson in the fall of 1858 that, "in the long run we will beat Europe." K&F didn't chase European wines off the East Coast, but in the subsequent years the firm became a powerful factor there.[46]

The first shipment left for New York in the fall of 1860, along with the Sainsevain wines, which I previously noted. By 1862 K&F had sent $72,000 worth of wine to the P&S agency at 180 Broadway. Stern had taken up residence in New York City, and technically maintained it until his death in 1903. But he was constantly back and forth between New York and California. Thirty years later, when interviewed by a New York reporter, he declared that his heart was always in California. He also declared that "I was the head of the business of Kohler & Frohling in 1864." I presume he meant the K&F business on the East Coast. As the years went by Kohler gradually took charge of all the firm's trade business and in 1878 P&S ceased operations as such. We shall meet Stern again in charge of two huge southern California wine companies in the eighties and nineties.[47]

Just as K&F's fortunes were on the rise, Southern California in the early sixties became a land of misery. Starting in December 1861 it began raining all over the state and it continued for more than a month. On February 9 geologist William Brewer wrote "America has never before seen such desolation by flood...." Around Los Angeles whole vineyards disappeared in the roaring waters.[48] Then came two years of unparalleled drought, which destroyed what was left of the cattle industry. Vineyards suffered but survived. To top it off, between 1862 and 1863 Los Angeles County was ravaged by a virulent smallpox epidemic.[49] In spite of these natural disasters and in the teeth of the California wine depression (1861–1864), K&F prospered and grew.

In the east Kohler and Stern had their work cut out for them in competition with Ohio and New York wine producers. Stern promoted good press in 1863 by entering K&F wines in the Ohio State Fair wine competition. There were six wine categories and K&F won five of them. For a while the New York press was not friendly toward California wine, often for good reason. But apparently the good quality of K&F wines after they left ship set them off from others. It was not long before eastern producers were taking advantage of this perception of rising quality by slapping California labels on some of their own wines. After the the west and east coasts were connected by rail in 1869, eastern producers often bought California wine in bulk to sell under their own labels. And there were always complaints about eastern bottlers placing French labels on good California wine.[50]


LET AMERICANS SUPPORT AMERICAN INDUSTRY.

CATALOGUE

OF

CALIFORNIA WINES

WITH

STATISTICS OF VINES PLANTED, DESCRIPTION OF VARIETIES, COMMENTS OF THE PRESS, &c.

PERKINS, STERN & CO.

180 Broadway, New York, 108 Tremont St., Boston.

IMPORTERS AND DEALERS EXCLUSIVELY IN

CALIFORNIA WINES.

Sole Agents for Kohler & Frohling's Celebrated Vintages.

Perkins, Stern & Co. Catalogue, 1863

Stern's growing effectiveness can be seen in the marvelous 15-page catalogue he brought out for P&S in 1863 (above and rear cover; also see Pinney's "Early Tidings about California" this issue). Although it was meant specifically to promote K&F wines, it is also an important historical document. It contains lists of all the commercial vineyard owners in Los Angeles County with the number of their vines, including the Anaheim settlers. It gives us thirty-two vineyardists not even included in the 1860 U.S. Census. One could also read seven 1862 articles taken from the New York and New England press generally boosting California wine and specifically Kohler & Frohling and Perkins & Stern. Boston's Saturday Evening Gazette laid a hard knock on eastern wines, warning the consumer against "paying a sad penalty for his patriotism." The N.Y. Tribune attributed the improvement in California wines in the area to K&F, "The Longworths of California." They remarked that the demand for K&F wines was so powerful "that the difficulty is to supply them as fast as they are wanted."

Kohler in California, Stern in New York and the young Perkins in Boston succeeded in getting more and more wine to the East Coast, and selling it at reasonable prices. The task of getting wine east was eased in 1869 when the transcontinental railroad was finished. The first K&F eastern rail shipment went to

Illinois that year where P&S soon had a Chicago agency. By the mid-seventies there was hardly a large city in the country where K&F wines were not available.[51]

By the late sixties it had become clear to Charles Kohler that really high quality California table wine would not come from the Mission grape, still all but ubiquitous in southern California. Far more important was his view that fine wines in California were destined to come from vineyards in the northern coastal valleys of the state. He early became interested in Sonoma's successes and even made wine at one of his San Francisco cellars from Sonoma grapes. He was particularly intrigued by Sonoma red wines made from the newly popular Zinfandel. I shall return to Kohler's Sonoma operations, which began in 1874, and to his extensive investments in the Central Valley for the production of sweet wines and brandy.

For years the firm maintained its original vineyard property in Los Angeles. The old Pioneer Winery fell into dilapidated condition until urban pressure brought its demise. Ernest Peninou wrote that Kohler refused to refurbish the old place, that "the rafters and walls still carried the dried-out, dust-covered festive decorations from the gala vintage ball" Frohling put on in 1860. And John Frohling's name remained part of the company's name to the very last.[52]

The Anaheim Colony

The idea of establishing a German colony in southern California probably originated in San Francisco. But it may have been brought there from Los Angeles by that county's Austrian-born deputy surveyor, George Hansen. For sure the K&F partners were on board from the beginning. John Frohling probably came up to San Francisco in 1855 with Hansen, where they met with Charles Kohler and Otto Weyse, editor of one of the city's four German newspapers, the Demokrat. Such an enterprise might certainly be an excellent source of grapes and wine for K&F. But there was also interest in the venture as an investment opportunity and as a means of aiding some of their countrymen, now somewhat stranded in California as the glow of early Gold Rush hopes dimmed. The meeting was not kept a secret and was soon a topic in the Los Angeles press.[53]

Before long, the idea of such a colony was circulating in the German communities of both San Francisco and Los Angeles. Meanwhile Hansen was putting together a concrete plan and scouting for a large piece of potential vineyard property. Frohling also advised him on matters concerning viticulture. By New Year's Day 1857 Hansen was ready to go. On February 24 Kohler and others organized a large meeting of possible investors/settlers in San Francisco. An informal association was formed which was later incorporated as the Los Angeles Vineyard Society. Hansen was appointed superintendent and charged with acquiring the land and making the needed improvements.

It was decided that there would be fifty shares in the Society, each representing a vineyard parcel of twenty acres, eight acres of which were to be planted before the colonists arrived. Thus, the shareholders had almost three years to work at home and save to meet the required payments for their shares. Forty-two shares were subscribed to by Germans from San Francisco, and eight from Los Angeles. Surprisingly, given the success of the venture, none of these folk had any experience in winegrowing. But most were artisans and mechanics with various trades that would be useful in the new community.

