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THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF WINE

by *Kathleen Burk*

[*In our October issue of last year Kathleen Burk, the Professor of Modern and Contemporary History at University College London, presented the little-known 17th & 18th century "Grub Street Hack," Ned Ward. Professor Burk, author of a lengthy list of works in her field, has also published the entertaining* Is This Bottle Corked? The Secret Life of Wine *(2008). We welcome Kathy's richly referenced "The History & Culture of Wine," adapted from her public valedictory lecture at University College London, May 2011.* — Ed.]

WINE FOR ME IS AN AVOCATION rather than a vocation. My primary work is as an historian of Anglo-American relations, but it will not be the first time that an increasing interest in a hobby has developed into an interest in its origins, its history, its importance – and in this instance, in the way in which it is intertwined with the culture of many parts of the world. Who invented it? Why are there so many myths about it? Does it play much of a part in art? And, perhaps closer to more mundane concerns, why do we need guides?

Who first invented wine? It is probably more to the point to ask, who first discovered wine? It is not difficult to make it. On the outside skin of the grape is the yeast and on the inside is the sweet juice: mix them together, leave it for a few days for the yeast to ferment the sugar and turn it into alcohol, and the result is wine. All you really need are grapes. One claimant for first place is Noah. According to Genesis chapter 9, verses 20-21: 'And Noah began *to be* a husbandman, and he planted a vineyard: And he drank of the wine, and was drunken'. So for Christians and Jews, at least historically, it was Noah.[1] For the ancient Greeks, the discovery of wine by men was the gift of Dionysos, the god of wine, Hesiod's 'Inspirer of frenzied women',[2] the avatar who burst out of Thrace–or perhaps Phrygia (the 'land of vines')–and brought the knowledge of wine to Attica. Certainly, the vine was widely cultivated in Greece and Grecian areas by the early Bronze Age–both Homer and Hesiod make it clear that wine was an essential part of life–and clay tablets dating from the late Bronze Age, about 1200 BC, connect Dionysos with wine.[3]

Another candidate is the legendary, or mythical, Persian King Jamshíd, a great lover of grapes. One day it was discovered that a jar of them had spoiled, and it was taken to a warehouse and labelled 'poison'. Not long after, a very depressed lady of his harem went to find the jar. According to one source, he had banished her from his kingdom; according to another, she was plagued with horrendous migraines. In any case, having lost the will to live, she found the jar and drank deeply, after which she fell into a deep and healing sleep. She went back to the King and revealed what she had found: he and his court drank it with pleasure, and she was welcomed back into the harem. This Persian legend has some plausibility. By the use of microchemical techniques on archaeological residues in some of the earliest wine jars known, which were found at Hajji Firuz Tepe in the northern Zagros Mountains of northwestern Iran, it has become clear that wine was being produced in the highlands of Persia in the Neolithic Period from about 5400 BC.[4]

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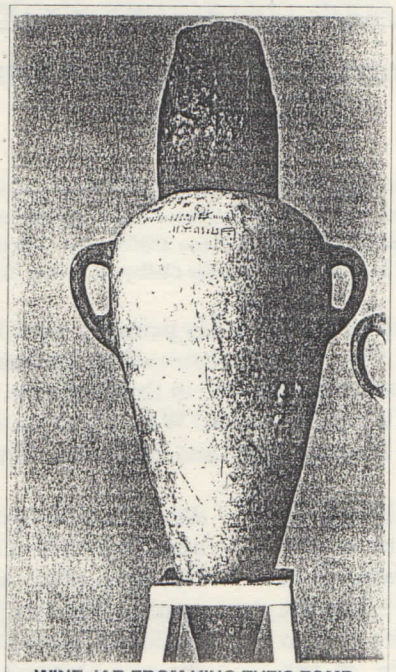
The primary competitor, and probably the winner, is the Transcaucasus. This could be in what is now Georgia, but was once ancient Armenia, which once included much of eastern Turkey, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. The vine was indigenous to the Armenian valleys, having established itself there over a million years ago, with petrified grape pips found at several Neolithic sites; there have also been found vessels dating back to 6000 BC [5], and special pruning knives dating back to between 3000 and 2000 BC. Georgia was always my favourite as the home of an old and pervasive wine culture, because when Christianity arrived in Georgia in the fourth century, the first cross was made of vines. But today's Armenia has recently pulled ahead, in particular if you are of a technological bent. Recently discovered, in the Areni-1 cave complex near Armenia's southern border with Iran–and outside a tiny village still known for its wine-making activities–is the world's oldest known winery. The site includes grape seeds, withered grape vines, remains of pressed grapes, a rudimentary wine press, a clay vat apparently used for fermentation, wine-soaked pieces of pots and a cup and drinking bowl.[6] From the grapes to the glass: what more evidence does one need?



WINE JAR FROM KING TUT'S TOMB
[L. Lesko, *King Tut's Wine Cellar*, 1977]

What is clear is that the drinking of wine was widespread over the ancient world. The tomb in Abydos, Upper Egypt of King Scorpion I, dated to about 3150 BC, showed a chamber filled with imported ceramic wine jars.[7] In the tomb of King Tutankhamun were found thirty-six wine jars, with labels giving the name and vintage of the wine, its source, and sometimes the name of the grower or winemaker. So, for example, one of the jars had written on it 'Wine of the House-of-Tutankhamun Ruler-of-the-Southern-On, l.p.h. in the Western River. By the chief Vintner Khaa.' There were faint traces of residue in the jars, and by analysing the component that gives the red colour to young red wines, Spanish scientists determined that the favourite wine of the young king was red.[8]

In Egypt, wine was drunk primarily by the kings and the upper classes. In Greece, however, it was drunk by everybody. It played an important role in *The Odyssey* of Homer, in Odysseus' fight with Polyphemus. Odysseus relates how he had saved from harm Maron, a priest of Apollo and his wife and child, who in thanks gave Odysseus many gifts, amongst them twelve jars of a very precious wine, red and honey-sweet, which was so strong that it was drunk by diluting it twenty to one with water. When the ships reached the land of the Cyclops and the men landed, Odysseus took with him a wineskin of the Maronean wine. When, then, they were caught by one-eyed Polyphemus, and the monster had eaten a number of Odysseus' shipmates, the hero offered to him an ivy bowl of the undiluted black wine. He drank it, and Odysseus offered him a further two bowls. The Cyclops then fell back to sleep, after some of the wine gurgled up from him, carrying gobs of human meat with it. Odysseus and his shipmates then, with a hardened stake, put out his one eye.

The Greeks loved wine. Aristophanes has the orator Demosthenes declaim in *Knights* that 'tis when men drink they thrive, Grow wealthy, speed their business, win their suits, Make themselves happy, benefit their friends.' Plato, however, was quite clear in Book II of *Laws* just who should drink and when: 'Boys under 18 shall not taste wine at all, for one should not conduct fire to fire. Wine in moderation may be tasted until one is 30 years old, but the young man should abstain entirely from drunkenness and excessive drinking. But when a man is entering his fortieth year ... he may summon the other gods and particularly call upon Dionysus to join the old men's holy rite, and their mirth as well, which the god has given to men to lighten their burden–wine, that is, the cure for the crabbedness of old age, whereby we may renew our youth and enjoy forgetfulness of despair.'[9] In other words, once you are forty and thus an old man, you can drink as much as you wish and get as drunk as you want.

There was one Greek social convention which has come down to our time, but whose organisation has, regrettably, changed. This was the symposium, a word which meant nothing more or less than 'drinking together', and which we would today see as a dinner party of a special sort. Its modern definition as a learned conference probably derives from the habit of aristocratic Greeks of indulging in after-dinner conversation, although one faint hangover during the modern period might be the after-dinner conversation over a bottle or two of port. The so-called flute girls, who in Socrates' time were part of the ambience, seldom now make an appearance, although the geisha is perhaps a possible comparison. Plato, in his dia-

logue *The Symposium*, emphasises the symposium as a search for truth, and the discussion that night focused on the nature of love. But his dialogue also provides some clues as to the uses made of wine. After the meal was cleared away, the guests had their hands washed, and were sometimes garlanded with flowers and anointed with perfumed oils, although not on this occasion. The symposium began with a taste of unmixed wine, accompanied by hymns to the god Dionysos. Subsequently, wine was mixed with water in a large bowl called a kratêr, normally in the proportion of five parts wine to two parts water which was often sea-water. For the Greeks, only barbarians, such as those from Thrace, or Polyphemus, drank unmixed wine. The resulting drink was roughly the strength of modern beer; you could get drunk, but you had to drink rather a lot of it. One person, the symposiarch, was elected to set, in consultation with others, the precise strength of the mixture, the number of bowls to be mixed, usually three, and the size of cups to be used. The andrôn, a square room in the men's part of the house, had seven to eleven couches. Guests reclined on them, typically two to a couch, in the manner learned from the Assyrians in about 600 BC. Wine was poured, and the party began. I suspect that Plato's injunction as to how much one ought to drink was not always followed. One example was Alcibiades, described as the handsomest man in Athens, and madly desired by Socrates. He arrived drunk at the symposium, and took over the proceedings.[10]

The Greeks did differentiate between the different types and qualities of wines, preferring wine which was a bit sweet. Wines were often referred to by their islands or regions of origin–Lesbian wine from the Island of Lesbos, or Chian wine from the island of Chios, for example–but true connoisseurship apparently had to await the Romans. Here, my hero is Pliny the Elder, who is probably remembered primarily for being killed in 79 AD by the eruption of Vesuvius. But in his own day, for centuries thereafter, and amongst those today who are interested in the ingathering of knowledge, Pliny was famous above all for his *Naturalis Historia*, in whose thirty-seven books he surveys all of nature. Book XIV is devoted to the vine and wine. He describes the various ways of cultivating the vine, and follows this with pages on the many varieties of grapes and their uses. He talks about famous wines of former times, the oldest of which was the wine of Maronea, grown in the seaboard parts of Thrace, and used by Odysseus against Polyphemus. He also celebrates a more recent vintage, that of Opimius, called such because it was the year of the consulship of Lucius Opimius; this was in 121 BC, a year as memorable for the assassination of Gaius Gracchus 'for stirring up the common people with seditions', or proposals for reform. That year the weather was so fine and bright–they called it 'the boiling of the grape'–that wines from that vintage, according to Pliny, still survived nearly two hundred years later. He did, however, add that they had 'now been reduced to the consistency of honey with a rough flavour, for such in fact is the nature of wines in their old age'. He discusses the unbelievable sums such wines attracted, stupidly, he clearly felt, and here one might think of the few bottles of wine from the cellar of Thomas Jefferson which still exist, one of which, a bottle of Château Lafite 1787, fetched £105,000 at auction in 1985.[11]

Many are familiar with the Bordeaux classification of 1855, when the red wines of Bordeaux were classified as Premier, Deuxième, Troisième, Quatrième and Cinquième crus. Pliny pre-dated this classification technique by nearly two thousand years, when he listed Italian wines in order of merit, for, he says, 'who can doubt ... that some kinds of wine are more agreeable than others, or who does not know that one of two wines from the same vat can be superior to the other, surpassing its relation either owing to its cask or from some accidental circumstance?'[12] He then classifies Italian wines into first-, second-, third-, and fourth-class wines, other wines, and foreign wines. He does not, however, follow fashion blindly. Many commentators have exalted Falernian wine, and, indeed, he remarks that 'no other wine has a higher rank at the present day'.[13] Pliny, however, puts it into the second class: the reason, he says, is that 'the reputation of this district also is passing out of vogue through the fault of paying more attention to quantity than to quality.'[14] Modern parallels leap to mind.

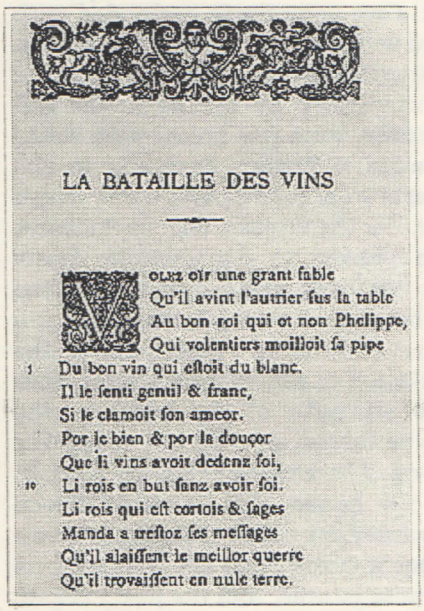
But then, thanks to the barbarian invasions and the fall of Rome, we lost wine connoisseurship almost entirely, and in this case, if no other, the next thousand years or so were truly the Dark Ages. In part, this was the result of the neglect or destruction of farms and vineyards by the invaders (although the fact that many preferred barley- or grain-based alcoholic drinks to those made from grapes had an effect once they had settled down). Numerous accounts in Gregory of Tours' *History of the Franks* tell of this destruction and pillage: 'Those who had attacked Nîmes ravaged the entire neighbourhood, burning the houses and the crops, cutting down the olive-groves and destroying the vineyards'.[15] Yet the greatest damage done by these invaders was arguably not the destruction of the vineyards and wineries, but the subsequent collapse of the economic and social structure of the western Empire. The division of Italy, Gaul and Iberia into a number of small warring kingdoms effectively undermined the long-distance wine trade whilst the decline of the population of

cities, such as Rome itself, dramatically curtailed the demand for such wines. Furthermore, there were reasons in the transport of the wine itself which mostly killed any chance of drinking decent wine. The Romans had used airtight amphorae for both storage and shipping, closed with cork stoppers, but this knowledge of the use of cork was lost during the mediaeval period. Instead, amphorae gradually gave way to wineskins and barrels and the cork was replaced by beeswax and oil-soaked rags–only in the seventeenth century did cork make a re-appearance.

But we must celebrate the attempt during the reign of Charlemagne as King of the Franks and then Emperor of the West (768-814)–or, perhaps, that of his son, Louis the Pious (there is some uncertainty)–to reform the making and the shipping of wine.[16] Reforms were mandated in many areas of the economy. For wine, it was required [Clause 8]: 'That our stewards shall take charge of our vineyards in their districts, and see that they are properly worked; and let them put the wine into good vessels, and take particular care that no loss is incurred in shipping it.' [Clause 48]: 'That the wine-presses on our estates shall be kept in good order. And the stewards are to see to it that no one dares to crush the grapes with his feet, but that everything is clean and decent'; and [Clause 68]: 'It is our wish that the various stewards should always have by them good barrels bound with iron, which they can send to the army or to the palace, and that they should not make bottles of leather.'[17]

As a result, although the growing of vines and the making of wine merely survived in Southern Europe as part of a subsistence economy, it prospered north of the Seine and the Mosel, around Aachen, Rheims and Cologne.[18] The concurrent expansion of monasticism provided both continuity and record-keeping. There are arguments over the actual importance of the Church in keeping alive the intelligent growing of grapes and making of wine–some ascribe great responsibility, since wine was necessary to the liturgy, whilst others argue that private enterprise, such as lay winemakers, were more responsible for keeping the knowledge and traditions alive.

