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“France of the southern hemisphere” : transferring a European wine model to colonial Australia

Mikaël Pierre

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Université Bordeaux Montaigne

École Doctorale Montaigne Humanités (ED 480)

THÈSE DE DOCTORAT EN « HISTOIRE »

La « France de l'hémisphère sud »

*Transférer un modèle viti-vinicole européen en
Australie au XIXe siècle*

Présentée et soutenue publiquement le 30 Juin 2020 par

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“France of the Southern Hemisphere”

Transferring a European Wine Model to Colonial Australia

Mikaël PIERRE

MA (University Bordeaux Montaigne, France)

A thesis submitted to the University of Newcastle, Australia, and the University Bordeaux Montaigne, France, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

March 2020

Under the supervision of Julie MCINTYRE, Corinne MARACHE, and John GERMOV

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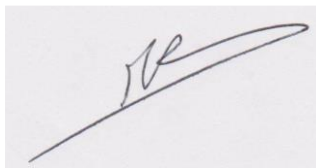
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Statement of Originality

I hereby certify that the work embodied in the thesis is my own work, conducted under normal supervision. I confirm that the thesis contains no material which has been accepted, or is being examined, for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution, with the exception of the approved partner university associated with this Dual Award Doctoral Degree. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made. I give consent to the final version of my thesis being made available worldwide when deposited in the University of Newcastle Digital Repository and its equivalent at the partner university, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968 and any approved embargo.

Mikaël PIERRE

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Mikaël Pierre', is written over a light grey rectangular background.

Abstract

The development of viticulture in Australia in the nineteenth century mostly drew on European models to spread both wine production and consumption in the colonial societies during the nineteenth century. Among these models, France gradually appeared as a specific choice due to the reputation of its wines and its cultural practices in the British world. This thesis intends to analyse the transfers of skills, technologies, vine grapes and experts from various French regions to the Australian colonies of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. These three colonies collectively represented the most productive wine district during the nineteenth century and the most evident marks of a French influence.

This circulation of knowledge mostly relied on wealthy British colonists' initiatives in order to develop economically and culturally the colonies. This thesis presents new evidence of the importance of the cross-cultural and transnational aspects which shaped the world wine industry in the nineteenth century. It also shows how Australia instigated these transfers of French practices and ideas and reshaped them to fit its natural, economic, political and socio-cultural environment.

Overall, this thesis, situated at the intersection of wine history and transnational history, gives a new insight on the effects of the first wave of globalisation which facilitated the circulation of knowledge, technologies and production models from Europe to the New World. It highlights the importance of interpersonal and interinstitutional exchanges occurring across national boundaries in the development of agricultural production, commodity trade and scientific knowledge. It also questions Franco–Australian transfers as a reflexivity process peculiar to *histoire croisée*. As such, this research project has been conducted both in Australia and in France as a transnational investigation mixing perspectives from the English-speaking world and the French-speaking world.

Résumé

Le développement de la viticulture en Australie au XIXe siècle découlait du transfert de modèles européens pour diffuser la production et la consommation de vin dans les sociétés coloniales. Parmi ces modèles, la France se révéla progressivement comme un choix à part, du fait de la réputation de ses vins et de l'influence de ses pratiques culturelles dans le monde britannique. Cette thèse cherche à analyser les transferts de cépages, compétences, technologies et experts de différentes régions françaises vers les colonies australiennes de Nouvelle-Galles du Sud, Victoria et Australie-Méridionale. Ces trois colonies regroupaient alors les principales régions viticoles des antipodes et les traces les plus évidentes d'une présence française.

Cette circulation de savoir reposait essentiellement sur les initiatives de colons britanniques aisés dont le but était de développer économiquement et culturellement les colonies. Ce processus illustre l'importance des phénomènes interculturels et transnationaux qui participèrent au façonnement d'une industrie vinicole mondiale au XIXe siècle. Il permet également de révéler la manière dont l'Australie s'appropriä ces transferts viti-vinicoles français pour les adapter à son environnement naturel, économique, politique et socio-culturel.

Cette thèse, située à l'intersection de l'histoire du vin et de l'histoire transnationale, tente d'apporter une nouvelle perspective sur les effets de la première mondialisation qui facilita la circulation de connaissances, technologies et modèles de production de l'Europe vers les Nouveaux Mondes. Il s'agit de souligner l'importance des échanges interpersonnels et interinstitutionnels à travers les frontières impériales et nationales pour développer agriculture, commerce et savoir scientifique. Ce sujet se propose aussi de questionner la réflexivité des transferts franco-australiens à la façon d'une histoire croisée. C'est dans ce but que ce projet de recherche a été réalisé en France et en Australie, dans une perspective transnationale de croisement des regards entre les mondes francophone et anglophone.