Hansen needed to find a piece of land covering something more than a thousand acres. But every deal he tried to make fell through. In June the Society's directors expressed discontent over these failures and sent Charles Kohler down to Los Angeles to confer with Hansen and Frohling. In July Kohler decided that a piece of Santa Ana land about twenty-five miles southeast of Los Angeles was the best available choice. Hansen and Frohling were then directed to buy 1165 acres of Rancho San Juan Cajón de Santa Ana, granted to Juan Ontiveros in 1837. The price was $2330: two dollars per acre.[54]

If the shareholders could have seen the land they had bought, they might well have sold back their shares. It was flat land, virtually barren except for sage brush and cactus. It looked like desert land, but it was not. It was located on the huge and ancient alluvial fan of the Santa Ana River, with deep, rich soil. The deed for the sale included a thirty-two foot strip of right-of-way to the Santa Ana River. Hansen's first task was to have an irrigation canal dug along this route to connect the future settlement to the river, about five miles to the east. From this canal almost 300 miles of ditches were eventually dug to serve the individual vineyards. Hansen began work on the canal in September 1857 and had the job finished in six months. With water now available vineyard planting could begin. Frohling had acquired almost all of the 400,000 Mission vine cuttings from William Wolfskill, taken from the spring pruning. The four hundred acres planted comprised the state's largest viticultural undertaking to date.[55]

By now Hansen had a huge operation under way. In all he had almost a hundred men, and a few women cooks, at work on various teams. He had quite a few skilled laborers; the unskilled labor was first provided by Indians, many from the Pala reservation, whose population had agricultural experience. Gradually Hansen augmented these crews with Sonoran Mexicans and Chileans.

Before any settlers arrived there were already the makings of a small town center with a few public buildings. It was not until June 15, 1858 that this little village had a name. On that date the stockholders designated their home-to-be "Annaheim," after the nearby river. Second place, by two votes, was "Annagau." The second "n" was dropped next year.[56]

Benjamin Dreyfus

The first house put up at the colony was not built by one of the shareholders. The owner was Benjamin Dreyfus, who built his home on one of the town lots in 1857. He had come to California from Bavaria and was close to the organization of the colony. He and one of the shareholders built a general store in the town center, which was ready to greet the colonists when they began arriving in 1858.[57]

Within a few years, particularly after John Frohling's death in 1862, Dreyfus had become the leader of the Anaheim wine operation. One writer called him the "Wine Tycoon of Anaheim." For Thomas Pinney he was "the king of the Anaheim winemakers."[58]

George Hansen had laid out sixty-four small town lots, one for each settler and fourteen for public buildings, including a hotel, which Dreyfus later operated. In the spring of 1859 Hansen sent word to San Francisco that the colony was ready to start receiving settlers. On September 12 the titles to the twenty-acre lots were distributed by lottery. A few days later the first colonists arrived by steamer at San Pedro. Before the end of the year there were ten families at Anaheim and twenty homes were built or being built. Almost all the settlers decided to live on their twenty-acre plots rather than in town.[59]

The legal organization of the colony changed with the distribution of the vineyard lots. The Society ceased to exist and sold its property to the new Anaheim Water Company, which would own and operate the irrigation system. Legally the cooperative features of the enterprise had ended when the shareholders assumed official control of their land, December 15, 1859. This was merely a legal formality, since in a few weeks the Anaheim Wine Growers Association (AWGA) was formed, which had the same power as the former society to assess the colonists for the costs of community services.[60]

By March 1860 almost all the new colonists had arrived and were busily at work. What might have disheartened them two years earlier, the utterly desolate appearance of the land, was no more. Under Hansen's superintendency it had been transformed, a now verdant miracle. Kohler's enthusiasm for this land's potential was well founded by the condition of the new vineyards. The second year of growth had sent out runners twelve to fourteen feet in length, which were now being pruned back. That summer the Alta California claimed that the vines looked five years old. And there actually was a small crop.[61]

The 1860 vintage was about 2000 gallons, and production was understandably confused. But in 1861 there was an excellent vintage of 75,000 gallons, supervised by John Frohling, who bought the entire production for K&F. It was his last. From then on Benjamin Dreyfus gradually took over the management of the AWGA. The 1862 vintage tested his organizational and management skills. In December 1861, after the last vintage was in, disaster struck Anaheim. The rains came down for a month without let. The colonists quickly learned how their fine alluvial soil had been deposited. The entire colony was flooded. At one point the main street was under four feet of water. One colonist actually drowned. Digging out was a difficult task, particularly in the teeth of the dry, wind storms that ripped the area in May. And yet Dreyfus was able to bring in a vintage of 125,000 gallons. Some of the grapes came from his own vineyard which he had planted just outside the colony land. He also began building a small adobe winery that in a short time was a large winery. By 1863 K&F was out of the picture, Dreyfus having set up an AWGA depot in San Francisco. Then he established his own firm of B. Dreyfus & Co. to sell Anaheim wine in New York.[62]

There were several sizable wineries built by colonists in the sixties. Theodore Reiser had a large brick winery and was the colony's first brandy producer. Those of Henry Kroeger, August Langenberger, Andrew Bittner and Timothy Boege are also notable. But that of Benjamin Dreyfus ruled the roost. By the late sixties he himself was producing more than 200,000 gallons, about a third of the entire Anaheim production.[63]

After 1860 Anaheim's physical isolation from Los Angeles, itself still quite isolated, led to a search by the AWGA for a port of their own. After several false starts the Association picked a place in 1864 near the mouth of the Santa Ana River about twelve miles below the colony. The settlers were assessed the cost for building a level road to the spot and for a warehouse and wharf. This was Anaheim Landing, which made it possible to ship wine and other goods up to San Pedro for transshipment or for direct shipment to San Francisco. This remained the colony's primary means for transporting its wines until January 1875, when the Southern Pacific finished its branch here from Los Angeles.[64]

By 1870 Anaheim was a community of moderately prosperous winegrowers and several well established wineries. Journalist Ben Truman wrote that a walk "through the green lanes dividing the vineyards reveals a neat, tasty, comfortable house, every one of which boasts a flower garden and grass plots."