The consumption of wine in Europe increased significantly in the late Middle Ages. After 1400, as the French historian Ferdinand Braudel has written, 'the whole of Europe drank wine [although] only a part of Europe produced it.' He also notes a geographical demarcation, pointing out that 'the whole population of northern Europe did not drink wine. Only the rich did as a rule',[19] whilst the other normally drank beer. Nevertheless, overall, wine consumption increased, a trend as true for the lesser sort as for the better sort. (It has been estimated that the daily average in the fifteenth century was up to two litres a day.)[20] The better sort, of course, drank better wine. This better wine became increasingly available because of more specialised varieties of grape being grown and much more attention being paid to how they were grown. It was not only Burgundy which benefitted from this attention.



LA BATAILLE DES VINS

Volez oïr une grant fable
Qu'il avint l'autrier fus la table
Au bon roi qui ot non Phelippe,
Qui volentiers moilloit fa pipe
Du bon vin qui eſtoit du blanc.
Il le ſenti gentil & franc,
Si le clamoit ſon amcor.
Por le bien & por la douçor
Que li vins avoit dedenz ſoi,
Li rois en but ſanz avoir ſoi.
Li rois qui eſt cortois & ſages
Manda a treſtoz ſes meſſages
Qu'il alaiſſent le meillor querre
Qu'il trovaiſſent en nule terre.

Signs of a revival of a connoisseurship such as Pliny's are first recorded in the poem titled *La Bataille des Vins,* written by the Norman poet Henri d'Andeli in 1224. The French king Philip Augustus had more than seventy different wines from across Europe called for,[21] including ones from the Mosel, Spain and Cyprus, to be judged and the winner to be a wine which

> 'Par sa bonté, par sa puissance
> D'abreuver bien le roi de France.'

The judge was an English priest, an unbiased expert:

> Une prestre englois si prist s'estole,
> Qui moult avoit la teste fole

–is this the first example of the celebrated English palate? This priest classified each wine as either 'celebrated' or 'excommunicated'. Naturally, most of the wines were French, yet a sweet wine from Cyprus, probably Commandaria, was the overall winner of the battle:

> Vin de Cypre fist apostoile,
> Qui resplendist comme une estoile.
> And thus,
> Prenons tel vin que Diex nous done.
> Explicit la Bataille des Vins.[22]

During the period of the Renaissance, regional distinctions became more pronounced, and specific grapes might be cited. Today in Italy, a useful but usually pretty neutral white wine is made from the Trebbiano grape; well, in his poem 'The Partridge Hunt', Lorenzo de Medici has hunters celebrating with a 'cask of cooling wine', adding that

> 'The Trebbiano wine was most suspicious,
> But longing will make anything delicious.'[23]

There were a number of sixteenth-century treatises on wine, but two from the 1550s stand out. One is by Sante Lancerio, *bottigliere* or bottle master

to Pope Paul III, and is an account of fifty-seven wines which the two of them had sampled. All are Italian, except for a 'vino francese' and 'vino di Spagna'; they are classified by region and evaluated for their appeal to the palate. Here, apparently for the first time, colour, aroma, texture and taste are carefully considered. Words such as round, rich, delicate, powerful, smoky, and mature are used, and the foods with which certain of the wines would match most harmoniously are sometimes named. After most of the wines, Lancerio notes whether or not the Pope drank the wine with pleasure. The French wine was, they decided, unfit for gentlemen, whilst the Spanish wine was unfit for everyone. The red wine of Montepulciano, the pope's favourite, earned the greatest praise, and was proclaimed a wine for lords. To this day, it is called Montepulciano Vino Nobile. The other treatise, by Giovanni Battista Scarlino, is essentially a list of all of the wines available for sale in Roman wine shops, and, like Lancerio, the author says which ones are worth buying. He also suggests the linking of certain foods and wines, a fairly commonplace habit during this period.[24]

There were, of course, many, many less good wines, produced in quantity from common-or-garden vines and with the highest yield possible squeezed out of them. Not expected to last very long, they were usually made with an eye to the wholesale markets in the larger cities. Cheap wine contributed to what Braudel noted as an ever-increasing number of ordinary drinkers and 'drunkenness increased everywhere in the sixteenth century.'[25] In Rome, for example, several hundred wine shops served a population of only about 40,000. The rest of Europe was just the same. Rulers from England to Venice tried to outlaw drunkenness, usually with little effect.

I want to pause for a look at the most obvious example of the intertwining of wine and culture, and this was in art. From the paintings and sculpture of Dionysos in Greece, to Bacchus and his followers in Rome; from the invocation of wine in religious paintings, to its place in the secular art of the seventeenth century and later, wine for millennia has had a prominent place in visual culture. After water, wine was the most widely consumed drink in ancient Greece. (Water, after all, could kill you.) Beer was dismissed as effeminate by Aeschylus,[26] and viewed with suspicion by many Greeks. Wine was a man's drink, and it is thus not terribly surprising that the image of Dionysos in early Greek verse was of a ruggedly masculine and sometimes violent figure, as well as a bearer of wine and good cheer. Religious rituals dedicated to the god virtually required that large quantities of wine be consumed; then there was music and dancing and heightened pleasure. Of course, at times the party got out of hand, and people could be torn limb from limb, as Euripides makes clear in his play *The Bacchae.* But religious festivals were not the only occasion when large quantities of wine would be consumed: it was central to upper-class sociability, and was present at both weddings and funerals. And let us not forget its use in the symposium, when it stimulated the interplay of ideas, as well as, sometimes, other activities.

Dionysos, once he segued into the Roman god Bacchus, had a very different image. Here he was more likely to be unclothed, youthful, delicate, and rarely intoxicated. In his *Metamorphosis*, Ovid writes that 'For he is one whose youth never fades: he remains always a boy, the loveliest god in the heights of heaven',[27] a complete transformation of the Greek manly deity. In Roman art, except for individual statues, depictions of Bacchus tended to be limited to a few episodes taken from Ovid. One of the most popular was his rescue of Ariadne, daughter of the Cretan King Minos, from the island of Naxos where she had been abandoned by Theseus after she had helped him to slay the Minotaur.[28] From Roman sarcophagi to Titian, this story has stimulated the creativity of artists.[29]

Wine was critical in both Dionysian and Christian rituals, but in very different ways. In Dionysian ritual, wine was drunk in large quantities in order to achieve an ecstatic, intoxicating union with the god; Christians, conversely, took wine in small quantities as a symbolic memorial of Christ's death and resurrection. There are thousands of drawings, illuminations, and paintings of Christ with wine. It is central to Christ's first recorded miracle, the turning of water into wine at the wedding at Cana. Another favourite subject was the Prodigal Son, whose welcome home feast normally included wine. Religion continued to play a predominant part in the visual arts for several centuries thereafter, but by the early seventeenth century, more and more genre paintings were being produced, particularly in Northern Europe. In many of these, wine has a central role to play, for good or, more often, for evil.[30]

Genre paintings bring me firmly back to the secular life, in particular to the nature of a drinking culture. I want briefly to look at a country where it thrived and then was stopped, and at a second where it did and still does thrive. The first is Persia, or Iran; the second, of course, is Britain. As you will remember from the tale of Jamshíd and the evidence of archeological remains, Persia had been a wine-drinking culture practically since the dawn of time. But in 642 AD, barely ten years after the death of the Prophet, the Arabs brought Islam to the country. In northeast Persia, where another of my heroes, the mathematician, philosopher and astronomer Omar Khayyam, was born, the orthodox principles of Islamic

law were determinedly enforced. Islam forbade its followers from drinking wine, a prohibition strengthened in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the growth of religious factions, many of whom were fanatical in support of their beliefs. Born in 1043, Khayyam was nominally a Muslim, but he was secular in his bones, and had little time for turbulent religious controversies. Nevertheless, it was safer to wear an outward conformity, and the ruba'i, a two-lined stanza of poetry set out as a quatrain, provided a vehicle with which to express his disdain.

The ruba'i was epigrammatic: beginning with a reflection or a description, it drew a moral in the final line. Witty and intelligent people, such as Khayyam, could use it to express their feelings and opinions. With examples circulating anonymously and often voicing criticism of imposed doctrines and prohibitions, it was a favourite verse form amongst intellectuals, who might meet in each other's home and recite a ruba'i or two. Given that Persia had been a wine-drinking culture and Islam prohibited wine, what could be more natural than to use verses about taverns, the grape and wine both as descriptors and as metaphors for private opposition to the attempts to stamp out suspicious opinions? This is what Omar Khayyam did.[31]

Here is a verse with a touch of anti-Islam about it, in the famous translation by Edward Fitzgerald:

> As much as Wine has played the Infidel,
> And robb'd me of my robe of Honour – well,
> I often wonder what the Vintners buy
> One-half so precious as the Goods they sell.[32]

This is even clearer in a near-literal translation:

> Drinking wine and consorting with good fellows
> Is better than practicing the ascetic's hypocrisy;
> If the lover and drunkard are to be among the damned
> Then no one will see the face of heaven.[33]

But according to Khayyam, heaven probably does not exist–and this in itself might have been enough to condemn him, had the authorities known:

> When the world is filled with the fresh rose
> Command, love, the wine to be copiously poured;
> Don't bother about houris, heavenly mansions,
> Paradise, Hell – they're all rumour, too.[34]

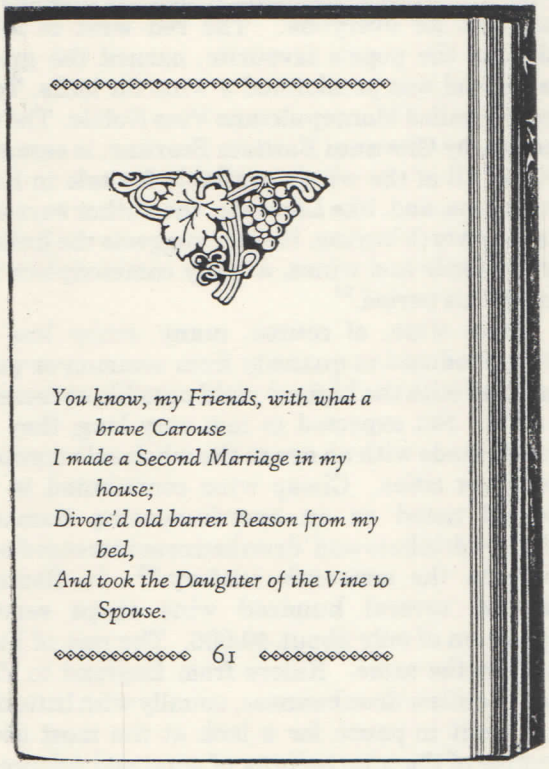
For Khayyam, wine was a metaphor for life: drink it whilst you can, because you will eventually die and there is nothing more. This is Fitzgerald's version:

> YESTERDAY *This* Day's Madness did prepare;
> TOMORROW's Silence, Triumph, or Despair:
> Drink! For you know not whence you came, nor why:
> Drink! For you know not why you go, nor where.[35]

Yet, he was not always so ridden with anguish, or such a sense of finality. His ruba'iyát must also have struck sparks because of their occasional devil-may-care cynicism:

> You know, my Friends, with what a brave Carouse
> I made a Second Marriage in my house;
> Divorced old barren Reason from my Bed,
> And took the Daughter of the Vine to Spouse.[36]

I wish, I wish that I had been there, sipping a glass of wine whilst listening to Khayyam recite his verses.



From THE LOVELY 1951 GREYSTONE PRESS PRINTING

But less enjoyable might have been to be stuck with that exemplar of British over-indulgence, Sir John Falstaff. His drink was sherry. Sack, or sherris-sack, was a very popular drink from the early Tudor period and through the next century or two. The plays of Shakespeare are littered with references to sack, but probably the most famous, as these things go, is Falstaff's paean in Act IV of Henry VI, Part II:

> 'The ... property of your excellent sherris is the warming of the blood; which before, cold and settled, left the liver white and pale, which is the badge of pusillanimity and cowardice; but the sherris warms it, and makes it course from the inwards to the parts extremes ... [S]kill in the weapon is nothing without sack, for that sets it a-work.'

But sack did more than make men brave: it also

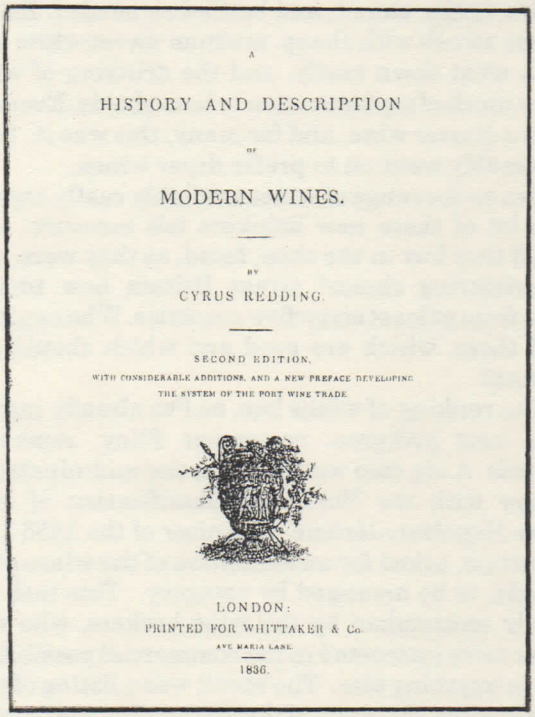
> 'Ascends me into the brain; dries me there all the foolish and dull and crudy vapours which environ it; makes it apprehensive, quick, forgetive, full of nimble, fiery, and delectable shapes; which is delivered o'er to the voice, the tongue, which is the birth, becomes excellent wit.'

So sack was a wine which could make the drinker–depending on the point of view of the spectator–witty and brave, or garrulous and foolhardy.

The English had a centuries-long affair with the wines of Iberia for reasons of taste and politics: centuries of war with the French had rendered access to their wines less than affordable, and the English were the most notable devotees to sack. Sack could be both dry and sweet, and the English–who had a notorious sweet tooth–often themselves added sugar or honey to it. But this passion for sack or its residual legatee, sherry, has drifted away–who knows why– but today, sales of sherry in Britain and in many other countries are notably low. The question is unanswerable: why is sherry–delicious and varied as it is–now out of fashion and drunk by only a minority?

The alternative for wine both alcoholic and sweet was port. For much of the period since 1386, Portugal has been a British ally; conversely, for even longer, France was an enemy. British governments therefore preferred that their subjects spend their drinking money elsewhere than in France, so they prohibited the importing of French wine, whilst keeping the duties on Portuguese wine very low. But port had to be massaged for the English market. It began life as a rather light red wine, but it then went through a makeover. First of all, in the Douro where port was made, twelve gallons of brandy were added to a pipe of port, then measuring about one hundred and forty-five gallons; then, 'the colour of the skin of the grape not being deemed deep enough, elderberry colouring is added', as well as another four gallons of brandy. The wine then went to Oporto, where another two gallons of brandy were added. At nine or twelve months old, most port was then shipped to England, another gallon of brandy being added on shipping. Two-thirds of port was thus immature when shipped, and it required being sweetened and softened. In all, twenty-four gallons of brandy were added to each pipe of one hundred and forty-five gallons; as well, a mixture called geropiga was added afterwards and before bottling (recipe for geropiga: fifty-six pounds of dried elderberries, sixty pounds of coarse brown sugar and treacle, seventy-eight gallons of unfermented grape juice, and thirty-nine gallons of the strongest brandy).[37] I have no idea how much geropiga was added to what was already a drink of some power. You can imagine the result. But Englishmen loved it. There developed the concept of the three-bottle man–three bottles of the wine I've just described drunk at a sitting–and there were even clubs devoted to its drinking. One famous one was 'The Brilliants', a club in Covent Garden in London, whose only rules were the minimum number of bottles every member had to drink. Today's heavy drinking continues a long British tradition.