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This thesis would have never been completed without the support of many people both in Australia and France. I owe a large debt of gratitude to my supervisor Dr Julie McIntyre from the University of Newcastle (UON). She trusted me and provided me with invaluable advice and feedback during the four years of this PhD. Her remarks on the scientific approach and methodology in Australian academic research have been essential to the achievement of this thesis. My gratitude also goes to Professor Corinne Marache from the University Bordeaux Montaigne (UBM) for her indispensable help on archival materials in France and her academic perspective.

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Liquid and land measurements

1 gallon = 4.55 litres	26.5 gallons = 1 hectolitre
1 acre = 0.4 hectare	2.47 acres = 1 hectare
1 mile = 1.6 kilometres	0.62 mile = 1 kilometre

A note on translations

All translations are made by the author himself unless otherwise stated. Out of respect for the French-speaking readers of this thesis, French quotes are most of the time cited in their original versions followed by their translations in English.

Abbreviations

ADB	Australian Dictionary of Biography
ANF	Archives Nationales de France
CADLC	Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de La Courneuve
CADN	Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes
NBAC	Noel Butlin Archives Centre
HRA	Historical Records of Australia
SLNSW	State Library of New South Wales
SLSA	State Library of South Australia
SLV	State Library of Victoria
UMA	University of Melbourne Archives

Introduction

The expression “France of the southern hemisphere” was used in the second half of the nineteenth century in different Australian newspaper articles as a nickname for colonial Australia and its wine industry,¹ reflecting hopes that the antipodean colonial viticulture would one day become as productive and famous as the French one. This was the vision that underwrote the sustained, and perhaps surprising, effort to emulate a European model of wine production and consumption in a land that had been seized from indigenous people to whom wine culture was entirely foreign.

Cabernet sauvignon, merlot, chardonnay, and semillon are names synonymous with French wine. Yet these are also among the main grape varieties grown today in Australia, where syrah from the Rhône Valley, renamed “shiraz”, has become the region’s most famous variety of red wine. This dominance of French grapes in Australian wines might be explained by the fact that French grape varieties are the most cultivated around the world.² However, such an explanation would neglect the long history of transmission of wines and wine culture between France and Australia from the early nineteenth century onward. This thesis aims to highlight and explain the origins and means of these transfers.

Definition and Framing

This thesis focuses exclusively on the transmission of skills, technologies, people and vine stocks from France to Australia for the purpose of making wine and does not investigate table grape production. Historians often use the notion of the “wine industry” because it designates a large-scale activity of transformation involving different operators (vine-growers, winemakers, brokers, traders, merchants, large companies). But this term does not include consumers, who are also an essential part of the wine economy. To correct this omission, John Germov and Julie McIntyre have used and theorised the concept of the “wine complex” to include all the operators involved in the production, distribution and consumption of wine as

¹ *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 24 January 1862, 3. *Adelaide Observer*, 1 February 1862, 7. *Mount Alexander Mail* (Victoria), 16 May 1892, 2.

² Patrick Auger and François Legouy, “Les Cépages du Sud-Ouest en France et dans la Mondialisation: Quelles Identités et Quelle Dynamique?,” *Sud-Ouest Européen*, no. 36 (2013), accessed 3 August 2016, <http://journals.openedition.org/soe/429>.

well as the network of relationships that connects them together.³ It is also possible to talk about “wine culture” or “wine civilisation”. Indeed, transmissions can be both cultural and anthropological and influence the way wine is produced, designed and consumed and its representation in arts and literature. In this sense, the French influence can explain the Australian perception of wine, its values, and its symbolism. This thesis focuses on the concept of the “wine model” – the way wine is produced, distributed, and consumed in a particular region – and how Australian colonists sought to transfer and adapt French wine models to their new homeland. A model involves patterns that can be reproduced or emulated in a new environment, different from the area where it was first developed. French wine models served as examples to be followed by Australian colonists inexperienced in viticulture and winemaking or by French immigrants directly reproducing the techniques and methods of their native land. France was often mentioned in Australian winemaking as a generic reference, and attention was, over time, increasingly monopolised by a few French wine regions: Bordeaux, Burgundy, the Rhone Valley, Champagne and Languedoc. In fact, the French model was generally associated with the production and distribution of fine wines, especially in the first four areas mentioned above. However, some differences appeared between the model of *grands crus* in Bordeaux and Burgundy and the model of brands in Champagne. Moreover, the Languedoc region was peculiarly interesting to Australian growers owing to climate conditions resembling those of the antipodean colonies and the influence of viticultural and winemaking teaching in Montpellier. It is thus more accurate to talk about several French models than a single homogenic one.