Charles Nordhoff visited the colony about the same time and was equally impressed by the prosperous and orderly community. "They live well; it is a land of plenty." But he did warn against the winegrowing monoculture, suggesting that they should shift some of their attention to producing raisins, a particular interest of this journalist in the early seventies. Settlement just outside the colony was growing. But the mid-sixties had been rough going for several of the original colonists who fell into debt and left. By 1868 Anaheim was no longer a strictly German town. The public school was now taught in English and an Alta California correspondent wrote that "nearly all the children speak German, English, and Spanish."[65]

Anaheim survived the national depression of the seventies, partly from a tendency to diversification into orchard crops. In a later chapter we shall see the growth of the wine industry here, and then a viticultural disaster that changed the history of what was to be Orange County after 1889.

San Gabriel Valley

The chief criterion used by the Franciscan padres for selecting sites for their Alta California missions was almost always agricultural potential, thus their selection of the San Gabriel Valley for one of their most prosperous agricultural enterprises. But in 1850 there was little there to suggest a great viticultural future, save the darkened vine stumps at the now dilapidated Mission San Gabriel. But in 1853 geologist William C. Blake predicted that if ever winegrowing caught on in that valley, the state could "well become celebrated...for its fruits and wines." After the vineyards and orchards had taken over from the cattle, horses and fodder crops, Ben Truman called the valley "the Lombardy of California" where "the debris of centuries has left an alluvium of exhaustless fertility."[66]

The valley has no exact definition. Today it is said to be the land east of Los Angeles for about forty miles, between the San Gabriel Mountains to the north and the Puente Hills to the south. To the east lies the Pomona Valley, which is today sometimes considered part of the San Gabriel Valley. (In 2010 the population of the San Gabriel Valley was about two million. It includes the cities of Pasadena, San Gabriel, Arcadia, El Monte, Monrovia, West Covina, La Puente, Azusa and many others. Pomona and Claremont are in the Pomona Valley.)

Benjamin Wilson

In tracing the development of winegrowing here we must begin with the career of Benjamin C. Wilson, the first important commercial wine producer in the area. Historically he is also important as a transitional figure, a prime representative of the changes in Los Angeles agriculture between the 1840s and the 1870s. When the New York Times ran a large 1868 article on Los Angeles it selected Don Benito's Lake Vineyard as the estate to dwell on. In was "the most charming place in the world." This from "ladies and gentlemen of culture and extensive travel...."[67]

Wilson's history in southern California would have stamped him as an important pioneer had he never raised a grape. A native of Tennessee, he came to California from New Mexico with two of his future neighbors, who also became winegrowers, John Rowland and William Workman. Wilson married into the Yorba family and plunged into the cattle business with his landed dowry. By the early fifties he had an interest in four ranchos and owned a merchandise store in town. He was mayor of Los Angeles from 1851 to 1852 and later served as a state senator. To gain access to timber for one of his estates he had a trail blazed up a 5700-foot mountain. This is Mount Wilson that, with its historic observatory, looks down on the valley today, smog permitting. To top it off one of his grandsons was Gen. George S. Patton, who grew up in San Gabriel.[68]

Wilson apparently acquired an interest in viticulture before he moved out to the valley. He early bought a small piece of land in town with a vineyard and orchard. In 1855, a year after he acquired his San Gabriel property, he sold that land on Alameda Street to the Baltimore-based Sisters of Charity (more formally, Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul). The $8000 sales price was raised by Catholic citizens whose leaders included three local winegrowers, Jean-Louis Vignes, Antonio Coronel and Manuel Requeña. Two years later the sisters built a hospital on the land, but the vineyard remained a source of income for several years. In 1863 the Perkins & Stern catalogue included the Sisters with 10,000 vines. Today the land is the site of the St. Vincent Medical Center.[69]

Earlier Wilson had acquired the land that would bring him viticultural fame. He was appointed conservator of Hugo Reid's San Gabriel Valley estate after his death in 1852. It included the 128-acre Huerta de Cuati (See WTQ 20:4, 23). Wilson bought the Huerta in 1854 from Reid's widow, who had actively managed its thirty-acre vineyard since the 1840s. A few weeks later, in a letter to his brother, Wilson described the purchase as "one of the most beautiful places that the heart could desire...."[70]

Wilson had obviously contracted the winegrowing bug. His wealth, at age forty-three, guaranteed him just about any life he chose. His choice was that of a country gentleman who raised grapes, made wine, developed fruit orchards, and lived on a beautiful estate, which in Thomas Pinney's words, "became the unrivaled showplace of the region."

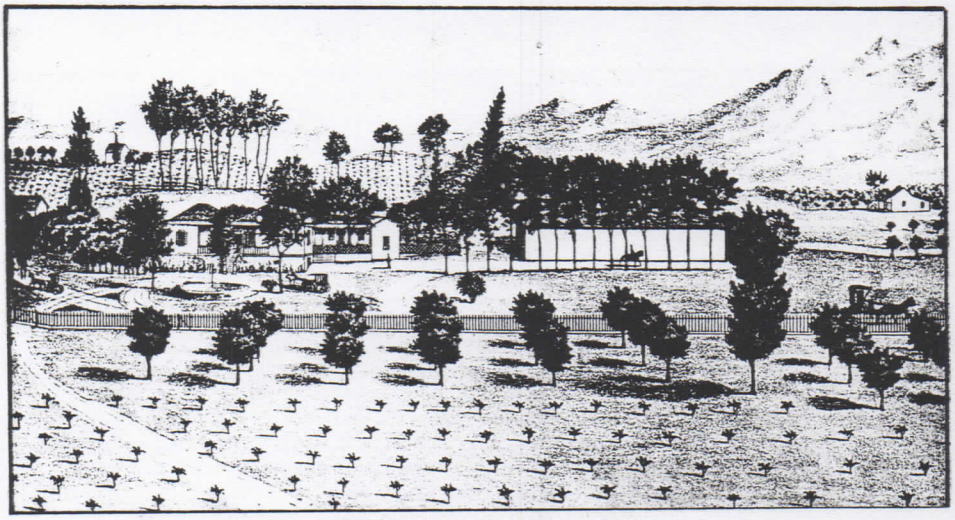
The new owner moved onto the property in 1856 and

named it Lake Vineyard, after the little pond that had once supplied water to the mission from behind a dam the padres had built. This area he expanded and beautified in short time. We can sense his growing enthusiasm for winegrowing from the fact that before he had even moved out to the valley, he had presented a bottle of his 1855 red wine to the Los Angeles Star, which thought it "only needs age."[71]