But your Briton not only drank port. Indeed, the Scots and especially the English, in spite of the difficulties of war or high excise duties, were the most notable consumers of the wines of Bordeaux, and nearly all of the first growths, such as Châteaux Latour, Lafitte, and Margaux, were consumed in Britain. Unfortunately, rather as was the case with port, they could not leave it alone because, as the 19th century wine writer, Cyrus Redding, wrote, 'the pure wine is not spirituous enough for the English palate'.[38] In order to make the wines attractive for this market, they had to use certain methods, which together were referred to as *travaillage à l'Anglaise* or 'working' the wine. There were two steps. Firstly, to give it a warmer or more intoxicating effect, approximately


A

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION

OF

MODERN WINES.

BY

CYRUS REDDING.

SECOND EDITION,

WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS, AND A NEW PREFACE DEVELOPING THE SYSTEM OF THE PORT WINE TRADE.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR WHITTAKER & Co.

AVE MARIA LANE.

1836.

Cyrus Redding's classic history was the first book in the English language to deal exclusively with "modern" wines. First published in 1833, its immediate popularity saw a 2nd edition in 1836 and a 3rd in 1851.

four and a half gallons of brandy 'of the best kind' were poured over grapes as they were being trodden. For the second step, the producer or broker added more body to the wine by the addition of wine from the Rhône, such as Hermitage, or full-bodied wine

from Spain. The result was big, red and alcoholic, just what the British liked.[39]

It is a curious thing that in spite of all of this, by the twentieth century, Britain was not a particularly wine-drinking country. There was beer, there was gin, there was champagne for special occasions, and Christmas called for a glass of sweet sherry. Port certainly continued to be drunk, but as for wine's making a regular appearance with meals, this was relatively rare, even amongst the upper middle and upper classes, the traditional buyers and drinkers of wines. The Second World War appears to have changed this. Many Britons spent at least part of the war in Italy or France, and there they discovered the pleasures of a glass of wine with meals or over conversation with friends, and when they returned to Britain, they wanted to continue this new way of life. But what to drink? Fortunately, Slovenia came to the rescue and provided a wine which took the new drinking classes by storm, becoming the best-selling white wine for several decades. This was Lutomer 'Riesling', really Rizling. The grape juice was fermented in Slovenia, shipped in bulk to the coast, substantially sweetened, shipped in tankers to the London docks, stored, and bottled as needed. Britain became awash with cheap, medium-sweet white wine which went down easily, and the drinking of which gave a touch of sophistication to households. Everyone needs a starter wine, and for many, this was it. Some presumably went on to prefer dryer wines.

But as the range of wines available vastly expanded, a lot of these new drinkers felt insecure: what should they buy in the shop, faced, as they were, with a bewildering choice? Great Britain now imports wines from at least sixty-five countries. Who can know all of these, which are good and which should self-destruct?

The ranking of wines has, as I've already indicated, a long pedigree: remember Pliny, remember Lancerio. A big step was taken in the mid-nineteenth century with the Bordeaux classification of 1855. Prince Napoléon-Jérôme, organiser of the 1855 Paris Exposition, asked for an exhibition of the wines of the Gironde, to be arranged by category. This task was eagerly undertaken by the wine brokers, who were rather more interested in the commercial possibilities than in anything else. The result was a listing of sixty of the leading châteaux of the Médoc plus one from the Graves and the leading sweet wines from Sauternes and Barsac. But how did they decide the classification to which each wine should belong? There had been earlier classifications of quality, one from 1647 and another in 1767; they also paid attention to lists compiled by later connoisseurs such as Thomas Jefferson. But most did nothing so unnecessary as actually to taste the wines to put them in their rightful place. Rather, they listed the wines in descending order according to the prices they then fetched in the market, on the assumption that price reflected quality. This is the origin of the list which has an apparently unbreakable hold on the throat of the wine trade and of the more affluent consumer.[40] Yet, the mergers, acquisitions and breakups affecting most of these wine estates since 1855 means that the fundamental basis of the classification–that of a wine produced from the grapes grown on land belonging to a named estate–is, at the least, muddied. The whole situation supports the theory that the human quest for certainty is stronger than the desire for a more truthful ambiguity.

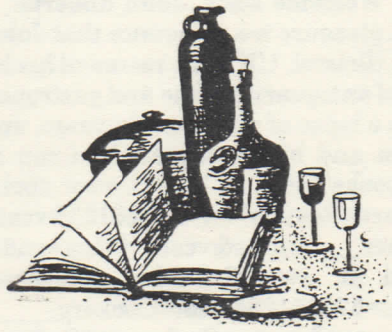
So–the list is imperfect, and limited to a small group of wines which few of us can easily afford to buy frequently. The need for help in grappling with choice was met in 1977 with the publication of the first edition of Hugh Johnson's annual *Pocket Wine Book* (he no longer writes the guide part). Wine merchants could be seen carrying a copy in their coat pockets, useful as it was for the comprehensive nature of its coverage and its sensible comments. In due course, native guides appeared in virtually all countries where wine was produced commercially, whilst in Britain, the number of guides to both vintage wine and plonk proliferated. Things were clicking along very nicely until, suddenly, a guru appeared. This was Robert Parker, whose mission is to help the poor consumer to find out more about a wine than could be gleaned from reading a label. But because rather than just telling you about the wines, he scores them, this imbues his choices with an objectivity and precision which others deride. How can you tell if a wine is an 89 or a 90, a 97 or a 98? This arguably spurious precision, and Parker's rock-hard certainty that he is accurate, gives him thousands of followers who place their wine bets on his choices. One also hopes that they like the kinds of wines he apparently tends to prefer–heavily extracted, alcoholic, less acidic, with 'gobs of fruit', what one female sommelier has referred to as 'penis wines'. Because the wines he picks shoot up in price, sometimes stratospherically, amongst those who invest in wine rather than just drink it, he is accused of having driven many wine-makers to skew their winemaking methods in order to create so-called 'Parker wines', which he is likely to rate highly and which as a result will be swept up by eager customers–and by eager investors.

Parker's is by no means the only guide–there are a number, in addition to the wine magazines which also rate wines. Perhaps the problem now is in choosing your guide. But the Parker phenomenon has, I suspect, changed the wine world irrevocably. In the first place, the ranking of, in particular, the classed growths of Bordeaux, but also the top wines from

some other regions, and the use made of these rankings by investors, means that common-or-garden wine drinkers such as ourselves find that we are shut out, perhaps permanently, from enjoying some of the world's great wines. We cannot afford the cost. But this high cost has meant another result of the Parker phenomenon, the entry into the market of high-spending high achievers from countries in which the drinking of good wine is a prerogative of wealth, and extremely expensive wines are a status symbol of the first order. This has helped to engender a wine price bubble in the Far East which will pop sooner or later. But meanwhile, it has brought the rich classes of China, Hong Kong, Singapore and, to a lesser extent, Russia into the global wine-drinking community, and this means that demand for the great wines will permanently outstrip supply. We will never be able to catch up with the price.

What is more encouraging is that the expansion of the numbers of wine-drinkers has encouraged the expansion of the number of producers. There are now masses of interesting wines out there, for which one need not take out a mortgage. Not all of them will have a place in every guidebook, which means that the scope for personal discoveries is very large. Do you really need a guru? How much certainty do you require? Exploring is fun. The next time you go to a wine shop, go stand in front of the wines of a region which you don't know. Choose a wine, take it home, and drink it. You may not wish ever to drink it again, but you've begun a new venture. In the North of England you can go fell-walking. I myself recommend wine-walking, since it will not limit you to the geographically familiar.

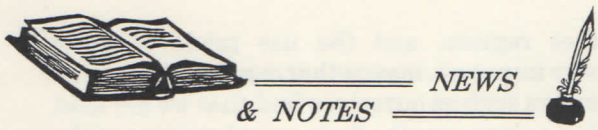
The production and drinking of wine is a thread which runs through human history. And wine itself: what else can be so intellectually challenging, if you want it to be, whilst putting your senses on alert? What else has such a range of styles, of tastes, of aromas? And most important of all, what else combines all of these AND tastes so good? There are few greater pleasures than sharing a bottle of good wine with friends.



NOTES

1. For a discussion of this, see 'The Noah Hypothesis' in Patrick E. McGovern, *Ancient Wine: The Search for the Origins of Viniculture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 16-39.
2. From the Homeric Hymn 'To Dionysus' by Hesiod, translated by Hugh Evelyn-White, *Hesiod: The Homeric Hymns and Homerica,* Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 289.
3. McGovern, *Ancient Wine*, p. 244.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
6. http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2011/01/110111-oldest-wine-press-making-winery-armenia-science-ucla/
7. See http://archaeology.about.com/od/predynasticearlyperiods/ss/herbal_wines_2.htm for a photograph.
8. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/4379286.stm.
9. As quoted in Book IX, Part 4 of the *Deipnosophistae* of Athenaeus. http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Athenaeus/10D*.html
10. Plato, *The Symposium*, trans. by Christopher Gill (London: Penguin, 1999).
11. Pliny, *Natural History*, Books XII-XVI, trans. by H. Rackham (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, rev. ed. 1968), all three quotations at Book XIV, VI, 55, p. 223. See also Kathleen Burk, 'Was Pliny the First Wine Critic?', World of Fine Wine, Issue 21 (2008), pp. 92-3.
12. Pliny, *Natural History*, Book XIV, VIII, 59-60, p. 227.
13. *Ibid.*, 62-3, p. 229.
14. *Ibid.*, 62, pp. 227-9.
15. Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, trans. by Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin, 1974), p. 459.
16. This document instructs the stewards of the estates on how to run them. The tradition has been that it was for Charlemagne's estates, although there is no real evidence for this. His son Louis the Pious ruled Aquitaine from 794 to 813, before becoming emperor in 814, and is known to have reformed the estates in his area. See H.R. Loyn and John Percival, eds, *The Reign of Charlemagne: Documents on Carolingian Government and Administration* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975). Darryl Campbell dates the *Capitulare* to 794, when the court moved to Aachen; see 'The *Capitulare de villis*, the *Brevium exempla*, and the Carolingian Court at Aachen', *Early Medieval Europe*, Vol. 18, issue 3 (Aug. 2010), 243-64.
17. *Capitulare de villis vel curtis imperialibus* in *ibid.*, quotes on pp. 66, 70, and 73.
18. Susan Rose, *The Wine Trade in Medieval Europe 1000-1500* (London: Continuum, 2011), pp. 97-100 for Cologne, for example.
19. Ferdinand Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life 1400-1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), quotes on pp. 162 and 164.

20. A. Lynn Martin, *Alcohol, Sex and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001). The peasants of Langree drank between 1½ and 2 litres per day, whilst the inhabitants of Bologne and Florence drank almost 2 litres per day (p. 5). Her Table 2.2 (pp. 29-30) gives some annual per capita figures – e.g., a noble household in Arles drank 800 litres, whilst the annual per adult at the Hospital of San Gallo in the 15th century was 200-750.
21. The wines are all listed in the poem, but for a list in English, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_the_Wines. For a map of where the wines came from, including their classification as Celebrated or Excommunicated, see *Hugh Johnson's Story of Wine* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 1989), p. 123.
22. http://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/La_Bataille_des_vins.
23. John Varriano, *Wine: A Cultural History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010), p. 102.
24. Based on *ibid.*, pp. 102-3. Sante Lancerio, "Della Qualità dei Vini," in *Arte della Cucina*; Giovanni Scarlino, *Nuova Trattato della Varietà, e Qualità dei Vini...in Roma.*
25. Braudel, *Capitalism*, p. 165.
26. Max Nelson, *Barbarian's Beverage: A History of Beer in Ancient Europe* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 27-8.
27. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. by Mary M. Innes (London: Penguin, 1955), Book IV, p. 96.
28. *Ibid.*, Book VIII, pp. 183-4.
29. Varriano, *Wine*, pp. 63-5, 112-25.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-73.
31. Kathleen Burk, 'Why did Omar Khayyam write so much about wine?' in Kathleen Burk and Michael Bywater, *Is This Bottle Corked? The Secret Life of Wine* (London: Faber and Faber, 2008), pp. 22-5.
32. *The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyam: First and Fifth Editions*, trans. by Edward FitzGerald (New York: Dover Publications, 1900), verse 95, p. 48. This version is from the 5th ed., published in 1889.
33. *The Ruba'iyat of Omar Khayyam*, trans. by Peter Avery and John Heath-Stubbs (London: Penguin, 2004), verse 222, p. 101.
34. *Ibid.*, verse 178, p. 91.
35. *Ibid.*, verse 74, p. 43.
36. *Ibid.*, verse 55, p. 38.
37. Cyrus Redding, *A History and Description of Modern Wines* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1851, 3rd ed.), pp. 240-41. See also Kathleen Burk, 'Cyrus Redding: Man of Letters and Wine', World of Fine Wine, Issue 28 (2010), pp. 78-85.
38. Redding, *Modern Wines*, p. 170.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 169-70.
40. Dewey Markham, Jr., *1855: A History of the Bordeaux Classification* (New York: John Wiley, 1998), 535pp.



Welcome! to our new Tendril members. **Martin Doerschlag** (mdoerschlag@gmail.com) in Washington, DC, is an avid longtime wine buff and an enthusiastic budding collector of wine books. **Mark L. Chien** (mlc12@psu.edu), is State Viticulture Educator, Pennsylvania State Cooperative Extension, College of Agricultural Sciences.

The History Press Series

Thanks to **Hudson Cattell** we learn about the History Press series of U.S. state wine histories. Books published so far are on Virginia, Michigan, North Carolina, Connecticut and Maryland. His own contribution to the series, *The History of Pennsylvania Wine*, with Linda Jones McKee, was published this June. Each book in the series follows the History Press formula, being 125–150 pages, 70 photos and a color photo section of between 16 and 32 pages, 9 x 6, bound in colorful card wraps. The volumes are priced at $19.99. Hudson believes the series will be limited to the states of the East and Midwest, at least for the time being. He reviewed the North Carolina and Michigan histories for Wines & Vines, and assessed both as "valuable contributions to Eastern wine literature." He later remarked that, unfortunately, the Connecticut volume "is more of a travel guide than a history and has more than a few serious misspellings and errors."

Congratulations to Hudson Cattell!

Mike Fordon, Library Coordinator at Frank A. Lee Library, NYSAES, Cornell University, Geneva, has passed along the splendid news that **Hudson Cattell** has received the first Lifetime Achievement Award of the Eastern Winery Exposition for his work in documenting Eastern North America's wine industry since 1976. For the complete award news, please visit www.winesandvines.com/template.cfm?section=news&content=98253.

Welcome Back, John Roberts!

With great pleasure we announce that John Roberts, Bookseller (Bristol, UK), has resumed his business in the world of antiquarian wine and gastronomy books. It has been a lapse of almost eight years, and we have missed him and his treasures. You can search his available books listed on ABE at www.abebooks.com/servlet/SearchResults?vci=57626123&vcat=Wine___and___Other___Drinks&vcatn=Wine+and+Other+Drinks, and at www.abebooks. com/servlet/SearchResults?vci=57626123&vcat=Cookery_____Food_____Gastronomy&vcatn=Cookery%2C+Food%2C+Gastronomy, or he welcomes short lists of desiderata at wine.books@blueyonder.co.uk.