This study starts in 1815 with the first wine tour undertaken by New South Wales colonists John Macarthur and his two sons James and William. During this trip, they collected information on viticulture before planting their first vines on their property of Camden in the hope of producing wine.⁴ They were then imitated by other colonists who wished to develop a similar type of cultivation. The study ends with the First World War, which disrupted international exchanges, including wine trade and transfers of knowledge and technologies.

The study investigates the three main wine-producing colonies of Australia: New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. The decision to colonise Australia was taken by the British

³ Julie McIntyre and John Germov, "Drinking History: Enjoying Wine in Early Colonial New South Wales," in *Eat History: Food and Drink in Australia and Beyond*, ed. Sofia Eriksson, Madeleine Hastie, and Tom Roberts (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 124.

⁴ James Macarthur, "Journal of a Tour in France and Switzerland, March 1815-April 1816," manuscript., vol. 33, A2929/Item 1, SLNSW.

Government in 1786 after the loss of the North American colonies three years earlier. The southern continent renamed “New South Wales” was used as a place to relocate undesirable people, mostly convicts, from Britain. In 1788, the First Fleet, consisting of eleven ships, transported British convicts, but also seeds, seedlings, ploughs, harnesses, animals and enough food, for two years.⁵ The fleet also carried supplies not essential for survival, including wine, vine stocks and cuttings.⁶ Australian vineyards were first developed from the major centres of early colonisation: first from Sydney (New South Wales), then from Melbourne (Victoria) and Adelaide (South Australia). These three states represent much of the Australian wine production today – see Appendix 8 for maps of the contemporary wine regions of Australia.

It is worth noting that the separate colonies that emerged in Australia differed in their settlement, politics and economic productions. While New South Wales and Victoria were created as convict colonies based on unfree labourers prone to excessive alcohol consumption, South Australia was developed mostly by free settlers – though they also relied on indentured labour – with more temperate habits. Victoria raised high customs tariffs to protect its wine industry, whereas New South Wales and South Australia favoured free trade. From the beginning, the three colonies competed as much as they cooperated to establish an Australian wine industry. Even after the establishment of the Federation in 1901, this historical rivalry has persisted.

British colonists were the dominant ethnic group in every Australian colony, but other European migrants were unevenly distributed. Among the Australian winegrowing districts, the Barossa Valley in South Australia and the Hunter Valley in New South Wales saw influxes of Germans, while the Geelong district and the Yarra Valley in Victoria received settlements of French-Swiss.⁷ The French, less numerous, were scattered mainly in the colony of Victoria; only a handful settled in South Australia and New South Wales during the nineteenth century.

The French wine regions chosen as models for Australian viticulture were Champagne, Burgundy, the Rhone Valley, Bordeaux and Languedoc – the first four for their methods of production and distribution of fine wine and the latter for its model of mass production in a

⁵ Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 30-31.

⁶ Julie McIntyre, *First Vintage: Wine in colonial New South Wales* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2012), 10, 28-29, 32. See also, Julie McIntyre and John Germov, *Hunter Wine: A History* (Sydney: NewSouth, 2018), 4-5.

⁷ McIntyre and Germov, *Hunter Wine*, 191.

climate most similar to the Australian one and for the reputation of its agricultural institution in Montpellier.

This thesis examines the vehicles and motivations of the transmissions of wine-related culture and methodology between France and Australia from the early nineteenth to the early twentieth century. The objective is to analyse and explain the importance from an economic and socio-cultural point of view of the French influence during the development of the Australian wine industry. This subject raises questions of the kind that often arise in considerations of transnational transfers: questions about the origins of and motivations for the exchange; the existence of counter-models; the impact of international (here, particularly Franco–British) relations; the practical means allowing the circulation of viti-vinicultural⁸ models; their transformations or adaptations during the process; and, finally, the overall impact of these transfers on the host country as well as the country of origin. In sum, the study aims at understanding how this circulation impacted the development of the Australian wine industry and the world wine trade during the nineteenth century. It is necessary, finally, to reinsert this subject in the context of the first phase of globalisation in the second half of the nineteenth century and its impact on the diffusion of wine culture worldwide.