In claiming that Wilson was the first important commercial winegrower in the valley, I have not overlooked the early work of John Rowland and William Workman. But their Rancho La Puente, about fifteen miles southeast of Lake Vineyard, did not really lie in the valley. The two men had divided between them its 43,000 acres. They planted vines in the 1840s and made viticulture, and occasionally wine production, a part of the complex agricultural activities on the rancho. We have already seen John Frohling making wine at these establishments in 1859. Both are listed in the Perkins & Stern 1863 catalogue, Workman with fifty acres of vines and Rowland twenty-five. That they were not actually located in the valley can be seen today as Rowland Heights and Workman Hill look down on the town of La Puente.[72]

Wilson made about 12,000 gallons in 1856, all from his own vineyard, whose vines were at least twenty years old. His experiments with sparkling wine at this early year did not encourage him to continue on this path. But, on the advice of Kohler & Frohling, he hired an experienced German/Swiss winemaker the next year. Adolf Eberhardt did keep dabbling now and then with sparklers, which finally brought him a premium at the 1867 State Fair. But these wines were never a serious part of the Lake Vineyard operation.[73]

Wilson gradually expanded his vineyard, but it would be a mistake to consider him part of the area's "vineyard mania" of the late fifties. He had about one hundred acres of vines in 1861. In that year the Golden Eagle took his first shipment of wine to the East Coast—fifteen casks of Port and Angelica and twenty-two bottled cases of white table wine. His San Francisco agent, Hobbs, Gilmore & Co. was soon sending Wilson's wines to foreign lands, including Japan. Most important was the steady trade he was able to establish with Boston. Still, his 1861 production of 15,000 gallons was less than a third of Kohler & Frohling's.[74]



Benjamin Wilson's Lake Vineyard, San Gabriel Valley, Los Angeles Co., *c*1860

Wilson's wines had their share of awards and good press. At the 1859 State Fair his red and white table wines won silver medals. The next year the fair's examining committee praised his Port and wrote that it "resembles that of the Upper Duoro, Portugal."[75] But there were ups and downs in quality. In 1862 Hobbs & Gilmore wrote him that nearly every barrel of his Port "will sour." Later the California Farmer reported that "cooked" and "doctored" had been used in a recent New York newspaper article about his sweet wine.[76] Certainly one of the reasons that Wilson's wines improved after the mid-sixties was his use of better vinifera grapes, which he got from northern California through contacts with Adolf Eberhardt and through his San Francisco agent.[77] The improving reputation of Wilson's wines rested solidly on his Port and Angelica. But he never gave up his desire to produce better table wines, particularly white wine. That was where most of the product of these better variety vines was directed.

Wilson's passion for vineyard development never seemed to lag, but if his devotion to the task of marketing his wines had begun to soften in the mid-sixties, a newcomer on the scene from Maryland soon afforded Don Benito a needed psychological bolster.

In 1863 James de Barth Shorb came to California from Maryland, age twenty-one, as assistant manager of the Philadelphia and California Oil Company. On the occasion of a visit to Lake Vineyard in 1866 he met Benjamin Wilson, and he fell in love with his daughter, Maria, the daughter of his first wife, Ramona Yorba. The young couple married in June 1867.

Shorb seems to have been a born entrepreneur, with the polish of a southern gentleman. A few months after the marriage he worked out an arrangement with

Wilson to lease the production facilities at Lake Vineyard and to personally take over their San Francisco agency. Shorb, unlike his father-in-law, aimed at an operation much like Kohler & Frohling, now emphasizing large expansion of production. He wrote Wilson in 1868 that he intended to sell more wine than all the other Los Angeles producers combined. Back in the valley more of the partnership's vineyard land was planted and their cellars' capacity was increased. The whole combination now operated as B. D. Wilson & Co., but Shorb was actually in charge of the company.

In 1869 Shorb and Wilson advertised in the Los Angeles Star that they were subdividing 2000 acres near Lake Vineyard to be sold in forty-acre tracts. Soon Shorb had laid out another 1000 acres southeast of the estate in twenty-acre lots. This would later become the town of Alhambra. The Shorb/Wilson expansion seems to have set off a general movement in the San Gabriel Valley from extensive to intensive agriculture, particularly to vineyard and orchard plantation. This remarkable growth in the seventies I shall discuss in a later chapter.[78]

Matthew Keller

The career of Matthew Keller in Los Angeles wine in the fifties and sixties is unique. Should I be put to the wall and forced to name the large-scale producer here in these years who consistently made the best wine, I would unhesitatingly name him. But how can I be sure at this distance in time?

Keller was born in Ireland in 1811; the geographic trajectory of his early years is clear, but the years themselves are not. He attended Trinity College in Dublin, and may have earned a degree. We next find him in New York City, then Texas, then Guadalajara, Mexico, where he attended the university. His academic years account for his later scholarly reputation and his command of Spanish, French and Latin. In Mexico he met Andrew Boyle, who also became a Los Angeles winegrower and for whom Boyle Heights is named. Gold brought them together to California in 1849. Keller settled in Los Angeles in 1851 and opened a general merchandise store. Then, like so many other newcomers, he succumbed to the lure of the grape.[79]

His purchase of a seventy-five-acre piece of land neighboring the Wolfskill property suggests that he had a nose for the supposed correlation between old vines and good wines. On this land was a vineyard with a large spread of what may have been the oldest Mission vines in town. There were various claims and estimates of their age, but I am sure they were planted before 1810. Keller later stated that these vines always gave him his best wines. After the purchase he went right to work building a brick winery and distillery.[80]

We have no reliable data on his wine production for several years. This is partly due to the fact that before 1858 he was taking full advantage of the huge profits being made in the fresh grape market. In 1856 his grapes won a premium at the State Fair. His 1857 red table wine had good press after it won a tasting at the offices of the Alta California, with the labels covered, that is, a "blind" tasting.[81] By the end of the decade he was selling Port, Angelica, Claret, white table wine and brandy, gaining a reputation for consistently high quality. He now had an agency in San Francisco for his wine, his labels warning his customers to "Watch for the signature on the label."[82]