Not To Be Missed

Although technically not a "wine book," *Napa Valley Historical Ecology Atlas: Exploring a Hidden Landscape of Transformation and Resilience*, by Robin Grossinger (Berkeley: UC Press, 2012), is so well-researched and written, embellished with magnificent maps, photographs, and other color illustrations, that you will gratefully welcome this fascinating atlas into your library.

The Garden of the World

is the title of a new novel by Lawrence Coates (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2012, 201 pp.), Associate Professor of Creative Writing at Bowling Green State University, Ohio. Set in Northern California's Santa Clara Valley with its once flourishing wine industry, it is a well-told, rather aching, saga of a pioneer wine family: the fiercely ambitious winegrower father, the phylloxera epidemic, the perils and trials of Prohibition, betrayal, the bitter alienation of his older son. It is a good read.

An Editor Smiles: TYPICAL TYPE TYPOS

The typographical error is a slippery thing, and sly.
You can hunt till you are dizzy but it somehow will get by.
Till the forms are off the presses, it is strange how it keeps;
It shrinks down to a corner, and it never stirs or peeps.
The typographical error is too small for human eyes,
Till the ink is on the paper ... when it grows to mountain size.
The boss, he stares with horror, then grabs his hair and groans;
The copy reader drops his head upon his hands and moans.
The remainder of the issue may be as clean as clean can be.
But the typographical error is the only thing that you see. — Anon.

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THE MAKERS OF AMERICAN WINE: A Record of Two Hundred Years by Thomas Pinney

A Review by *Hudson Cattell*

THOMAS PINNEY, WHOSE TWO-VOLUME *History of Wine in America* comes as close to being a definitive history of American wine as we're likely to have for many years to come, has now retold the story of American wine in a different way. In this book, the 200 years of wine history comes alive through the stories of thirteen people who either played an important role or represented a significant change in direction that occurred at some point during the past two centuries. Some of the names are familiar: Ernest and Julio Gallo–they are counted as one person in the list of thirteen–and Robert Mondavi will be well known to most readers. Other names such as Charles Kohler and Percy T. Morgan may not be.

In his introduction, Pinney makes it clear that the individuals he has chosen to profile do not in any way constitute a "most important people" list. Sometimes they are representatives or symbolic of something new on the American wine scene. Thus, the chapter on Andrea Sbarboro, an Italian immigrant who in the 1880s helped make Italian-Swiss Colony a leader in California wineries, is subtitled "The Italians are Coming." Here Pinney recognizes the dominant role that Italians with such family names as Gallo, Foppiano, Martini, Bisceglia and Mondavi came to play in the growth of the American industry after Repeal.

Importantly, Pinney has written a history book to please himself as well as make a contribution to history of American wine. The thirteen significant advances or achievements he identifies are presented to the reader through the lives and careers of the people he associates with these events. In his introduction, he states that one of his intentions in writing the book, and a reason for choosing some lesser known people to profile, was to give them the overdue recognition they deserve.

Pinney presents a broad overview of the 200-year historical record. The first three chapters are devoted to Jean Jacques Dufour, Nicholas Longworth and George Husmann. While Dufour's Kentucky Vineyard Society in the late 1700s and early 1800s ended in failure, his determination to succeed helped make it possible for Nicholas Longworth to establish the Cincinnati area as a winegrowing center in the second quarter of the 19th century. The 568,000 gallons of wine produced there in 1859 were based on Catawba, an American grape, and marketed under that name. George Husmann, whose career began in Hermann, Missouri, in the middle of the 19th century and later continued in California, is

recognized for his advocacy of grape growing and winemaking based on native vines.

The importance of the business side of California wine during the 19th century is represented by Charles Kohler, whose firm Kohler and Frohling supplied California wine to every sizeable American city by 1875, and Percy T. Morgan, the man whose brainchild was the California Wine Association. Paul Garrett closes out the pre-Prohibition era. His fortified wines, the best known of which was Virginia Dare, led to the creation of a winemaking empire that produced millions of gallons of wine in the South, New York, and California. His decision to market his wine with a proprietary name and bottle it himself rather than follow the usual practice of selling it in bulk was instrumental in his success.

In the 20th century, Ernest and Julio Gallo are recognized for their mass marketing of wine and Robert Mondavi for his determination to make wines that would match up with the finest in the world. Maynard Amerine was chosen to illustrate the vital contribution of science and technology to modern winemaking and Dr. Konstantin Frank for his outspoken advocacy of vinifera in the East.

What Tom Pinney has given us in this book, then, is one man's opinion of thirteen significant episodes in American wine history. Each profile is complete in itself at far greater length than was possible in his two-volume history and is engagingly told. Since Pinney is an historian, he has been very careful to question facts that cannot be accurately determined. A case in point is the chapter on Frank Schoonmaker, one of the thirteen people I am personally very glad he decided to include.

In the 1930s and 1940s, Schoonmaker made a case for the varietal and regional labeling of American wine. Rather than calling a wine a California Chablis, for example, it would be more honest in his opinion to identify it as a Livermore Chardonnay, and with the additional information being made available to the consumer, the wine could probably be sold for more money. As an importer in the 1930s, he would designate wines that met his specifications with the words "A Frank Schoonmaker Selection" printed in yellow on a green neck label. Through his books and newsletters, notably during the postwar years at Almadén, he became a major influence in educating a new generation of American wine drinkers.

At the beginning of the chapter, Pinney writes that little is known about Schoonmaker's personal history. Adding to this problem for the historian are a good many misstatements that have been made about him and his work, and the result is a dearth of facts compounded by pseudo facts. Pinney gives his opinion based on the best available facts, but as an historian he lets the reader know where the facts end and his opinion begins.

High on the list of confusing issues involving Schoonmaker is the journalist Tom Marvel who was associated with Schoonmaker for many years in the 1930s and 1940s, and who co-authored *The Complete Wine Book* in 1934 and *American Wines* in 1941. Pinney simply states, "No one, as far as I know, has been able to assess the extent of Marvel's contribution to Schoonmaker's work." Pinney's knowledge of the writing styles of the two men has led him to "suspect" that Schoonmaker sometimes wrote under Marvel's name.

The fact that Pinney has the ability to tell a good story and be accurate with his facts does not mean that he does not have his own opinions. He does, but the reader can usually tell the difference. Nowhere is Pinney's personal opinion more evident than in the last chapter, "Cathy Corison: Women Become Winemakers," where Cathy Corison, proprietor and winemaker at Corison Winery in Napa Valley, is chosen to represent the growing importance and prominence of women in the American wine industry. At the start of the chapter he expresses his opinion in a way that leaves no doubt as to the depth of his own feelings:

"At first glance, it would appear that the wine trade is open without restriction to women: there are women cellar rats, women sales reps, women vineyard managers, women lab technicians, women winemakers, women CEOs, women proprietors, and women anything else you can think of in the business of wine. But as long as we continue to note that such and such a person is a *woman* CEO or a *woman* winemaker, there is still an unwelcome hint of surprise in the observation: should a *woman* be in these positions? Perhaps the day will come when we no longer specify the female identity in talking about a winemaker or a grape grower, but, as the title of this chapter shows, that day is not yet."

Cathy Corison's story is an interesting one and, while Pinney says that no one woman can be singled out as making a decisive change in the possibilities open to women, he has chosen her to illustrate the subject of women in wine.

As in Pinney's other books, history predominates. For many readers it will be a pleasure to have whole chapters devoted to a single subject, especially when they are highly readable. *The Makers of American Wine* [Berkeley: U.C. Press, 2012, 318 pp.] is a significant contribution to the history of American wine and is a worthy companion to his earlier books.

[*See "News & Notes," p.10, for an appreciative note on Tendril Hudson Cattell.* — Ed]

Encyclopædia Britannica: The Death Knell Has Sounded

by

Nina Wemyss and Gail Unzelman

THE PRINTED *ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA* has lived a long, illustrious life—244 years. Very little endures a quarter of a millennium. The 15th and latest edition comprised 33,000 entries, 44 million words, and sold for $1395. Each of the 32 volumes weighed four pounds. The publisher has decided to ditch the hefty tomes and focus on an internet version—price, $70 a year. According to the President, "A printed encyclopedia is obsolete the minute you print it, whereas our online edition is updated continuously."

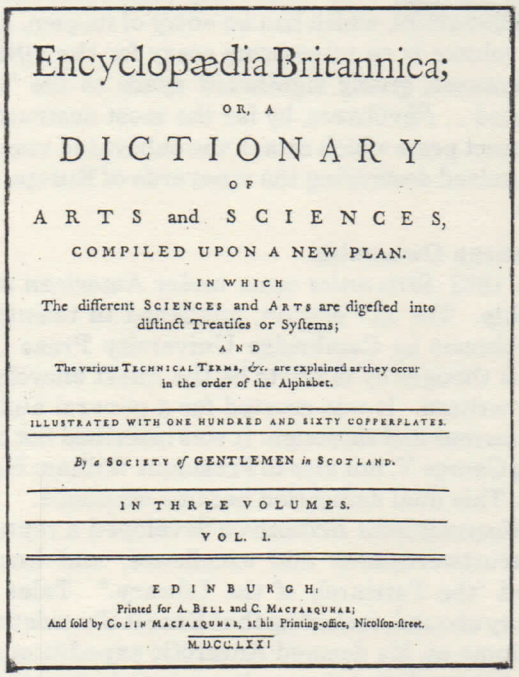
First Edition of *Encyclopædia Britannica*

The first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* was published and printed in Edinburgh for the engraver Andrew Bell and the printer Colin Macfarquhar by "A Society of Gentlemen in Scotland" and was sold by Macfarquhar at his printing office on Nicolson Street. The work was issued from December 1768 to 1771 with double-columned pages. The parts were bound in three stout quarto volumes of some 2,500 pages, with 160 copperplate engravings by Bell, and dated 1771. This iconic *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, compiled upon a New Plan...* was not the first, but ultimately became the most well-known encyclopedia in the English-speaking world.

The first edition contained more than forty treatises on many fields. Notable, in Volume I: A–B, *e.g.*, ANATOMY is 165 pages, plus numerous full-page plates; ARCHITECTURE, 43pp., is stunning with magnificent plates; ARITHMETICK is a very detailed 58 pages; BOTANY, 26pp.; the BOOK, amazingly a mere two pages, while BOOK-KEEPING gets 38 pages. In Vol.II: C–L, CHEMISTRY and LAW each had major entries, ELECTRICITY about a dozen pages, FARRIERY, 40 pages plus another 10 pages of HORSEMANSHIP. In Vol.III. M–Z, the major topics were MECHANICS, MEDICINE, MIDWIFERY, MORAL PHILOSOPHY, MUSICK, NAVIGATION, SHIPS, and SURGERY. Interestingly, there are no biographical entries.

Wine in 1771

The entry for WINE is but two short paragraphs, beginning: "Wine, a brisk, agreeable, spirituous and cordial liquor, drawn from vegetable bodies, and fermented." Under this "class of Wines, or vinous liquors, come not only wines absolutely so called, but also ale, cyder, *&c.* See BREWING and CHEMISTRY..." The subsequent paragraph gives the different "degrees" of wine in France (*goutte*, must, pressed wine, worked wine, boiled wine, strained wine...). The ending sentence states, "Wines are also distinguished with regard to their colour into white wine, red wine, claret wine, pale wine rose, or black wine; and with regard to their country, or the soil that produces them, into French wines, Spanish wines, Rhenish wines, Hungary wines, Greek wines, Canary wine, *&c* and more particularly into Port wine, Madeira wine, Burgundy wine, Champain wine, Falernian wine, Tockay wine, Schiras wine, *&c.*"



Encyclopædia Britannica;

OR, A

DICTIONARY

OF

ARTS and SCIENCES,

COMPILED UPON A NEW PLAN.

IN WHICH

The different SCIENCES and ARTS are digeſted into diſtinct Treatiſes or Syſtems;

AND

The various TECHNICAL TERMS, *&c.* are explained as they occur in the order of the Alphabet.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY COPPERPLATES.

By a SOCIETY *of* GENTLEMEN *in* SCOTLAND.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for A. BELL and C. MACFARQUHAR;

And ſold by COLIN MACFARQUHAR, at his Printing-office, Nicolſon-ſtreet.

M.DCC.LXXI

Subsequent Editions

Far more ambitious in length and scope, the second edition comprised 10 volumes with some 9,000 pages, and included biographical articles. It appeared in parts from 1777 to 1784. There were two pirated editions of the third edition, one by a Philadelphia printer—who called his the first American edition— and the other by a Dublin printer.

The world's most respected authorities in their field were pleased to contribute to the various *Britannica* editions and Supplements. Most entries were signed, usually with their initials, with an index of contributors at the end.

The 9th edition, consisting of 24 volumes and an index volume, was printed one by one from 1875 to 1889 and sold in both authorized and pirated versions in the United States. Notable contributors—among

the 1,100 or so, and comprising women for the first time—to this "Scholar's Edition" included: Matthew Arnold, Edward Everett Hale, T.H. Huxley, Henry Cabot Lodge, Robert Louis Stevenson, and George Saintsbury, who wrote the almost 50-page essay on France—Literature, besides various biographies. Saintsbury, Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature at the University of Edinburgh, whose literary accomplishments are prodigious, is fondly remembered by Wayward Tendrils for his *Notes on a Cellar-Book* (see v.12 #1, v.13 #2, v.14 #1, v.18 #4, v.19 #1).

In this 9th edition, in Vol.XXIV (1888), WINE is covered "in the narrower sense of its ordinary acceptance [as] it designates the fermented product of grape juice." The 10-page entry is written by H. J. Newman, editor of London's Ridley's Wine & Spirit Trade Circular. The WINE entry refers the reader to FERMENTATION, which has an entry of its own. Also in this volume is an interesting essay for the VINE, and its diseases, giving significant space to the "much-dreaded ... *Phylloxera*, by far the most destructive of all insect pests which attack the cultivated vine," and was indeed destroying the vineyards of Europe at the time.

American Ownership

In 1901 *Britannica* came under American ownership. The 11th edition, published in twenty-nine volumes by Cambridge University Press (1910–11), is thought by many to be the finest encyclopedia ever written. It was created for a general audience, was serious and thorough. It was inscribed not only to King George V, but also to President William Howard Taft. This dual dedication became standard.

Encyclopædia Britannica developed a reputation for trustworthiness and excellence, and has been called "the Patriarch of the Library." Tales of its history abound, including that Ernest Shackleton took a volume on his doomed Antarctic expedition and is said to have burnt it page by page to keep warm.

The 15th and final edition was published in 1974, with major revisions in 1985, and annual revisions through the 1990s. Printings of the 15th edition continued into the 21st century, though the focus now was on digital ventures.

A search in the 2010 *Britannica* finds WINE under the general heading of "Beverage Production." The article—eight & one half pages, contributed by Maynard A. Amerine—begins: "Wine is the fermented juice of the grape." The condensed story is then told in six sections (with three illustrations): History, The Wine Grape, Wine Regions and Varieties, The Wine-Making Process, Aging & Bottling, Special Wines.