Transnational and Transdisciplinary History

Studying the transmission of wine culture and production strategies between France and Australia involves transdisciplinary work (transmissions can be economic, social and cultural) and transnational analysis (a wine model transferred from one country to another one). In France, Fernand Braudel, in *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme (XVe-XVIIIe)*, has used geography, economics and anthropology in a broad historical study of western civilisation and developed the concept of *économie-monde* (world-economy) which constitutes an autonomous and consistent economic area through different regions and countries.⁹ A world-economy is often organised around a centre which spreads its influence to the margins.¹⁰ The

⁸ The term “viti-viniculture” refers to practices linked to both vine-growing and winemaking and encapsulates the specificity of wine production as an agricultural and industrial activity.

⁹ See Fernand Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme, XVe-XVIIIe siècles. Le temps du monde*, vol. 3 (Paris: Armand Colin, 1979), 14. Braudel suggested a translation of the German concept *Weltwirtschaft* that he defines as “*un morceau de la planète économiquement autonome, capable pour l’essentiel de se suffire à lui-même et auquel ses liaisons et ses échanges inétrières confèrent une certaine unité organique.*”

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

British Empire in the nineteenth century shaped a world-economy in its own right. Britain administered a huge colonial empire from which it could acquire commodities impossible to produce in the metropole. It also offered military protection and economic supply to the colonies. The transfer of French models of wine production to colonial Australia was thus integrated in the British world-economy, and the imperial centre became an intermediary in a ternary dynamic.

Liliane Hilaire-Pérez and Pilar Gonzalez Bernaldo have suggested the concept of *savoir-monde* (world-knowledge) to study the circulation of knowledge across political boundaries and its impact on societies and cultures. They define this type of study as a history of abstraction emphasising capacities of borrowing, transposition, interpretation, translation and hybridisation nourished by lateral processes rather than by the accumulation of knowledge in a given place.¹¹ In this view, progress results from the produce of transregional or transnational exchanges rather than from endogenous national processes. Such a pattern can be observed in the development of the wine industry in Australia during the nineteenth century – first, because this history concerns the Europeanisation of a territory unaccustomed to viticulture and winemaking, and, second, because of the lack of knowledge among British colonists, who therefore needed to import skills and technologies from other countries, especially in southern Europe.

It is thus necessary to leave the national framework behind to better understand this process. With a similar aim in mind, Canadian historian William McNeill published, in 1963, *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community*, in which he highlights mutual influences and cultural exchanges in the Western world.¹² This view of history led to new historiographical trends which saw historians aspiring to embrace a broader scale of study to better reflect the links between different parts of the world. From the 1980s, particularly in the United States, world history increasingly sought to compare the evolution of civilisations. In the 1990s, Bruce Mazlish suggested the category of “global history”, with which he sought to analyse the evolution of globalisation and the shaping of a world increasingly interdependent

¹¹ Liliane Hilaire-Pérez, "Introduction: Savoirs et mobilités à l'échelle du monde: un paradigme au prisme de la recherche collective," in *Les savoirs-mondes. Mobilités et circulations des savoirs depuis le Moyen Âge*, ed. Pilar Gonzalez Bernaldo and Liliane Hilaire-Pérez (Rennes: Press Universitaires de Rennes, 2015), 17-21.

¹² William H. McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

and interconnected.¹³ Global history aims, also, to use and combine different temporal and spatial scales (short and long term, local and global) to reveal new connections and analogies.¹⁴

This approach has been developed through application to many different topics, including trade or food.¹⁵ Transnational and global approaches have recently focused on the nineteenth century, a period that was impacted by the first wave of globalisation and that offers rich illustrations of the mobility of objects, knowledge, ideas and people worldwide. Christopher Alan Bayly in *The Birth of the Modern World* highlights the “interconnectedness and interdependence of political and social changes across the world well before the supposed onset of the contemporary phase of ‘globalization’ after 1945.”¹⁶

In comparison, global history has been neglected in France, where the trend generated little interest, and even encountered resistance, until the last decade.¹⁷ Transnational history was discussed at the meeting of the Centre des Recherches Historiques de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in 2006 and met with some scepticism from a number of scholars, who disdained it as a superficial new trend from the United States.¹⁸ However, French scholars have more recently been inspired by global and transnational approaches.¹⁹

The concept of “transnationalism” or transnational exchange is often mobilised to designate cross-border activities and systems that operate above national structures. Compared to world or global history, transnational history is more geographically limited and investigates exchanges occurring between two countries or regions. In 2009, the American Historical Association chose the topic “Doing Transnational History” to discuss the epistemological and methodological issues involved in such an historical approach.²⁰ Global history also has links

¹³ Bruce Mazlish and Ralph Buultjens, *Conceptualizing Global History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993).