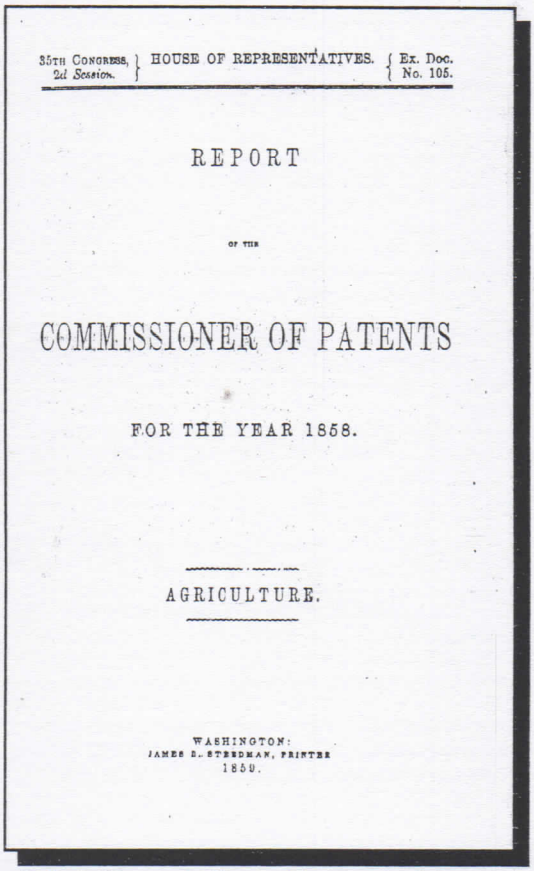
In 1861 J. Q. A. Warren visited Keller's Los Angeles winery and gave a glowing evaluation of his wines, with loads of precise production data. Two years later he reported on Keller's San Francisco cellar in the Russ Building, with the same conclusions. He particularly liked Keller's Port and reported that he "makes a very fine vermouth." This may have been a California first. Later the Alta California praised Keller's "Sherry" and "Madeira."[83]

Finely and elaborately engraved early trade card of Matthew Keller
[Courtesy Dean Walters]

In the mid-sixties Keller was a successful competitor at the annual fairs of the San Francisco Mechanics Institute. In 1864, 1865 and 1868 Keller and the Anaheim Colony racked up most of the wine awards. Keller also won premiums for his wines at three state fairs in the late sixties. He and Kohler were the only producers from the southland to send wines to the 1867 Paris Exposition. But it was an unhappy experience for Golden State producers, for

their wines were poorly stored and did not do well.[84]

In 1858 Keller applied his literary abilities to the story of viticulture and wine production in the Los Angeles area with an article in the annual agricultural report of the U. S. Patent Office. He titled the piece, "The Grapes and Wines of Los Angeles," and covered the recent history of the subject very well. He supplied a large amount of statistical and technical information on the local wine scene.[85] In a later chapter I shall cover Keller's fight to bring better vinifera wine varieties to southern California. But it is clear from this report that this campaign had not yet begun.



35TH CONGRESS, 2d Session. } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. { Ex. Doc. No. 105.

REPORT

OF THE

COMMISSIONER OF PATENTS

FOR THE YEAR 1858.

AGRICULTURE.

WASHINGTON:
JAMES B. STEDMAN, PRINTER
1859.

Keller's "Grapes & Wines of Los Angeles" – one of the first reports written for a national audience – appeared in this 1858 U.S. Agriculture Report.

Keller's literary side remained apparent through these years. He was particularly active in the industry's opposition to Congress's Civil War brandy tax. In 1864 he penned a memorial to Congress on the subject showing the tax's hurt to the state's wine industry. He also corresponded with congressional leader Thaddeus Stevens on the subject, and on the relation between health and wine drinking. In 1866 the tax was lowered. He also corresponded with Louis Pasteur and Pierre Curie on scientific matters.[86]

The main sources for his wine were his original place, the Los Angeles Vineyard, and a much larger one west of town, probably near today's Beverly Hills, the Rising Sun Vineyard. A historic acquisition was the gigantic Rancho Topanga Malibu, which ran about twenty miles up the coast from Topanga Canyon, above Santa Monica. The rancho had been granted to José Tapía in 1804, covering more than 13,000 acres. He sold it in 1848 to Leon Prudhomme, who had married a Tapía daughter. But the Frenchman could not document the sale before the U.S. Land Commission. In 1857 he sold for $1400 his shaky claim to Matthew Keller who, with a very capable lawyer, was able to have the title confirmed in 1864.

The Keller family did not develop the rancho, leasing large parts of it to others to raise cattle. But in 1865 the Kellers built a solid stone house in the hills above the beach. Its ruins survive today a short distance from the giant "Keller Oak." Keller's son, Henry, lived there at what the family called Malaga Ranch until 1891 when he sold the entire rancho to Frederick Rindge. The house and tree are close to the Rising Sun Trail. Is there a connection between the trail and the Keller's large vineyard with that name? Despite vinous implications in the names of the trail and the ranch I can find no evidence of an early vineyard in the Malibu mountains.[87]

By the end of the sixties, with good times returned for southern California wine producers, Wilson/Shorb led production there with about 250,000 gallons. Then came the Anaheim Colony at 150,000, followed by Keller, Kohler & Frohling and Leonard J. Rose at about 100,000 gallons. The latter was a relative newcomer in the area whose story I shall take up later.[88]

By this time Keller had acquired better vinifera varieties and would soon be raising his voice in opposition to the place of the ubiquitous Mission variety in southern California vineyards. That too, and Keller's interesting later years, is a story for later.

Into the Seventies

Between 1855 and 1870 the Los Angeles population grew from about 7500 to 15,000, at about the same rate as the state as a whole. However, winegrape acreage grew from 1050 to 5700 acres, a pace four times greater than that of the population. Wine production grew from about 200,000 to almost 1,000,000 gallons. And yet virtually all observers at the time, and historians since then, have argued that the country was really underdeveloped. In the late sixties the State Surveyor-General pleaded, "We want workers...farmers, mechanics, artisans and wine-growers." He pointed a finger of scorn at California's underdeveloped lands. Those of southern California, in particular, were a "great drawback to the settling of our fair State."

After 1865 Los Angeles, the town and the county, began to make rapid social and economic progress. By 1870 the "city" had begun to look more like an American town than a Mexican village. And out in the countryside, particularly in the San Gabriel Valley and around Anaheim, subdivision into cultivated parcels, owned by individual farm families, was beginning to be the order of the day. We see no better example of this change than in the subdivisions promoted by Wilson and Shorb in the San Gabriel Valley. Historian Robert Glass Cleland titled his chapters on these years just before the seventies, "The Genesis of a New Order." In the next decade the county's population would more than double.[89]

The effects of these changes on the southern California wine industry during the quarter century after 1870 will be the topic of a later chapter.

[*continued next issue*]

NOTES

Please refer to the Notes in previous installments for complete citations to some of the sources.