In 1990, the top year for sales of the printed work, 120,000 sets were sold. Just six years later, that number fell to 40,000 and *Britannica* was sold to Swiss financier Jacob E. Safra, for $135 million, well below the hoped for price. Only 8000 copies of the 2010 "revised edition" were sold.

Many Tendrils may still have a set of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on their shelves. It is a valuable relic of the fine art of printed and bound research and scholarship.

NOTE: There are copies of a fine facsimile reprint (with foxing and browning!) of the 3-volume 18th century first edition available online for a very reasonable price. A nice addition to our libraries.

VOODOO VINTNERS

A Review

by *Will Brown*

"may be the best summary of biodynamic winegrowing in English today"

Voodoo Vintners: Oregon's Astonishing Biodynamic Winegrowers by Catherine Cole. Eugene, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2011. 192 pp.

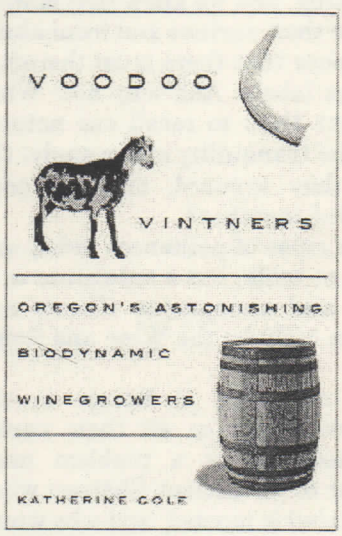
AUTHOR KATHERINE COLE has been a wine writer for the Portland Oregonian for the past ten years. Having become aware of several biodynamic wines that she enjoyed, she wanted to learn more about the biodynamic process. Failing to find enough accessible information, her interest led her to research and write "a readable and enjoyable" book on the subject.

To begin, what exactly is biodynamics? While no exact definition exists, this one is close enough:

> The key to biodynamics is considering the farm in its entirety as a living system. To this end, biodynamic farms are supposed to be closed, self-sustaining systems. Biodynamics also sees the farm in the context of the wider pattern of lunar and cosmic rhythms. In this holistic view, the soil is seen not simply as a substrate for plant growth, but as an organism in its own right. The idea of using synthetic fertilizers or pesticides is thus an anathema to biodynamic practitioners. Instead, they use a series of special preparations [in homeopathic doses] to enhance the life of the soil, which are applied at appropriate times in keeping with the rhythms of nature. And disease is seen not as a problem to be tackled head-on, but rather as a symptom of a deeper malaise within the farm 'organism': correct the problem in the system and the disease will right itself. *

*http://www.wineanorak.com/biodynamic2.htm. (This excerpt is a Jamie Goode wine blog).

The biodynamic system is based on a series of lectures by Austrian scholar Rudolph Steiner dating from 1924 and collected now in English in a single volume titled *Spiritual Foundations for the Renewal of Agriculture.* Biodynamic vineyards in the U.S. may be certified by the agency Demeter USA (which appropriately is headquartered in Oregon), but many practitioners more or less follow the principles without certification. At the time of research for this book, sixty-eight U.S. vineyards were Demeter certified, sixteen of which were in Oregon, but these numbers do not include those growers employing the concepts but who are not certified by Demeter. Because the movement is growing the numbers are a moving target.



Why the subtitle "*Oregon's Astonishing Biodynamic Winegrowers*"? Well, the author lives in Portland, Oregon and makes her living writing about Oregon wines which brings her into contact with the wines and winegrowers in nearby Willamette Valley whose Pinot Noirs have achieved international acclaim. Consequently, profiles of Oregon biodynamic winegrowers and winemakers appear throughout the book of twelve chapters. Why is interest in biodynamic winegrowing so prevalent in Oregon? Wine Spectator columnist Matt Kramer, a former colleague of the author at the Oregonian, answers:

> .. it's here in the culture; it's here in the air. The very DNA of Oregon winegrowing is sympathetic to this non-interventionist, naturalist, small-scale form of farming and winemaking, whether biodynamic or any other form. Biodynamics because of its French origins happened to have attracted more adherents.

While most of the book is devoted to the practices and practitioners in Oregon, the author delves into other related matters like the biographical background of founder Rudolph Steiner, and the history and practice of biodynamics in other locales, notably Burgundy where some of its best known adherents are among its finest wine estates. Domaine de la Romanée-Conti, Maison Joseph Drouhin and Domaine Leroy are a few mentioned. It should not come as a surprise that in Oregon, biodynamic winegrowing can be found among several of the best estate wineries such as Beaux Freres, Domaine Drouhin, Archery Summit, and Bergstrom to name just a few. Because the practice of biodynamic winegrowing is sometimes called "voodoo" by non-adherents, the author even discusses voodoo as practiced in Haiti and New Orleans.

Not everyone is enamored of the biodynamic regimen as dictated by Steiner and required by Demeter for certification. It is still a controversial system of viticulture on the edge, and many of its practices and practitioners are thought to be somewhat kooky. The principal objection to the practice is that it is not scientific enough and its precepts would not withstand scientifically rigid study, if such a study could actually be designed. To date there is a paucity of controlled studies demonstrating the efficacy of this method. Many feel that any success in biodynamic winegrowing may be attributed to more attentive vineyard care, extensive use of compost, or even to a "placebo" effect.

This brings us to the consideration of biodynamic winemaking. Philippe Armentier, a French biodynamic consultant, states that "biodynamics stops at the cellar door" going on to say that there is no such thing as biodynamic wine, there is only wine made from biodynamic grapes. That is not the case in the U.S. where Demeter also certifies biodynamic wineries. Ms. Cole speaks hardly at all about this conundrum but it is of concern to this writer as a winemaker so I consulted a new book by wine scientist/writer/blogger Jamie Goode and his co-author Sam Harrop, winemaker and Master of Wine. The book is *Authentic Wine*, which will probably be the subject of a *Wayward Tendrils* review in the near future. The authors outlined the Demeter-issued guidelines for biodynamic wine from 2008. Totally proscribed are five modalities: the use of genetically modified microorganisms, potassium hexacyanoferrate (used to remove copper in red wines), diammonium phosphate (DAP: a very commonly used inorganic yeast nutrient), and isinglass, blood or gelatin (fining agents derived from animal sources). Beyond these proscriptions many if not most common winemaking procedures are permitted including sugar, SO_2 and acid additions commonly employed in Oregon winemaking. One hundred percent biodynamic grapes must be used in order to market the product as biodynamic wine.

In addition to Cole's text chapters there are a preface and an introduction. In the back of the book there is a section called Notes on Sources that resembles a cross between a bibliography and non-

enumerated endnotes. I found this section difficult to navigate perhaps because I am not familiar with this style. There is also an index that could be more comprehensive as several terms I wanted to locate were not in this index.

In the end the intent of this book is achieved and it may be the best summary of biodynamic winegrowing in English today. The author, who contributes regular wine columns to the Portland Oregonian and Portland's MIX Magazine, is a graduate of Harvard College and the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism. This is her first book but hopefully not her last because she is an accomplished writer, articulate and knowledgeable about wine and winegrowing and humorous as well. She has met her goal of writing a "readable and enjoyable" book. We are likely to be hearing more about wine from her in the future.

The book is aimed at the general audience of wine drinkers who will be hearing more and more about biodynamic vineyards and wines. It will also appeal to consumers of fine wines who usually want to know as much as possible about their costly purchases, particularly if they are Oregon Pinot Noirs or Burgundies. Finally it should be highly recommended reading for wine professionals and students in the field because this world view is on the ascendancy, and in the future they may want to be aware of its precepts since market forces might demand more of this kind of "authentic wine." Price should not be a deterrent since the paperback book is currently available at Amazon for under $15.

[*With our Tendril appreciation, Oregonian Will Brown, a retired physician and winemaker, continues to keep us abreast of the wine literature coming out of America's northwest.* — Editor]

A VINTAGE LOOK AT A SPECIAL WINE BOOK

by *Gail Unzelman*

Clarets and Sauternes. Classed Growths of the Medoc and Other Famous Red and White Wines of the Gironde [by G.A. Keeler]. 1920. London: Wine & Spirit Trade Record. 398 pp. 9¾ x 6. Illustrated with photographs of the châteaux, their labels, cork-brands, case-brands and capsule tops. Sky-blue cloth with gilt-stamped title on front cover and spine, a.e.g.

IN THE SPRING 1939 WINE AND FOOD, Edward A. Bunyard [1878–1939], an intimate friend of André Simon and his circle of literary gourmets and an original member of The Wine & Food Society—who contributed an essay to almost every issue of Wine and Food until his untimely death—presented a very entertaining look at this magnificent book. The erudite Bunyard was also a founding member of the Saintsbury Club and was Britain's leading pomologist, epicurean nurseryman, and eminent leader of the Royal Horticultural Society. (In Vol.19 #3 of our WTQ we reviewed his worthy 2007 biography *The Downright Epicure. Essays on Edward Ashdown Bunyard*, edited by Edward Wilson, and visited his books on wine and food.)

Bunyard's article on *Clarets and Sauternes* is titled "Bordeaux Labels." We send our WT appreciation to Wine & Food for their kind permission to reprint.

Bordeaux Labels

WE ARE TOLD THAT THERE are collectors of almost everything, and we know that matchbox labels have their rarities and incunabula prized by many. I suppose that there must therefore be collections of Claret labels. And why not? What could be more pleasant than to recall our notable bottles of the past in the tranquility of our study; the friendly discussions they aroused, and the good company they had called together?

Unfortunately, the rules of politeness forbid any careful study of them at table, but a substitute is at hand, the admirable and anonymous *Clarets and Sauternes* published in 1920 by the Wine and Spirit Trade Record.

In its pages we can turn in leisure to the reproduction of Claret labels in all their varied typography and periods. What a problem must confront the proprietor of an ancient Château when the question of a new label is mooted, and who would dare to moot it, I wonder? I suspect the daughters-in-law. Figure for yourself the family discussions, which it would arouse. 'Le conseil du famille' summoned; the heart-breaking never-ending struggle between conservatism and progress.

Needless to say, in France conservatism usually wins, but new labels are not unknown.

The decision must have to be made at some time, whether the Château is to be depicted or not. In some cases this probably settles itself. How wisely did Château Mouton-Rothschild decide to suppress its small bow-windowed villa, such as may be seen any day on Blackheath Common, and confine itself to dignified print. 'Mouton. Hers. Du Bon de Rothschild Proptres.' Need more be said?

Even the palatial Palladian front of Château Margaux is suppressed on their label on the principle that good wine needs no bush. Fortunately, Cos d'Estournel had no such scruples, and boldly show you that surprising building in the Chinese style which stands up so exotically above the plain of Medoc. Can

we wonder that Biarnez, the poet of Bordeaux, was inspired by it to some of his finest lines:

Avec des minarets groupés sur ses coteaux
Etalant jusqu'aux cieux ses fronts orientaux
Fiers d'être des nababs le suprême régal
Voilà Cos d'Estournel qui peut marcher égal
De tous les plus grands crus classés de la Gironde
Brillant d'un vif éclat de gloire dans le monde.

All the same, I should have liked to hear the comments of the local vignerons when they first gazed at its sky-piercing minarets.

The Château Lafite label must be very old. In fact, it might well be a Bewick woodcut, even to the two ladies in the foreground taking the air. We would not have it changed for all the scarlet and gold in Burgundy.

When photography came into vogue the vignette was much favoured. Château Batailley, white behind its shading trees, Château Le Terte, solid and low with a circular drive approaching, Château Nénin, and others followed suit. But vignettes, alas, show the march of time, and instead of fading gracefully, develop a hard line around them. A point, no doubt, for revolutionary daughters-in-law. The Exhibitions of the last century also left their trace. The Grandes Médailles d'Or could not be resisted, and so on the label they had to go. Château Pétrus Arnaud had two, and Domaine de Puyblanquet went four better, but wise growers saw the limitations of space and did not enter into this particular competition.

A coat of arms lends distinction to many labels, as on Grand-Puy-Ducasse; Pape Clément with the Papal keys, or even a coronet which the Marquis de Terme had the right to use. Branaire-Ducru with its Countess, Marquis and Vicomte proprietors put up four, but two are obviously duplicates.

The Château Olivier label fails to please me—the silhouette of the old Château is as admirable as the wine it enshrines, but the Walter Crane-ish border of vines is unseemly to my eye. Perhaps I am prejudiced by the early memories of pre-Raphaelite ladies with bare feet who always seemed to choose to walk round blackberry bushes. My youthful heart bled for them; why didn't they put on their shoes?

Ch.Rauzan-Gassies has a charming label in the Moreau le Jeune[1] style, with chaplets of flowers tumbling about. Here one would suspect the feminine hand, and rightly so. Madame Veuve Rigaud, purchasing the Château in 1887, set her own markupon it.

The owners of Léoville-Lascase had a difficult problem before them: a mere bungalow is their Château; should they choose the bottling cellar, far more imposing, though prison-like? They chose neither: an imposing Gateway was at hand surmounted by a Lion couchant, and it is this we see today on their label; a gate we would willingly crash.

Hard must have been the way of label designers when seeking something distinctive to put on their bottles, but the ingenuity of man surmounts all obstacles. Let us congratulate Château Palmer Margaux on a brilliant conception. A black label printed white—no one would forget that, and so it is today, I fancy, the only red Bordeaux which is so labelled. Or was it Château Guiraud, the famous Sauternes, which first registered this device?

But with all such conceptions let us be thankful that Bordeaux has resisted the temptation to which Burgundy has succumbed: the rather German style of the old 'Hostellerie', coloured, and often gold-dusted. Any such label would scare away any true Claret lover. Vines creep round the label, and I fear that before long red-cheeked damsels will be added, dreadfully chocolate box-y.

Let us clear our palate with a glance at Château Yquem—there's dignity for you! A coronet, 'Château d'Yquem—Lur Saluces', and the year in slender gold letters and a narrow golden border. Need more be said?

And, looking back, I see I have said nothing about Latour. Let us leave it so, 'on ne badine pas avec Latour' [You do not compromise with Latour].

1. Jean-Michel Moreau (1741–1814), also called Moreau le Jeune ("the younger"), a French illustrator and engraver of the highest note.

LOCKE ON WINES

by *Ron Unzelman*

[*This engaging peek at a well-known gentleman and his rather unknown book on wine was first printed in the January 2004 issue of the* Wayward Tendrils Newsletter. *We are pleased to offer it again for the benefit of our newer members.* — Ed.]

"WHERE THERE IS NO PROPERTY," wrote John Locke, the famous political theorist whose work influenced Jefferson and other framers of American government, "there can be no loss."

Perhaps Locke in that instance was thinking of the rich, grape-laden vineyards around Montpellier, France, where he had once retired for fourteen months to restore his health. There he studied, among other things, winemaking practices of southern France. The corollary of his statement is, of course, that with property, a bountiful gain may result. That was certainly the case during his stay, as he observed and catalogued no less than forty-one grape varieties grown in the area. His notes are preserved for us in *Observations Upon the Growth and Culture of Vines and Olives: the Production of Silk: the Preservation of Fruits.*

John Locke, author of numerous philosophical, political and educational essays, was born in 1632 in Somersetshire. From 1652 to 1660 he studied philosophy, science and medicine at Christ Church College, Oxford University, and stayed on to practice medicine and lecture on Greek, rhetoric and philosophy. In 1666 the powerful English statesman, Anthony Ashley Cooper (who became the 1st Earl of Shaftesbury in 1672), engaged Locke to be his personal physician, secretary and confidential advisor. Under Shaftesbury's patronage, Locke began his masterpiece, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, immersed himself in politics, and pursued scientific interests. Also, under Shaftesbury's direction, Locke wrote the plan of government for the Province of Carolina in America.