¹⁴ Chloé Maurel, "La World/Global History: Questions et débats," *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire*, no. 104 (2009): 153-166.

¹⁵ See especially, Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, *The World that Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present* (New-York: M. E. Sharp, 2006). Raymond Grew, ed. *Food in Global History* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1999).

¹⁶ Christopher Alan Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 1. Ten years later, German historian Jürgen Osterhammel published a complementary work on the global history of the nineteenth century, see Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: a Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014).

¹⁷ Maurel, "La World/Global History." See the last part of the article : « Pour un regard critique ».

¹⁸ Nancy L. Green, "French History and the Transnational Turn," *French Historical Studies* 37, no. 4 (2014): 551- 552.

¹⁹ Olivier Pétré-Grenouilleau, *Les traites négrières: essai d'histoire globale* (Paris: Gallimard, 2004). Bruno Marnot, *Les migrations internationales en Europe et aux Etats-Unis, des années 1840 à 1940* (Neuchâtel: Editions Alphil, 2006). Patrick Verley, *L'échelle du monde: essai sur l'industrialisation de l'Occident* (Paris: Gallimard, 2013).

²⁰ C. A. Bayly et al., "AHR Conversation: On Transnational History," *American Historical Review* 111(2006).

with the model of connected history, which studies transmissions between civilisations and allows historians to decentre their perspectives and avoid a West-centred viewpoint. For Sanjay Subrahmanyam, this approach consists in highlighting interconnections between states, cultural areas and continents neglected by national historiographies. It suggests studying the multifaceted interactions between the local level and the supra-regional level and shunning a centralised and imperialist point of view.²¹ The study of French–Australian exchanges through wine transfers is now contributing to the development of this field of history by bypassing a centralised British perspective and focusing on Australian and French points of view. This topic and approach allows to explore connections between colonists in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia and vignerons, négociants and scientists in different regions of France; relationships in which the British and the French governments had little or no involvement.

Transnational history has since then insisted on revealing cross-boundary mobilities that would remain invisible in a traditional national study. The case of technology transfers has been the subject of several global historical works in the context of the European expansion overseas and the industrial revolution. These studies are most valuable to researchers of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries.²² On a smaller scale, transnational studies have focused on particular cases of technological diffusion, especially in Europe. Hilaire-Pérez focuses on technology transfers between France and England in the eighteenth century and argues that they were integrated in supra-national territories of economy transcending national boundaries and challenging the existence of national models of development more or less advanced.²³ In this way, transnational studies achieve in-depth analysis of industrialisation while avoiding national bias. However, transnational technology transfers have not received as much attention in the

²¹ Caroline Douki and Philippe Minard, "Global History, Connected Histories: A Shift of Historiographical Scale?," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 54, no. 4 bis (2007): 7-21.

About the conception of the Connected History, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," in *Beyond Binary Histories: re-imagining Eurasia to c.1830*, ed. Victor Lieberman (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 11. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History: From the Tagus to the Ganges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

²² Daniel R. Headrick shows how technology transfers from the European powers to their colonies in Asia and Africa led to underdevelopment rather than industrialization, Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology transfer in the age of imperialism, 1850-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). In his global history on the *longue durée*, Arnold Pacey highlights the importance of the circulation of knowledge in stimulating technological progress in different parts of the world, Arnold Pacey, *Technology in World Civilization: A Thousand-year History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1991). For a general study on the role of technology transfers in stimulating industrialization within and between nations, see A. G. Kenwood and A. L. Lougheed, *Technological Diffusion and Industrialization before 1914* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982). On the diffusion of techniques and technologies through the French colonial empire, see Philippe Hrodej, *Techniques et colonies (XVIIe-XXe siècles)* (Saint Denis: Société française d'outre-mer, 2005).