1. Horace Bell, *Reminiscences of a Ranger*, Los Angeles, 1933, 104; Glenn S. Dumke, *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California*, San Marino, 1991, 104; Robert Glass Cleland, *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills*, San Marino, 1951, 102-116.
2. Los Angeles Star, 10/4/1851; 7/26, 8/9, 9/15, and 9/23/1853; 8/24/1854; 8/25/1855; Southern Vineyard (L.A.), 8/8/1858; Alta California, 8/14/1853; Iris Wilson, *William Wolfskill*, Glendale, California, 1965, 161-162.
3. Leonard and Dale Pitt, *Los Angeles A to Z*, Berkeley, 1997, 37-38, 416-417; Titus Fey Cronise, *The Natural Wealth of California*, San Francisco, 1868, 80-81.
4. Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios*, Berkeley, 1968, 131.
5. A French consulate was established in Los Angeles in 1859. The event was celebrated by a great banquet at El Aliso. The Sainsevains served their Sparkling California to the group, which included 75 leaders of the French community. El Clamor Publico (L.A.), November 5, 1859.
6. San Jose Telegraph, October 21, 1856.
7. Wilson, *Wolfskill*, 158, 173-175.
8. *Transactions of the California State Agricultural Society for 1858*, Sacramento, 1859, 287. A few weeks later the San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin ran an even more detailed article, also emphasizing the tremendous diversity of Wolfskill's horticultural work.
9. Los Angeles Star, 10/24 and 11/1/1859; Wilson, *Wolfskill*, 173-175; Alta, 12/12/1858; 10/13/1862; California Farmer, 10/ 22/1858, 12/20/1858; 10/13/1862.
10. Los Angeles Southern News, 2/12/1862.
11. *Illustrated History of Los Angeles County, California*, Chicago, 1889, 124-125; Paul W. Gates, *California's Ranchos and Farms, 1846-1862*, Madison, Wis., 1967, 97-98; Wilson, *Wolfskill*, 196-211; California Farmer, 10/13/1862.
12. The will and inventory were published in the Los Angeles Semi-Weekly News, 10/9/1866.
13. Bancroft, *History*, V, 779.
14. Racouillat vs. Sainsevain, in California Supreme Court, *Report of Cases, January Term*, 1867, San Francisco, 1906, 376-397.
15. Bancroft, *History*, V, 708-709; Charles L. Sullivan, *Like Modern Edens*, Cupertino, 1982, 29-31; Eugene T. Sawyer, *History of Santa Clara County, California*, Los Angeles, 1922, 775-776; Alta, 8/8/1860.
16. California Farmer, 10/5/1855; 11/12/1856; Thomas Pinney, *A History of Wine in America*, Berkeley, 1989, 253-254.
17. Alta, 7/11, 9/3, 10/16, 11/8, and 12/12/1857; 10/6 and 11/19/1858; California Farmer, 12/21/1856; San Jose Tribune, 12/18/1857.
18. Alta, 2/16/1858.
19. Alta, 9/1/1858 and 12/10/1858.
20. Alta, 12/9/1862; Atlantic Monthly, May 1864, 603.
21. Alta, 4/26/1858; 9/26/1862; 12/23/1863.
22. Alta, 10/17/1860; California Farmer, 11/16/1860; Los Angeles Star, 4/27/1861.
23. San Jose Mercury, 10/8/1868.
24. Alta, 10/3/1862; 3/25 and 10/4/1869; Ernest Peninou and Gail Unzelman, *A History of the Los Angeles Viticultural District*, Santa Rosa, 2004,10, 52-53. California Farmer, 12/15/1870 contains an article on Sainsevain wine, north and south. It implied that both operations were one company, which was not the case. Charles Nordhoff, *Nordhoff's West Coast*, London,1987. This book contains both of the author's famous books on the subject, *California for Health...*, and *Northern California...*, first published in 1874 and 1875. Nordhoff, *California for Health...*, 143. Nordhoff thought Sainsevain's Angelica was "a poor and very spirituous wine...."
25. Kohler manuscript, Bancroft Library, typed and corrected 5/27/1886. Filed with Kohler's ms. is "Wine Production in California," a bound volume put together by H. H. Bancroft from materials supplied by Kohler in 1878. Bancroft also appended a handwritten and typed collection of personal comments. In one he wrote that winemaking production in California, "as a commercial enterprise," dated from Kohler & Frohling's foundation in 1854. He also wrote that wine manufacture in California was "a monument to the wisdom, the enterprise, and the industry of Charles Kohler." Also see Pinney, *History*, 258; San Francisco Merchant, 4/29/1887; 2/17/1888.
26. Robert Commandy, "San Francisco," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., Vol. 22, 240-242.