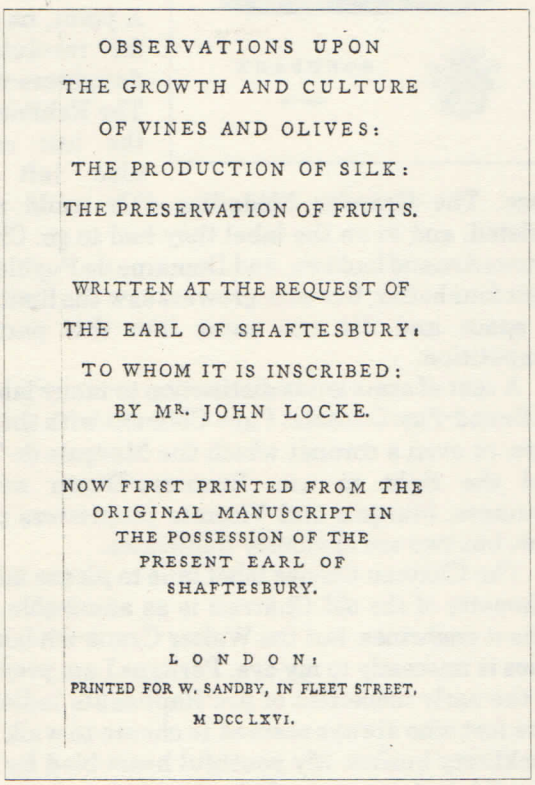
Because of ill health, John Locke journeyed to the south of France and lived for a little more than a year in Montpellier (December 1675 to Spring 1677). The scientist-side of Locke led him to study the local French trade and its products. He was a diligent observer of everything of interest—customs, occupations, and buildings.

In 1679, at Shaftesbury's instigation, Locke wrote a small treatise based on his gathered facts. In it he names and briefly catalogues almost four dozen grape varieties grown for wine or table, and describes the local vineyard and winemaking practices in the area. He also provides similar descriptions for thirteen varieties of olives, olive oil production, silk manufacture and fruit drying.

Locke's manuscript, "very neatly written with his usual accuracy," remained in the possession of the Shaftesbury family, unpublished, for almost 90 years. Then, in 1766, the "Present Earl of Shaftesbury," who was Trustee for the Colony of Georgia and a property owner in Carolina, must have realized the work could be valuable in the new Colonies. It was published in London with an added 15-page introduction, "Editor to the Reader," in which editor Gregory Sharpe explained: "Should it gain a passage to America, it will be of far more extensive use both to that country and to Britain." Sharpe devoted most of his comments to America, addressing the new colonies of Georgia and Carolina in particular. Britain encouraged the colonies to grow and produce vines, olives, silk and fruits "which cannot advantageously be raised in England," and thus England and America would not be "rivals in trade."

A fascinating bit of trivia in the book is Locke's reference to "Mr. Pontac's [vineyard] near Bordeaux ...the wine de Pontac, so much esteemed in England." This would be a reference to the present-day First Growth, Château Haut-Brion, and similar to the famous entry of 10 April 1663 in Pepys' diary: he "drank a sort of French wine called Ho Bryen that hath a good and most particular taste that I never met with."

Observations Upon the Growth and Culture of Vines and Olives..., with its modest title page, is a small book, only 6"x4" and 73 pages.



OBSERVATIONS UPON
THE GROWTH AND CULTURE
OF VINES AND OLIVES:
THE PRODUCTION OF SILK:
THE PRESERVATION OF FRUITS.

WRITTEN AT THE REQUEST OF
THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY:
TO WHOM IT IS INSCRIBED:
BY MR. JOHN LOCKE.

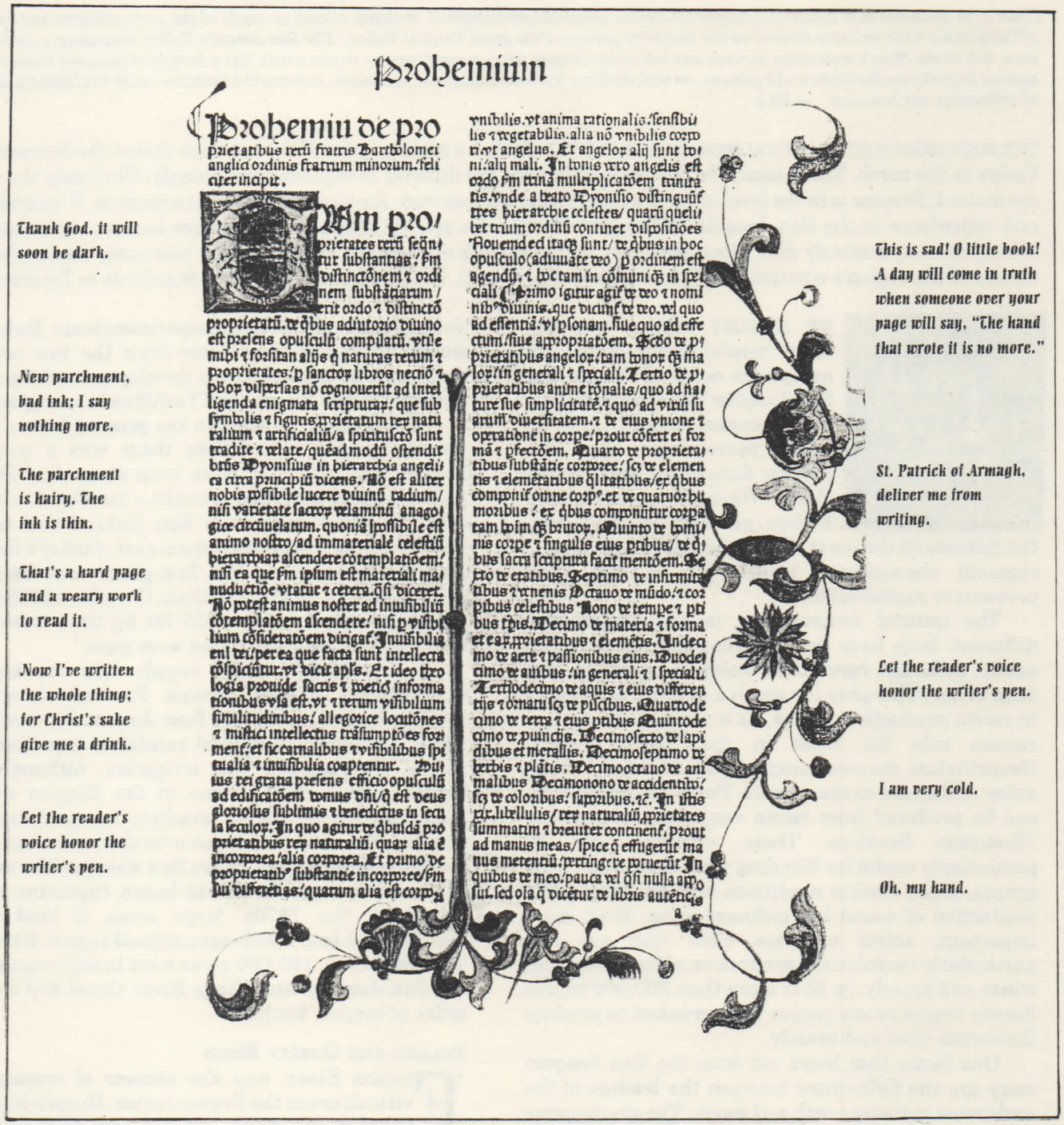
NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM THE
ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN
THE POSSESSION OF THE
PRESENT EARL OF
SHAFTESBURY.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR W. SANDBY, IN FLEET STREET.
M DCC LXVI.

"Oh, My Hand: Complaints Medieval Monks Scribbled in the Margins of Illuminated Manuscripts," by Maria Popova

[Gleaned by Ruth Walker from Brain Pickings—for the enjoyment of all Tendrils]

The history of bookmaking hasn't been without its challenges, but never was its craft as painstaking as during the era of illuminated manuscripts. This collection of medieval monks' margin scribbles joins the ranks of entertaining historical marginalia.



Bartholomeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, 1488

Wine in California: The Early Years
The Great Valley and Its Foothills
The San Joaquin Valley

by *Charles L. Sullivan*

[*This 10th installment of historian Charles Sullivan's never-before-published, in-depth historical study of the early pioneers and framers of California's wine industry focuses on the southern portion of the great Central Valley. The San Joaquin Valley, containing a little more than half of the State's winegrape acreage and one of the largest winegrowing regions in the world, has a history of constant winegrowing success from the earliest days to the present. As with Sullivan's previous chapters, extensive, informative footnotes, with a substantial library of references, are provided.* — Ed.]

THE SOUTHERN PORTION OF CALIFORNIA'S GREAT VALLEY has a history quite different than that of the Sacramento Valley to the north. The reasons for the great difference are difficult to explain convincingly. Obviously the most dramatic difference is in the level of their winegrowing success from the earliest days to the present. Winegrowing and viticulture in the San Joaquin Valley provide us with stories of almost continuous success. Actually, the history is comparatively dull, since there are no great tales of dramatic disaster. And how many can recite the names of the region's winegrowing heroes. They are several, but there are no Sutters, Stanfords or Livermores.

HE HISTORY ITSELF provides some helpful hints. With two exceptions north of Fresno, the San Joaquin Valley story begins in the seventies and eighties, many years later than the pioneer days of the Sacramento Valley. We might guess that the Fresno pioneers learned from the failures at the north. But a careful comparison of regional chronologies makes this a less than persuasive explanation.

The natural environment is not particularly different. Both have hot summers and ripen grapes easily, although rain at the north is much heavier than below. This gave the south a definite advantage in raisin production. Today, as it was a century ago, raisins rule the roost in the Fresno region. Nevertheless, that is a positive factor for winegrowing today and in the earliest years. Perfectly sound wine can be produced from raisin varieties, such as the Thompson Seedless. These varieties can be particularly useful for blending with more tasty wine grapes, when market conditions warrant large scale production of sound but ordinary wine. Even more important, raisin varieties were and are still particularly useful in the production of fortified sweet wines and brandy. In 2011 more than 300,000 tons of Fresno region raisin grapes were crushed to produce California wine and brandy.

One factor that leaps out from the San Joaquin story are the differences between the leaders of the early wine industry north and south. The southerners were more careful and less given to speculative ventures. They depended less on financial advisors than on their own knowledge and experience and those of their advisors and superintendents. No better stories illustrate this factor than the two sets of brothers who pioneered the development of the wine industry in the Fresno and Lodi/Stockton regions.

Several early settlers in the general Fresno area planted grapes long before there was a town of Fresno. The first may have been planted by Henry Akers, who in 1852 had brought a bundle of cuttings over the mountains from San Gabriel tied to his horse's saddle. He planted them east of today's Fresno near the Kings River. The first permanent vineyard was planted in 1869 by William Christy at Millerton, the old county seat. In 1938 his fig trees were still bearing, but the grape vines were gone.[1]

A dependable water supply was the key to horticultural success around Fresno, where the average high temperature from June to September is 94° F. and average annual rainfall is less than ten inches. The answer was irrigation. Although the Fresno region comes close to the Köppen desert classification, the Sierra Nevada to the east drains the passing storms as they climb over the mountains. The resulting streams and rivers flow west into the valley. When commercial interests began capturing these waters in the 1870s, large areas of land were transformed into a rich agricultural region. Between 1871 and 1880, 190,000 acres were being irrigated by the San Joaquin and Kings River Canal and its 120 miles of branch ditches.[2]

Francis and Gustav Eisen

Francis Eisen was the pioneer of commercial viticulture in the Fresno region. Despite his very German last name, he was born in Stockholm and came to California in 1851, age twenty-five. Earlier he had spent several years in the banking and commission business in Germany. In San Francisco

he eventually made his fortune in the milling business, which he pursued there until 1885. But in 1872 he was attracted to the agricultural possibilities of the Fresno area. First he leased a 631-acre plot east of town, which in that year was little more than a railroad station and a very few buildings. Irrigation was at hand, since Fancher Creek ran right through his property. Right away he planted a few grape vines. They were already bearing in May 1875 when he bought the tract and that fall made 250 gallons of satisfactory wine.

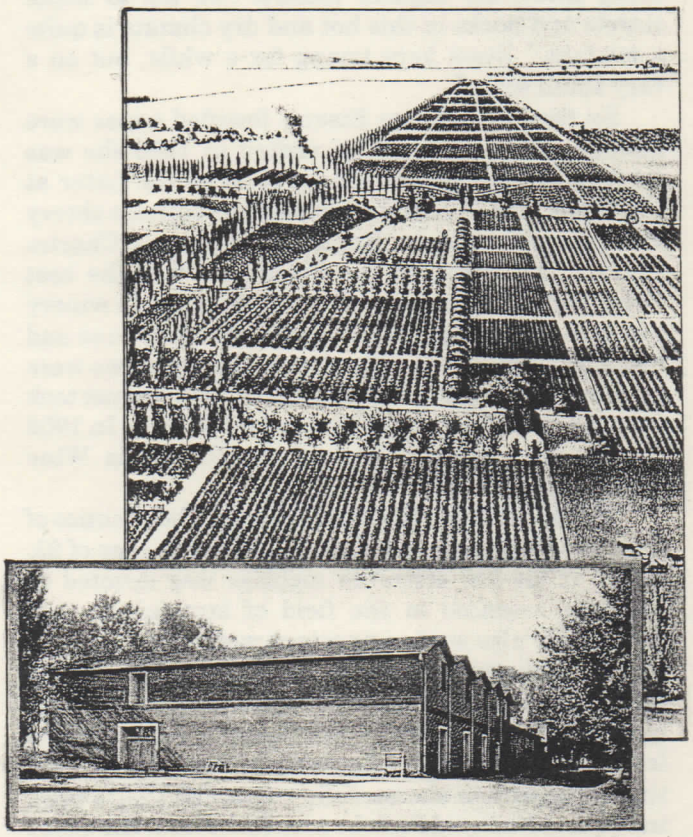
Francis Eisen's much younger brother, Gustav, had remained in Sweden until he received his doctorate in biology in 1873 at Uppsala University. He then came to California and arrived at Fresno Station near the end of the year. These two made a great team, and certainly lived up to the German meaning of their last name, "iron." Gustav, the scientist, had an expert background in horticulture, and Francis was a seasoned businessman with a keen interest in wine.[3]

Although the Eisens were the Fresno area's pioneers in commercial wine and raisin production, they took several years to develop the powerful emphasis on winegrowing that became the defining characteristic of their large property. Gustav became the manager of the estate in 1874 and also acquired a piece of land adjoining the larger property. He and Francis were convinced that careful experimentation would be the key to success. They experimented with all manner of crops and their products, and in doing so created a very beautiful and verdant property. Gustav even had a large experimental rose garden.