²³ Liliane Hilaire-Pérez, "Transferts technologiques, droit et territoire: le cas franco-anglais au XVIIIe siècle," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 44, no. 4 (1997): 548.

agricultural sector.²⁴ In the Anglo world, a recent collective publication focuses on the way the industrialisation and globalisation of the nineteenth century affected agrarian regions of the world by modernising processes of production and integrating them through a global capitalist market.²⁵ Investigating the transfers of viticultural knowledge and technologies also contributes to this neglected field of history.

Moreover, agricultural transmissions involve socio-cultural aspects that are more difficult to define. For Béatrice Joyeux, the notion of cultural transfers involves investigating their means and logics, drawing on the aspects of interculturality, melting pot in the areas mixing cultures, languages and religious and political systems.²⁶ In France, cultural transfers were investigated first through Franco–German studies pioneered by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner in the 1980s.²⁷ Espagne argues that history of cultural transfers shows circulations and transformations of objects, ideas and concepts between two autonomous and asymmetric systems. He also criticises the comparative methodology in history, saying that it presumes the existence of closed cultural areas, focuses on differences and overlooks cultural cross-fertilisations.²⁸ The methodology of cultural transfers insists on *contextes d'accueil et de départ* (host and origin countries) and the vehicles of these exchanges.²⁹ Objects and ideas are generally transformed and adapted to the host context during the process of transfer. During the last decade, transnational cultural exchanges have been increasingly studied.³⁰

²⁴Jean-Charles Asselain, in his *Histoire économique de la France*, barely mentions transfers of agricultural technologies between England and France, see Jean-Charles Asselain, *Histoire économique de la France, du XVIIIe siècle à nos jours*, vol. 1 (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1984), 81. In his new economic history of France, first published in 1989, Patrick Verley treats the industrialization and modernization of nineteenth-century French economy. Though he takes into account the international context and provide comparisons with other countries, especially Britain, he does not analyse transnational transfers of agricultural technologies and their role in the shaping of a national agricultural models, see Patrick Verley, *Nouvelle histoire économique de la France*, vol. 2 (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2003), 37-45.

²⁵ Joe Regan and Smith Cathal, eds., *Agrarian Reform and Resistance in an Age of Globalisation: The Euro-American World and Beyond, 1780-1914* (London: Routledge, 2018).

²⁶ Béatrice Joyeux, "Les transferts culturels. Un discours de la méthode," *Hypothèses* I, no. 6 (2003).

²⁷ Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, "La Construction d'une référence culturelle allemande en France: Genèse et histoire (1750-1914)," *Annales ESC* 4(1987): 969-992.

²⁸ Ibid. For a detailed definition of "cultural transfer," see Michel Espagne, *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999), 286.

²⁹ Joyeux, "Les Transferts culturels." Joyeux adds that « *Voyageurs, traducteurs, enseignants, artisans, émigrés, musiciens, commerçants..., les passeurs entre cultures ont une action productrice de variété culturelle. L'importation culturelle permet alors de justifier ou de mettre en question des relations existantes dans le pays importateur* ».

³⁰ Anna Boschetti, ed. *L'espace culturel transnational* (Paris: Nouveau Monde éditions, 2010). Anne Dulphy et al., eds., *Les relations culturelles internationales au XXe siècle: De la diplomatie culturelle à l'acculturation* (Bruxelles: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2010). Pilar Gonzalez Bernaldo and Liliane Hilaire-Pérez, eds., *Les savoirs-mondes: Mobilités et circulation des savoirs depuis le Moyen Age* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2015). Edward Baring, "Ideas on the Move: Context in Transnational Intellectual History," *Journal of the*

Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann argue that *histoire croisée* overcomes (more efficiently than transfers studies) these “blind spots” and focuses on the broader impact of these exchanges through the concepts of intercrossing and reflexivity. By this they advocate a multidimensional approach that allows complex configurations and attends to the changes occurring during intercrossings. Finally, such an approach highlights the way each element involved in an exchange is affected and transformed by it.³¹ This dynamic can be illustrated by the transformations of French wine models as they were adopted into colonial Australia. What is more, these viti-vinicultural transfers and the development of a new wine industry raised questions regarding their representation, acceptance and refusal, and the potential competition that could stem from them, both in the Old World and the New Worlds. These issues are treated specifically in the third part of this thesis, which questions the perception of the French model and its suitability to the Antipodes as well as the trade rivalry between France and Australia.