27. Within a few years this Kohler's piano company had the same eminence in the Pacific Coast music world that Charles Kohler's company had in the world of wine. I have never been able to nail down a connection between the two men.
28. A story often repeated has the trio walking daily out to the rocks to take their lunch; it is apocryphal. It is a ten-mile round-trip from downtown San Francisco.
29. I am indebted to Thomas Pinney for permission to use material from his manuscript essay, "Charles Kohler: Putting California Wines on the Map"; Vincent P. Carosso, *The California Wine Industry, 1830–1895*, Berkeley, 1951, 29-32; Pinney, *History*, 254-256; *Agricultural Society*, 1858, 287.
30. Peninou, *Los Angeles District*, 56.
31. San Francisco Call, 6/16/1896; Pacific Wine & Spirit Review, 1/31/1904; Atlantic Monthly, op. cit.
32. Alta, 10/12/1856; 10/12/1856; 10/5/1857.
33. Warren had previously owned a nursery in Boston where he sold grape vines.
34. California Farmer, 11/7/1856.
35. Alta, 10/13/1862.
36. This flavor comes from the terpene linalool found in Muscats and Riesling.
37. California Wine and Wool Register, February 1863, 28; Alta, 11/8/1857; 2/2/1858; 4/12/1858; Los Angeles Star, 10/24/1859; Peninou, *Los Angeles*, 111; Teiser, 58.
38. He had played in the famed Dodsworth Brass Band in New York.
39. Pinney manuscript, 4-5; Carosso, 30-31.
40. We only have 1858 for an exact figure: 100,796 gallons. *Agricultural Society*, 1858, 342-343.
41. Pinney manuscript, 13.
42. Henry D. Barrows, the Los Angeles correspondent for the San Francisco Evening Bulletin, posted a detailed description of Frohling's handling of the Wolfskill vintage. 10/24/1859. More accessible is the excellent summary of the event in Wilson, *Wolfskill*, 169-174.
43. Los Angeles Star, 10/24/1859.
44. Alta, 10/13/1862; Gates, 67.
45. Vincent Carosso, "Anaheim, California: A Nineteenth Century Experiment in Commercial Viticulture," Bulletin of the Business Historical Society, June, 1949; Pinney manuscript, 19-21.
46. L. J. Rose, Jr., *L. J. Rose of Sunnyslope*, San Marino, 1959, 104-105; California Farmer, 11/16/1860; 1/25/1861; Alta, 10/13/1862; Pinney, *History*, 257.
47. San Francisco Call, 6/21/1896; Pacific Wine & Spirit Review, 1/31/1904.
48. William H. Brewer, *Up and Down California, 1860–1864*, Berkeley, 1966, 244; Los Angeles Star, 1/25/1862.
49. Cleland, *Cattle*, 130-137.
50. Alta, 12/21/1863.
51. Alta, 7/16/1867; 9/26/1869; Pinney manuscript, 25.
52. Ernest Peninou and Gail Unzelman, *The California Wine Association*...(CWA), Santa Rosa, 2000, 52-56, 146-147; Pinney manuscript, 29-31; Wine Spectator, 6/1/1981; Carosso, 37.
53. Carosso, "Anaheim," 78-86; Dorothea Jean Paule, "The German Settlement at Anaheim," M.A. thesis, University of Southern California, 1952, Chapter 1; Pinney manuscript, 19-20; Los Angeles Star, 6/2/1855.
54. Los Angeles Star, 9/19/1857; Alta, 12/21/1857; Paule, Chapter 2.
55. *Agricultural Society*, 1861, 74-75; Carosso, "Anaheim," 7-8; Paule, Chapter 3.
56. Alta, 1/22/1858; Paule, Chapter 3. In German "Heim" means "home." "Gau" means "district."
57. Lucille F. Dickson, "The Founding and Early History of Anaheim California," *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California* (1919), Vol. 11, 27-29.
58. Pinney, *History*, 290-291; Bancroft, *History*, VI, 522.
59. Dickson, "Anaheim," 30; Paule, Chapter 3; Pinney, *History*, 288-289; Alta, 8/14/1859.
60. California Farmer, 12/23/1859.
61. Alta, 12/14/1859; 1/4 and 8/16/1860; Pinney, *History*, 290.
62. Alta, 2/17 and 5/28/1862; Pinney, *History*, 291; Paule, Chapter 4.
63. Peninou, *Los Angeles District*, 23; Peninou, *CWA*, 48-50.
64. Peninou, *CWA*, 50; Paule, Chapter 4; Dickson, 29-31; Carosso, "Anaheim," 11.
65. Benjamin C. Truman, *Semi-Tropical California*, San Francisco, 1874, 145-149; Nordhoff, *California for Health*, 174-181; Alta, 9/28/1865; 9/9 and 10/8/1868; 3/26/1869; 11/15,1869.
66. Truman, 116-118
67. New York Times, 4/23/1868.
68. Gates, 102-103, 218-219; Pinney, *History*, 294-295.
69 Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios*, Berkeley, 1968, 224; Gates, 92; Teiser, 66.
70. María Casas, "Victoria Reid and the Politics of Identity," in *Latina Legacies*, New York, 2005; *Married to the Daughters of the Earth*, Reno, 2007, 63-73. Professor Casas condemns Wilson as a "deceitful guardian." She claims that his acquisition of the Huerta was tainted by the fact that the deed he later produced was signed with an "X" by Mrs. Reid, even though she had a perfect command of written English. Reid's biographer, writing thirty years earlier, found no taint in the purchase, nor did she look for one. Susanna B. Dakin, *A Scotch Paisano in Old Los Angeles*, Berkeley, 1978, 189-199. The deed to the Huerta can be found in the B. D. Wilson Papers, Box 3, at the Huntington Library. All my references to this valuable collection are based on Thomas Pinney's detailed notes, which he has generously supplied me.
71. Los Angeles Star, 12/22/1855.
72. Ernest Peninou and Sidney Greenleaf, *A Directory of*

California Wine Growers and Wine Makers in 1860, Berkeley, 1967, 23, 28-29; *Bancroft, History*, V, 705, 781; *Illustrated Los Angeles History*, 657-658.

73. California, *Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and Assembly...*, Vol. I, 1868, 35-66. Wilson to his wife Margaret, 10/24/1856; Kohler and Frohling to Wilson. 10/2/1857, Wilson Papers, Box 6.
74. Los Angeles Star, 4/27/1861; Semi-Weekly Southern News, 2/12/1862; Peninou, *Los Angeles*, 30-31.
75. *Agricultural Society*, 1859, 213-214; 1860, 74.
76. California Farmer, 10/25/1866.
77. Eberhardt to Wilson, 2/23/1864; J. Shorb to Wilson 1/29/1869, Wilson Papers Box 13. Pinney, *History*, 296-297, 486-487.
78. Shorb to Wilson, 1/21/1868, 3/2/1868, 3/14/1868, 2/26/1869, Wilson Papers, Box 13, L. J. Rose, Jr., 48-49; Peninou, *Los Angeles*, 30-31; *Illustrated Los Angeles History*, 1889, 813.
79. Pitt, *Los Angeles A-Z*, 238; Peninou, *Los Angeles*, 14-16.
80. *Agricultural Society*, 1858, 288; Alta, 10/22/1860; 10/2/1865.
81. Alta, 10/12/1856; 10/6/1858.
82. California Farmer, 12/19/1862; Alta, 8/15 and 8/25/1862.
83. American Stock Journal, March 1861, 71-73, copied by Gates, 93-95; California Wine, Wool, and Stock Journal (SF), February 1863, 29; Alta, 12/10/1864. Warren was the son of J.L.L.Warren, publisher, California Farmer.
84. Alta, 9/23/1864; 9/1/1865; 9/22/1868; California, *Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and Assembly*, 1868, Vol. I, 66-65, 249, 330-331, 462-463; Alta, 11/29/1867.
85. *Report of the Commissioner of Patents, 1858* (1859), Executive Document 105, 344-348. His article and that in the same report by Andrew W. M'Kee, "The Grape and Wine-Culture of California," 338-344, were the first reports on California wine published for a national audience. [EDITOR NOTE: In our WT v.5 # 1 (Jan 1995), Charles provided us with a valuable index of wine articles in the annual U.S.D.A. reports from 1847–1937. If needing a copy, contact the Editor at waywardtendrils@att.net.]
86. Bancroft scraps, Vol.19:2, 756; Teiser, 65; Alta 6/25/1863; 4/23/1864; 3/29 and 10/28/1867; California Farmer, 10/18/1866.
87. Luther Ingersoll, *Century History of Santa Monica Bay Cities*, Los Angeles, 1908, 128; *Illustrated History*, Los Angeles, 130-131. Malibu historian David Dealey interviewed John Rindge, Frederick's grandson. He believes that Frederick gave Henry Keller a license to rebuild the old ranch house in 1903. Dealey to author, 4/15/2011.
88. Los Angeles Star, 11/14/1868.
89. Cleland, *Cattle*, 160-183.