At first their viticultural interest was high on raisins. The story goes that in the mid-seventies they once inadvertently left the grapes of a plot of Rose of Peru vines unharvested. After they dried on the vine, Gustav sent them to San Francisco as raisins where they "caused an immediate sensation," in the words of one historian.[4] Although the 1883 list of the 52 Eisen grape varieties contained mostly raisin and table types, by 1891, of the 300 acres of vines on the property, 285 were of wine grapes and the rest were muscats. Nevertheless, the Eisens are still saluted as the raisin pioneers of the region.[5]

Francis was able to buy his 631 acres in 1875 for only $10 per acre. Such a bargain was possible because the nation was experiencing its greatest ever agricultural and industrial depression, which lasted from 1873 to 1878. Land prices in the San Joaquin Valley were dirt cheap. These facts help account for Eisens' very cautious and very deliberate approach to developing their operation. But when the economic clouds cleared after 1878, Francis recognized the excellent potential in wine production.

Gustav planned the large new vineyard and supervised its planting. By the winter of 1879-1880 there were 172 acres of new vines in the ground. The most numerous were the 47 acres of Zinfandel, which Francis thought would make a good base for port wine.[6] By the end of 1879 these young vines were yielding an astonishing 2.75 tons per acre, which gave Eisen 79,000 gallons of wine. He had built a two-story adobe brick winery and hauled down by rail a vast amount of equipment and cooperage.[7] This huge and early output was certainly due to the deep and fertile soil, the unlimited irrigation water, and the heat of the Fresno summer. By 1883 production was up to 135,000 gallons plus 4,000 gallons of brandy for use in fortifying sweet wines and dry sherry. A year later Eisen complained about the bad results of having over-irrigated his vines.[8]



Eisen Vineyard and Wine Cellars *c*1890 showing part of his almost 300-acre vineyard and mammoth 800,000-gallon-capacity cellars

By the time that Thomas Hardy had headed for the Central Valley on his 1883 tour of the California wine country, it had been made clear to him that his first stop had to be at the Eisen facility. Here he was guided by a Mr. Baber, an Englishman who was now managing the property. Gustav now managed Frederick Roeding's famed Fancher Creek Nursery. (Roeding had sold Eisen his property in 1875.)

Hardy could hardly believe his eyes. "The growth of everything here is simply astonishing." The winery buildings and new distillery were impressive. The largest structure contained about 100 vats, the larger ones with capacities of 1500 and 3000 gallons. The astonishing fecundity of the heavily watered land explains Eisen's crops from very young vines. Hardy found two-year vines planted as cuttings which already bore a good crop of grapes. There were now 450 acres of vines, and an orchard of 1,000 trees.

The Australian wine expert liked Eisen's products, particularly the sweet wines. His favorite was a fortified muscat. The table wines got scant comment. Only a "light wine from Zinfandel" got a tepid approval. Hardy predicted correctly that fortified sweet wines and a dry sherry type would eventually bring Eisen his highest honors. "To try to make clarets and hocks in this hot and dry climate is quite a mistake." Eisen kept trying for a while, but on a very small scale.[9]

By the late eighties Eisen's fortified wines were famous. When Frona Wait visited in 1888 she was most impressed by his sherry style wines. Later at Chicago's 1893 Columbian Exposition both his sherry and port won awards. English wine expert Charles Oldham declared that the Eisen port was the best sweet wine shown at the Exposition. Eisen's winery was now producing about 250,000 gallons of wine and had a capacity of 800,000 gallons. His top wines were port, malaga, muscat and sherry. His son August took over the operation after Francis died in 1895. In 1902 the company became part of the California Wine Association.[10]

We cannot leave the Eisen name without notice of Gustav's later years. He died in 1940 at the age of 93. Much of his life after the eighties was devoted to scientific research in the field of horticulture and biology. He also wrote important works on the raisin and fig industries. He was an early leader of the environmental element of the National Progressive movement in the nineties. For years he was an active leader of the California Academy of Sciences. In 1941 that organization successfully requested that a peak in Sequoia National Park be named for him. His ashes were buried at the foot of Mount Eisen.[11]

Neighboring Large-Scale Operations

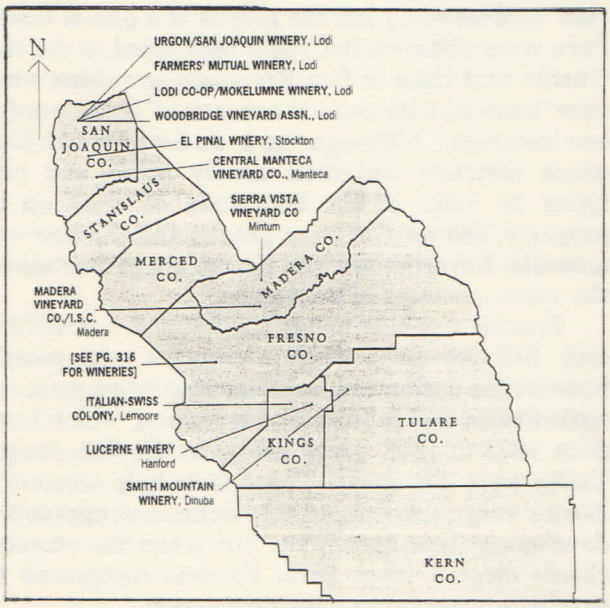
There is no good reason to relate the detailed history of the other large winery operations that grew up in the Fresno region in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This is mainly because their histories were so similar to the Eisen success stories. Most of them began in the 1880s as part of California's first great wine boom, and many of the operations were developed by wealthy capitalists and corporations. There were also a few large-scale colonies established, some of which became notable producers of wine and brandy. They were organized similarly to the Anaheim Colony of the 1850s.

In 1882 the Pacific Rural Press published a long article on several of the large-scale vineyard operations being developed in the region.[12] They included George Eggers, the Barton Vineyard, George Malter (St. George Winery), the Fresno Vineyard Co., M. Theo. Kearney, the Scandinavian Colony, and Eisen. A few years later the list would have been longer. Most of these operations tried to produce dry table wines from well established vinifera wine grapes. None was particularly successful, but a few hung on for several years. Eventually sweet wines, dry sherry, and brandy were the really profitable items being produced by the end of the eighties. Profits were excellent until about 1891. After that date these wineries began feeling the hurt from the national agricultural depression that began in 1889.[13]

California Wine Association

The general depression, heralded by the Panic of 1893, made it clear that the growth of the eighties had led to over-expansion of productive capacity. Wine prices plummeted and in 1894 the state's large scale producers combined to form a virtual wine and brandy monopoly, the California Wine Association (CWA).

By the end of the 1890s almost all the wine from the old San Joaquin Viticultural District was produced by or under the control of the CWA. That district's lines had been drawn in 1880 by the new State Viticultural Commission, outlining virtually all the San Joaquin Valley from the Lodi area in the north to Kern County in the south. All large producers in the Fresno region were connected to the CWA.[14]



San Joaquin Valley wineries of the CWA
[FROM Peninou/Unzelman *California Wine Association*, 2000]

Those operating that had established brand identities kept them. But the CWA maintained tight control.

In an age of robber barons and industrial monopoly the national Progressive movement, later headed by President Theodore Roosevelt, chose to divide monopolies into two groups. Those whose practices were thought to hurt the public were prosecuted quite successfully under new federal anti-trust laws. Those whose practices were deemed to have a steadying effect on their industries were left alone. Several monopolies were broken up during the Progressive Era as the result of federal action. But the CWA prospered and maintained its economic power until Prohibition.

In 1890 Fresno County had 49,500 acres of vines. More than 85% of these vines were raisin varieties. There were only 5574 acres of winegrapes. Other counties in the Fresno region, primarily Tulare County, had 13,000 total acres, with 95% raisin grapes. Even though the winegrape acreage was relatively small, when market conditions so indicated, thousands of tons of raisin grapes were converted into wine and brandy. There are no useful pre-Prohibition statistics to tell us what the early ratios were, but the recent vintage 2011 statistics are suggestive: in California's modern Viticultural District 13, which includes Fresno, Madera and Tulare Counties, 1,028,437 tons of grapes were crushed. Of these 30% were raisin varieties and 4% were table grapes.

Red Mountain Winery

The northern portion of the San Joaquin Valley provides us with a success story even greater than those of the Fresno region. But before we focus on the Lodi/Stockton area, we should take a detour to an unlikely spot about 20 miles northeast of Modesto, just inside Stanislaus County. Knight's Ferry was a crossing on the Stanislaus River, named for William Knight, who lived just long enough to give his name to the tiny village that grew up there. The ferry itself was run for several years after 1849 by Lewis Dent, later a federal judge and General Grant's brother-in-law.[15]

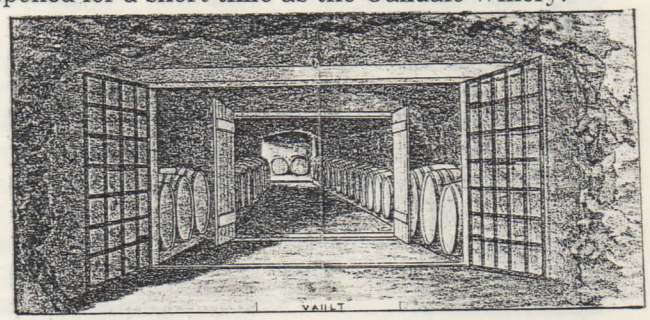
In 1853 New Yorker George Krause bought land south of town and planted a few grape vines. His small vineyard attracted a Stockton attorney with an interest in winegrowing. Abraham Schell bought a large tract of land in the same area in 1856 and the two men became partners in what would become the Red Mountain Winery. Their first large planting was in 1860, about 10 acres. Schell's interest in viticulture must have been well known, for he was appointed in 1861, along with Agoston Haraszthy, as a state wine commissioner. But for some reason he almost immediately resigned.[16]

The partners experimented with a large number of grape varieties, including some exotic raisin and table grapes. They always made a small amount of dry table wine, for sale in the immediate area. But like the winegrowers to the south, they concentrated heavily on sweet wine and brandy. Their partnership was Schell & Krause, their winery was Red Mountain and their brand was Glen Clara.

After Krause's death Schell brought in his talented nephew, Herrick Schell, as manager and winemaker. By the end of the sixties Red Mountain was famous, particularly for its angelica, and that wine particularly when well aged in the tunnels that had been dug into the stone mountain above the river. The sherry and port were also very successful. After the State Fair in 1868 the wine evaluation committee rained praise on all the Red Mountain wines exhibited. "Indeed it seems impossible that wine of the same age could excel those of Schell & Krause... ."[17] In the eighties the operation became A. Schell & Co. By then Red Mountain was producing about 35,000 gallons annually, with good sales on the East Coast under the Glen Clara label.

The vineyards covered some 75 acres, with about 65% of the vines Mission for angelica production. There were also muscats and Zinfandel, the latter for port wine. In 1888 at the State Viticultural Convention there was a great contest for medals among the state's top wine producers. The judges' panels included some of the greatest names in California wine: Husmann, Rixford, Pellet, McIntyre and Portal, to name a few. Red Mountain's "old" Angelica took first place, ahead of George West's. They won seconds for 1886 angelica and 1885 brandy, both behind West, who we shall meet shortly.[18]

After Schell's death in 1892 his nephew ran the winery as H. R. Schell & Co. It continued to operate successfully and independently under the Schell family until Prohibition. After Repeal in 1933 it opened for a short time as the Oakdale Winery.[19]



The iron-gated entrance to the massive underground aging tunnels of Red Mountain Winery, *c* 1870

Numerous writers and wine industry leaders, looking back before Prohibition and into the nineteenth century, agreed that the state's most successful single wine operation had originated and grew up in San Joaquin County, specifically in today's Lodi/Stockton region.[20] Yet Leon Adams was correct when he wrote that this region was not wine country in the 19th century.[21] And when vineyard planting did explode here after 1900, it was still not wine country; it was grape country, the home of the popular Flame Tokay table grape, and after Prohibition the home of the variety's equally popular brandy.

George and William West

But George and William West thought this might be good wine country. They came to California in the first days of the Gold Rush from Massachusetts, where their father had dabbled seriously in horticulture. After a few profitable months in the Gold Country, they bought a piece of land in 1852 just north of the new town of Stockton. At first they did not set out to focus on winegrowing; they knew that this newly settled land needed well stocked nurseries.

Apparently they had previously established relations with Hovey & Co., Boston's leading nursery, and in 1853 imported seed stock, fruit trees and grape vines. In their first shipment of vines they had forty vinifera varieties, almost all meant for the production of table grapes and raisins. For a few years, as they expanded their nursery business, their viticultural interests were focused on the San Francisco fresh table grape market, where profits were substantial.[22]

The Wests were not the pioneer viticulturists in the area. Charles Weber founded Stockton in 1850 and planted a few grape vines there that year. But he was better noted for his vineyard near San Jose where he was an early advocate of Zinfandel.[23] In 1852 Clement von Detten also planted his vineyard near town. He was an active winegrower into the 1880s, but in a small way. But he probably ranks as the number two wine operation in the area for many years. His white wines won numerous awards at the county's annual fair.[24] Nevertheless, the only winery of any size before the 1890s in the area was the Wests' El Pinal.

Three of the Wests' early grapevine imports deserve special notice. Among his "table" varieties was the Zinfandel, whose excellent winemaking potential was discovered almost simultaneously in 1859 in Sonoma and Santa Clara Counties, and in the Central Valley. By the 1860s the Wests were among the chief advocates for the variety, both for red table wine and for port. They were also the first in California to produce a "white" Zinfandel, actually pink. Years later Viticultural Commissioner Charles Wetmore recommended Zinfandel as a white wine. The basis for this recommendation was West's White Zinfandel, which, "when not fermented on the skins, produces wine with a delicate flavor. . . ." But the Lodi area had to wait until the 1980s to become well known as "White Zin" country.[25]

The label on another West import seems to have been lost, but the white wine from the vines was quite good. The vines were vigorous and productive and the wines' acid and pleasant flavor made it a perfect variety for the Stockton area. West called it the White Prolific, eventually everyone called it West's White Prolific. It was later discovered to be the French Colombard, which still covers 26,000 acres of Central Valley vineyards.[26]

The third grape of special interest also came to West from Boston. It was the Sultana, or Sultanina, a seedless table grape that was good for raisins and for eating. But West kept it out of his fermenters, since the resulting wine had practically no flavor. The Sultana has a well-known synonym, Thompson Seedless. The received history today has this grape being first imported to California in 1872 by William Thompson, a Sutter County rancher. It arrived from a New York nursery as the Lady de Coverley. It later caught on as a raisin grape in the Sacramento Valley, and on August 16, 1888, the Sutter County Historical Society" officially" named it Thompson Seedless. After 1900 this raisin grape became firmly established in the San Joaquin Valley. It still is, but not just for its raisins. In 2011 there were 325,000 tons crushed there to produce California wine and brandy. The variety does deserve its Thompson name, but it was the West Brothers who first brought it to California.[27]

After 1855 there was a short flourish of interest in wine production in both northern and southern California. The Wests had their first small vintage in 1858, but there is no record of the varieties involved. Theirs was still primarily a "grape and nursery" operation into the sixties and its was in that category they won a special award at the 1860 county fair. By then they had planted a plot of Mission vines which was later expanded, producing the brothers' celebrated angelica and brandy. But it was their Zinfandel based port that put "West" into the pages of the wine loving northern California press in the mid-sixties.[28] It was in the early sixties that the brothers planted a small grove of pine trees near their little wine cellar. Within a few years the name of their operation was El Pinal.