Imperial history and the study of the circulation of knowledge between the metropole and its colonies have been developed since the 1970s. Tony Ballantyne defines imperial structures as being dependent on the movement of workers, goods, commodities and capital in a variety of directions, between the centre and the peripheries and between peripheries.³² However, trans-imperial connections (between colonies belonging to different empires or between a metropole and the colonies belonging to another empire) have been neglected. Some scholars have suggested that this neglect is due to language obstacles and the national bias of history departments. More recently, however, trans-imperial approaches have been renewed in the wake of global history and transnational history. Christoph Kamissek and Jonas Kreienbaum have suggested the concept of the “imperial cloud as a shared reservoir of knowledge, which was not bound to a single empire, but had a multi-local existence and was accessible to agents of different empires, both from the peripheries and the metropolises.”³³ This cloud can be adapted to technical and scientific knowledge in agriculture, industry, and viticulture and winemaking in particular, given that private vigneron drew on trans-imperial knowledge during the nineteenth century in the New Worlds.

History of Ideas 77, no. 4 (2016). On Franco–British exchanges, see Andrew Radford and Victoria Reid, eds., *Franco-British Cultural Exchanges, 1880-1940* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

³¹ Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45(2006): 35-38.

³² Tony Ballantyne, "Mobility, empire, colonisation," *History Australia* 11, no. 2 (2014): 19-20.

³³ Christoph Kamissek and Jonas Kreienbaum, "An Imperial Cloud? Conceptualising Interimperial Connections and Transimperial Knowledge," *Journal of Modern European History* 14, no. 2 (2016): 166.

This thesis adopts a transnational and trans-imperial approach as it investigates transfers between British-administered colonies and mainland France. It describes a ternary dynamic between France, the United Kingdom and Australia, since the colonies cannot be dissociated from their metropole, at least until 1901. Indeed, most of the transmissions between France and Australia depended on Britain – its support, its ships, its migrants, its cultured class and its market – and were integrated in the broader context of the world-economy of the British Empire. Even though several Australian colonists imported French wine skills and technologies on their own without any government support, their initiatives were influenced by values and practices inherited from British culture and society. Britain was also seen as a natural outlet for colonial wine production, especially production of fine wines and light table wines made on French models, due to their reputation in the metropole.

Questions about consumption practices (Who consumes wine? Why? How? When? And where?) must not be overlooked. It is necessary, through such questions, to determine whether a desire for French-style wine paved the way for the adoption of French viti-vinicultural models in colonial Australia. In sociology, Thorstein Veblen, in his *Theory of the Leisure Class*, published in 1899, analysed the role of the leisure class whose consumption is purely ostentatious.³⁴ He noted the mimicry phenomenon in society, in which tastes are passed from the upper class to the working class, and a continual search for transcendence. It is possible to apply this model to wine consumption in France, where wine was first reserved for the elites (aristocrats or bourgeois) and then gradually spread to the whole of society during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³⁵ During that same period in Britain and Australia, however, Veblen's model is not verified; wine consumption remained an activity reserved for the upper class, while beer triumphed as the most popular beverage of the working class. This difference suggests the pre-eminence of cultural determinism over social process, though the recent increase in wine-drinking in Australia might contradict this assertion.³⁶

Jean Baudrillard and Pierre Bourdieu have shown that consumption is conditioned by a need for social distinction more than by an economic need. Baudrillard was interested specifically in consumption of objects. For him, consumption is a new mythology creating new social hierarchies. The possession of the object covers a social logic, an individual or collective affirmation, its utility being only marginal.³⁷ The purpose of consumption of an object is to

³⁴ Thorstein Veblen, *Théorie de la classe de loisir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1970), 47-67.

³⁵ Gilbert Garrier, *Histoire sociale et culturelle du vin* (Paris: Bordas, 1995), 152.

³⁶ John Germov and Julie McIntyre, "The Rise of Australia as a Wine Nation," *The Conversation*, 5 June 2013.