— *NOTICES* —

470-year-old GOOD ADVICE

WATER IS NOT HOLsome, sole by it selfe for an Englishman. Good wyne moderately dronken doth acuate and doth quycken a mans wyttes, it doth comfort his hert; it doth scowre the lyver; it doth ingender good blode; it doth comforte and nouryshe the brayne. Wherefore I do leve all water and do take my selfe to good Ale and otherwyle for ale I do take good Gascon wyne but I wyl not drynke stronge wynes. All swet wynes and grose wynes doth make a man fatte. — Andrew Boorde, *Dyetary of Helth*, 1542.

"Right UNDERSTANDING"

AND NOW MY DEAR CHILDREN, countrymen and fellow-citizens, I have faithfully led you by the hand throughout this new undertaking. Take my blessing and cordial advice along with it: be not drunken with wine wherein there is excess, but be ye rather filled with the spirit of wisdom; for too much wine, like treacherous sin, ruins and destroys the true happiness of the soul. And may the God of wisdom crown all your honest labours with success, and give you a right understanding in all things. — Edward Antill, *Essay on the Cultivation of the Vine, and Making ... of Wine ... in North-America*, 1769.

A Healthy PRESCRIPTION...

I HAVE ENJOYED GREAT HEALTH at a great age because everyday since I can remember I have consumed a bottle of wine, except when I have not felt well. Then I have consumed two bottles. — Bishop of Seville (560–636).

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CATALOGUE

OF

CALIFORNIA WINES

be promoted if a demand was made in our hotels and drinking saloons for pure California Wines.

Messrs. PERKINS, STERN & Co., 180 Broadway, New York, and 108 Tremont Street, Boston, are the Eastern agents of Messrs. KOHLER & FROHLING. At these places their wines can be procured by the case, in bottles or in any quantity by the gallon or cask.

From the Boston Advertiser, May 28, 1862.

CALIFORNIA WINES. — There is a passage in "John Brent," which, we dare say, first introduced California to many readers as a wine-producing country. The passage is as follows: —

"'Come in, stranger,' said Gerrian, 'before we start, and take a drink of this here Mission Dolorous wine.'

"'How does that go down?' said he, pouring out golden juices into a cracked tumbler.

"'It was the very essence of California sunshine, — sherry, with a richness that no sherry ever had, — a somewhat fiery beverage, but without any harshness or crudity. Age would better it, as age betters the work of a young genius; but still there is something in the youth we would not willingly resign.'

"'Very fine,' said I; 'it is romantic old Spain, with ardent young America interfused.'"

"Mission Dolores," thus rapturously described by Winthrop, is but one of many vintages known to California. Wine has been made in that State for a century past, by the old Spanish residents, but in small quantities and all for domestic use. The real wealth of the State in this respect might have slumbered with its gold deposits, but for an infusion of new life and enterprise by the emigration from the United States. The State, in fact, seems to resemble in many characteristics the wine-growing countries of Europe, while its varied soil and climate combine more advantages than any one district in the other hemisphere. The increase of the grape is enormous, and the seasons and temperature are such as to fully develop its richest properties, while the variety of soil and exposure seem to promise as choice varieties of wine as even the vineyards of Europe produce. All that is needed for this purpose, as we are informed by the State Commissioners on the culture of the grape, is a careful selection of vines, and care and science in the manufacture.

These Commissioners of whom we speak were appointed in the early part of 1861, and their report contains much valuable information on the capacity of California in this respect. The want of science in the manufacture of wine, they sought to remedy, by compiling information obtained from various sources, but in part from European wine-growers, in a trip to Europe by one of the Commissioners. The lack of proper vines, also, the same Commissioner, Mr. Haraszthy, has undertaken to remedy by the purchase of 100,000 vines, embracing 1,400 varieties, purchased on behalf of the State. We may suppose, therefore, that hereafter the culture of the vine in California will be carried on with all the success that nature and art together can secure.

At present, however, it is carried on to an extent that surprises most inquirers. The vintage of California last autumn amounted to three million gallons. There are now supposed to be eight million vines growing, which will soon give a product of ten million gallons. The cultivation is easy, and there is no failure of the crop under that genial sky. The reputation of the vintage has been injured by adulterations; but that California is to be the great wine-growing State of this Union, there can be no question.

The quality of the California wines has been chiefly tested in this part of the world and in Europe through the importations of Messrs. PERKINS, STERN & Co., of New York and this city. These gentlemen import the wines manufactured by KOHLER & FROHLING, in Los

The Wines now offered for sale by us, comprise the following varieties: —

"**WHITE, OR HOCK WINE,**" of a light straw color, very delicate, fine flavored, and superior as a dinner wine to Hock or Rhine.

"**ANGELICA,**" a rich and naturally sweet wine much admired by ladies, and valuable in the sick chamber as it makes fine wheys and jellies. It is a fine dessert wine, and well adapted for Communion purposes.

"**MUSCATEL,**" a light colored, highly aromatic wine, and pronounced by good judges to resemble the celebrated "Tokay."

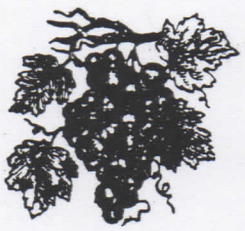
"**PORT,**" deep red color, fine flavor, and in many respects similar to the old wines of Lisbon.

"**GRAPE BRANDY,**" in limited quantities.

It is now about two years since we first offered these wines to the people of the Atlantic States. Their popularity is now fairly established, and the success of California wines is no longer an experiment.

Great care is necessary in the handling of these delicate wines, after their arrival in New York. Having a partner who was for seven years in the vineyards and cellars of California, and who thoroughly understands the character and nature of the wines, will always enable us to present them to the people, as pure and delicate as when they left the vineyard.

PERKINS, STERN & CO.



Perkins, Stern & Co. *Catalogue of California Wines*, 1863
"Although it was meant specifically to promote Kohler & Frohling wines,
it is also an important historical document." See Pinney, p.14 and Sullivan, p.18.