In 1868 William and George amicably ended their partnership. By then William had his own 44-acre nursery operation. He operated it as the Stockton Nursery and dominated the field in the county until 1882 when he sold the business.[29]

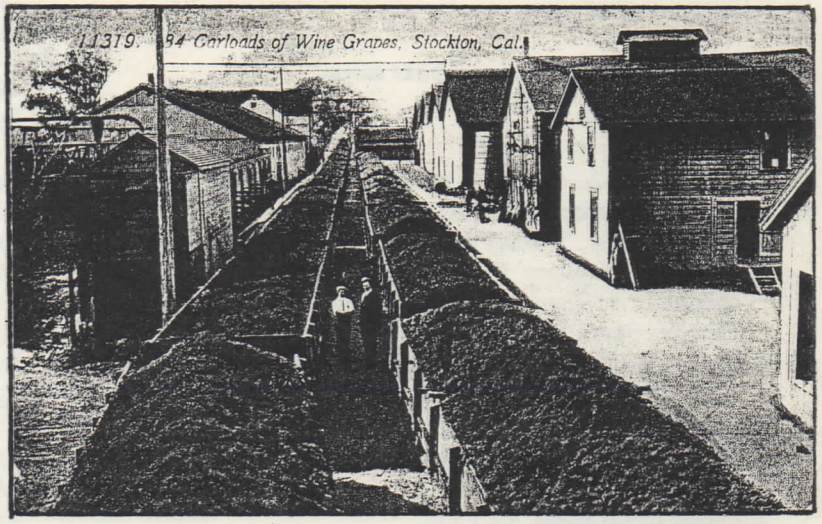
George West began expanding his winegrape acreage in 1868 when he planted 62 acres of vines about seven miles northwest of Stockton. Warm weather varieties such as the Palomino and Burger joined his French Colombard to produce sound white table wines. He also planted a small amount of Riesling to boost the flavor of his white wine. He also used his muscats for that purpose and for his angelica. His favorite was the Muscat Frontignon from which he also made a sparkling wine that won an award at the 1870 State Fair. At the same event his white table wine won the gold medal in that division. In the seventies he imported sherry varieties from Spain and port varieties from Portugal. Before then his port from the red Trousseau and Zinfandel had won numerous awards.[30]

By the mid-seventies West's sweet wines and brandies had made him one of the dominant forces in the California wine industry. When the State Legislature set up its Viticultural Commission in 1880, West was appointed commissioner for the San Joaquin District, which encompassed the entire San Joaquin Valley. His annual reports are a useful source of information on winegrowing in the valley in the eighties. But in his first report he had to admit that Fresno County was by far the leader in the region, far surpassing production in his own area. So far as his part of the valley was concerned, "all the energies of our farmers have been devoted to wheat culture." Nothing had changed since he expanded his operation in 1868, when there were already 163,000 acres of grain grown in San Joaquin County. In 1880 there were only 550 acres of grapes in the county, and one third of these were table grapes. Most of the wine grapes in the county were owned or controlled by El Pinal.[31]

For his brandy production in the mid-eighties West was using the Folle blanche variety, favored in France's Cognac district. It was observed by most commentators that only Henry Naglee's San Jose brandy could rival West's. Frona Wait agreed, and after visiting West in 1888 she wrote, "he is one of the most level-headed grape-growers in the State." At the state winegrowers convention in 1888 the awards committee declared that, "Such a brandy as this. . . will bring fame to California as the Cognac brandy has brought to France." He also won three firsts in the four port categories and a first for his 1886 angelica.[32]

By the end of the eighties West was producing annually 350,00 to 400,000 gallons of wine, mostly sweet. About 30% of this production was sold in East Coast markets. At this time he also began growing the classic red wine varieties of Bordeaux on an experimental basis, Cabernet Sauvignon and Cabernet franc.[33] He had never given up his lofty goal of producing first-class red table wine, but he knew that the northern coastal valleys were better adopted for producing such wine. So he began buying top-notch red wine grapes from these areas. In 1891 alone 1200 of his 4000 tons crushed came from the coastal valleys, mostly from Livermore. It is not clear whether he blended the wine from these grapes with his own. But I think it is obvious that he would have experimented with such blends.[34]

West had also begun expanding his wine operations to the south. In 1880 he joined Thomas Minturn in establishing the Sierra Vista Vineyard in Madera County. His total production had reached 750,000 gallons in 1892 when he turned over much of his operations to his twenty-nine year old son, Frank. The company was now George West & Son. This was a very good move since Frank West was something of a financial genius, and was able to guide the company successfully through the deep national depression of 1893–1897.



Early postcard view of the harvest trains loaded with grapes at El Pinal Winery. Four railroad spurs, totaling over two miles of track, were not sufficient to accommodate the great inrush of grapes at the height of the vintage. [Peninou & Unzelman, *CWA*, p.305]

Along the way the Wests struck gold at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago for their port, sherry and brandy. Brandies, vintages 1876–1890, were, "the best and most reliable exhibited," according to English wine and spirit expert Charles Oldham.[35]

After George West died in 1899 the company entered a very close relationship with the California Wine Association and in 1903 became part of that

grand monopoly. Frank West became one of the top officials in the CWA and continued to exercise active control over his own company. Historian Ernest Peninou was correct in writing that by 1912, "West and the California Wine Association virtually controlled the wine industry of the Central Valley." Frona Wait's "levelheaded" observation certainly fits both the Wests and the Eisens. They were careful, experimental, and well-liked by others in the wine industry. Their stories stand out refreshingly against those from farther north in the Great Valley.

▪ ▪ ▪ ▪ ▪

Heading north and east from the Stockton wine country, travelers today gradually ascend into the foothills of Amador and El Dorado Counties. Above the 400-foot elevation marker vineyards begin to appear. Thus it was about 150 years ago when, under much rougher traveling conditions, this region of the Sierra Foothills was developing for a short while into one of California's most productive and prestigious winegrowing regions.

[*continued next issue*]

NOTES

1. Wallace Smith, *Garden of the Sun,* Fresno, 1939, 484-5.
2. Bancroft, *History,* VII, 9-10.
3. Allan Shields, "Gustav Eisen. . .," Wayward Tendrils Quarterly, January 2010, 16-page supplement; Ernest Peninou, *A History of the San Joaquin Viticultural District,* Santa Rosa, 2000, 9-11.
4. Charles W. Clough, *History of Fresno County. . .,* Fresno, 1984, 137, as cited by Shields, 6.
5. Pacific Wine & Spirit Review (PWSR), 8/21/1891.
6. State Viticultural Commission, *2nd Annual Report...,* Sacramento, 1882, 54-55.
7. Pacific Rural Press, 4/3/1880.
8. PWSR, 3/14/1884.
9. Thomas Hardy, *Notes on Vineyards in America...,* Adelaide, 1885, 33-37.
10. Frona Eunce Wait, *Wines and Vines of California.* San Francisco 1889, 188-189; PWSR, 8/5/1892, 12/6/1893, 9/30/1911; Peninou, *CWA,* 318-320.
11. Prof. Allan Shields' article cited above gives a detailed picture of Gustav Eisen's life and accomplishments.
12. PWSR, 8/13/1882.
13. For more detailed histories of the Fresno region's large wine producers see: Peninou, *CWA* and *San Joaquin Valley;* Pinney, *History,* 317-320; Sullivan, *Companion.*
14. Eisen, Fresno Vineyard Co., Eggers, La Paloma, Las Palmas, Kearney, Calwa, the Scandinavian Colony, Wahtoke, Lac-Jac, and Italian Swiss Colony.
15. Gudde, 196; New York Times, 3/23/1874.
16. Alta California, 6/5/1866; Stockton Independent, 3/1/1872; Modesto Bee, 4/18/1968; Peninou, *San Joaquin,* 34; Pinney, *History,* 484.
17. Ag. Society, 1868-69, 389, 393-394.
18. *Report of the 6th State Viticultural Convention,* Sacramento, 1888, 173-179; State Viticultural Commission, *First Report. . .,* Sacramento, 1880, 24-28; Pacific Rural Press, 10/25/1879; Ag. Society, 1873, 423.
19. PWSR, 4/19/1915; Wines & Vines, 12/1933. Peninou, *San Joaquin,* 33-39 has excellent Red Mountain illustrations, with photos of the ruins in the 1950s.
20. Before 1900 Lodi was hardly a village and was never used to identify the region. Today the name stands alone. It is also the geographical identifier for the most productive official Viticultural Area in California for world-class wine grapes, such as Cabernet Sauvignon and Chardonnay.
21. Leon Adams, *Wines of America,* Boston, 1973, 287-288.
22. Rockwell Hunt, ed., *California and Californians,* Vol. IV, Chicago, 1932, 39-41; Irving McKee, "George West..," California–Magazine of the Pacific, 10/1954. Wine Institute reprint.
23. California Farmer, 10/9/1857, 10/6/1858, 10/26/1860.
24. Thomas Hart Hyatt, *Hyatt's Hand-book of Grape Culture,* San Francisco, 1867, 133-134; Pacific Rural Press, 8/12/1871; Stockton Daily Independent, 1/20/1868.
25. Ag. Society, 1870/71, 505-506; State Viticultural Commission, *Second Report...Chief Executive Officer,* Sacramento, 1884, 114, 118.
26. M. A. Amerine and A. J. Winkler, *California Wine Grapes,* Ca. Ag. Extension St. Bulletin 794, 19; Sullivan, *Companion,* 123.
27. Napa County Reporter, 1/12/1889; Wines & Vines, 2/1932, 9/1980; Marysville Appeal, 22/11/1911.
28. Calif. Farmer, 10/27/1865; Ag. Society 1864/65, 217.
29. H. M. Butterfield, "Old California Nursery Catalogues." Typescript at Bancroft Library and UC Davis, 1943.
30. Ag. Society 1864/65, 217; 1870/71, 49-50, 505-506; California Farmer, 10/27/1865.
31. State Viticultural Commission, *First Report,* revised, 1881, 24-28; *Second Report,* 1882, 54-58.
32. *Report...6th Viticultural Convention,* Sacramento, 1888, 178-179; Wait, 101.
33. Alta California, 10/17/1887.
34. PWSR, 10?21/1891, 11/20/1891.
35. *Viticultural Commission Report,* 1893-1894, 48-57; PWSR, 12/6/1893, 1/20/1894

RECOLLECTIONS OF André Simon's *VINTAGEWISE* by *Roy Brady*

[*In remembrance of Roy Brady [1918–1998], an appreciative student of wine for over fifty years who graced these pages many a time with his thoughts on collecting anything in the printed world of wine, we pull from our 1997 WT archives (v.7 #1) this little Brady gem for your pleasure. Enjoy!* —Ed.]

Any list of essential wine books must include André Simon's *Vintagewise* (1945) just as it must include George Saintsbury's classic *Notes On a Cellar-Book* (1920). Simon called his work a Postscript to Saintsbury and published it in Saintsbury's centenary year. Simon was not a scholar of the prodigious proportions of Prof. Saintsbury, but he was a merchant-scholar in the best English tradition (though French born). In preparing his unequaled, three-volume *History of the Wine Trade in England* (1906, 1907, 1909) he worked with original medieval documents.

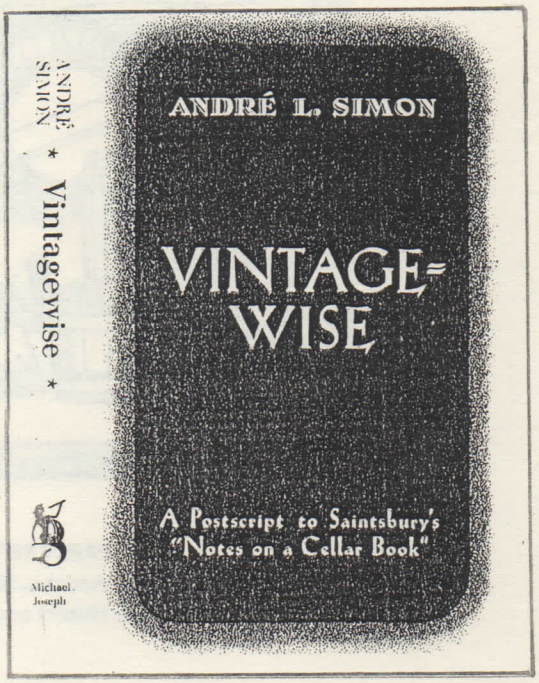
The interbellum school of English writers about wine defined an age. Simon was the most prominent and most prolific of them. His slender volume of 174 pages, actually 158 subtracting index and whatall, sums up that age better than any other book. *Vintagewise* offers the most compendious account of the age and a sample of Simon's style, not rococo (actually there is not a suitable word) like Saintsbury's, but much his own.

Saintsbury's province was all drinks alcoholic (if one may be permitted to use the word in any sense but pejorative in these Pecksniffian times). Simon's first eight chapters cover essentially the same wines as Saintsbury's first six. They were sherry, port, Madeira, claret, Burgundy, and the finest white wines of France and Germany. If Simon ever tasted malt whisky, much less gin, we don't hear about it. Saintsbury was fond of and discriminating about both. Simon doesn't even mention Cognac though it appears in all his menus.

Simon must have kept detailed notes from his early years because he gives so many details. "The Haut Brion 1864 was a magnificent wine up to 1906, when the bin of it we had at Mark Lane came to an end" (p.63). "I do not remember any '89 in perfect condition later than November 1932, when Guy Knowles gave us a La Tâche of that vintage which was excellent" (p.109). I once asked Michael Broadbent if he knew what happened to Simon's notes. He didn't think Simon kept notes unless working on a book, but the constant rain of details about wines, people, places and circumstances argue that he must have. Where are they? They would be of far greater intrinsic interest than Saintsbury's cellar book.

Simon and the English school seemed to feel some quasi-mystical nexus between greatness and longevity in wine. The fact that 1929 Burgundies were so good so young made him "rather nervous" (p.119). He thought the motor car a deleterious influence on genteel living (pp.23-24), and he was doubtful about science in the winery. I am too, after a certain point. There was a story around at one time that some idiot persuaded Louis Petri to run that marvelous 1870 Angelica through an ion exchanger. The deadly principle is: if you got it use it.

The rest of the world Simon polishes off in a page and a half (pp.162-163). He said, "I am of the opinion that fine wines can be made almost everywhere where the vine will grow and the grapes will ripen." He traveled widely and was hopefully polite about the local stuff he was offered, but I am sure that, in his heart of hearts, he did not believe that any plot on earth would ever challenge his beloved French *terroir*. He "tasted very good wine" at the Cape and in California, and "some admirable wines in Chile." The word "great" is far from that chapter. Another continuing theme is the progressive loss of individuality in French and German wines, and after tasting more than half a century of vintages, I'm ready to add California to that list.



***Vintagewise* enjoyed several printings after the 1945 1st ed. including 1946, 1952, 1955. This personal recollection of memorable wines and favorite meals with intimate friends remains one of Simon's most popular books.**

Dyser tractat helt iñ von berayttung der Wein/zů gesundthait vnnd nutzbarkeit der menschen. Vnnd wie man gütten Essick machen sol. Durch Doctorem Arnolphum de Villa Noua.

EARLY 16TH CENTURY WINE CELLAR
From: André L. Simon *Bibliotheca Bacchica*, 1972
See "The History and Culture of Wine" by Kathleen Burk