³⁷ Jean Baudrillard, *La société de consommation* (Paris: Gallimard, 1970), 77-79.

confirm affiliations with a social group or to distinguish oneself from one's original group.³⁸ Meanwhile, Bourdieu extended this thinking beyond the simple act of consuming, showing that all the choices we make are driven by our desire for social distinction. Even our personal tastes could be the fruit of this notion of distinction.³⁹ This theory suggests that patterns of wine consumption and tastes in wine are socio-cultural phenomena. This insight is especially valuable in the case of nineteenth-century British society, where most of the labour classes favoured beer or spirits and neglected wine. In the same way, as Charles Ludington argues, the distinction between the consumption of fortified wines (port and sherry) and the consumption of light table wines (mostly claret) was essential for determining political and philosophical beliefs among British elites until the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁰ Dunstan and McIntyre have analysed how the idealisation of Mediterranean crops and commodities (including grapevines and wine) influenced early Australian colonists in their wish to enable Australian economic and social growth.⁴¹ McIntyre has also looked further in the Bourdieusian perspective at wine consumption in colonial New South Wales in her thesis published in 2008.⁴² Thus, the transfer of a wine model encompasses socio-cultural meanings attached to consumption practices, and the imitation of French-style wines in a British-ruled colony must be questioned through an investigation of the values and benefits associated with this type of wine.

Historians have adopted consumption as a research subject from the 1980s on. The advent of the consumer society during the post-war boom has inevitably influenced all humanities and social sciences. In France, Daniel Roche has pioneered consumption history, following ideas proposed by Braudel. Roche uses a socio-cultural approach to the economy to study material culture.⁴³ These scholars suggest that one needs to contextualise consumption, for the relation to the object is not the same across times and social classes. More recently, Patrick Verley, in his book *L'échelle du monde*,⁴⁴ has analysed the industrialisation of the Western World, not through the prism of technical progress – that is the prism of supply (the classical approach) – but through the prism of demand (the Keynesian approach). Though the

³⁸ Ibid., 79.

³⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinction: critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1979)..

⁴⁰ Charles C. Ludington, *The Politics of Wine in Britain: A New Cultural History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

⁴¹ David Dunstan and Julie McIntyre, "Wine, olives, silk and fruits: The Mediterranean plant complex and agrarian visions for a 'Practical economic future' in colonial Australia," *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 16(2014).

⁴² Julie McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink and a 'Civilizing' Industry: Wine Growing and Cultural Imagining in Colonial New South Wales" (PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2008).

⁴³ See especially Daniel Roche, *Histoire des choses banales: naissance de la société de consommation, XVIIIe-XIXe siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 1997).

⁴⁴ Verley, *L'échelle du monde*.

demand for viti-vinicultural knowledge, skills and technologies in colonial Australia is analysed in this thesis, wine consumption by Australian colonists is only partly treated due to the lack of material on this matter. The eventual failure of colonial wine boosters' plan to spread wine consumption to the whole society must be questioned in relation to the importation of the French model.

This thesis adopts a trans-imperial perspective in order to shed light on the circulation of skills, knowledge, technologies, materials and people between France and colonial Australia. This approach attends to any form of transformation, hybridisation or adaptation between the original context (France) and the host context (Australia). It does not intend to provide a comprehensive comparative analysis, even though some elements of comparison are used to explain the motivations and impacts of these transfers. The adoption of a viti-vinicultural model involves technical structures able to facilitate technology transfer, but it also raises questions about the perception of the models by both the importers and the exporters as well as the impact of its transplantation. By embracing both Australian and French sources, this study aims to bring some *regards croisés* (transversal perspectives) to these transfers.

The Concept of Wine

Though food is a universal physiological need, it is also a socio-cultural phenomenon. Ways of eating, food selection and frequency and location of meals are all indicative of the socio-cultural context. In the early 1960s, Braudel pointed out that food and nutrition could be investigated as a category of history.⁴⁵ Food history became increasingly developed from the 1980s on and has several research focuses: the movement of food commodities, changes in food tastes over time, and links between food and crises.⁴⁶ Sociologists and philosophers have also studied food and nutrition and their impact on societies.⁴⁷ The importance of the reputation and origin of food

⁴⁵ Fernand Braudel, "Alimentation et catégories de l'histoire," *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisation* 16, no. 4 (1961).

⁴⁶ Stephen Mennell published in 1985 a comparison of food taste and eating practices between France and England from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century, showing differences but also existing links and mutual influences. Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985). On the theorizing and methodology of Food History, see in particular Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari, eds., *Histoire de l'alimentation* (Paris: Fayard, 1996). In English, Jeffrey Pilcher edited a handbook of Food History in 2012 which offers a comprehensive historiography of this area of study, Jeffrey Pilcher, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Food History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁴⁷ For example, see John Germov and Lauren Williams, eds., *A Sociology of Food and Nutrition: the Social Appetite* (South Melbourne, Victoria: Oxford University Press, 2008).

products is increasingly highlighted in connection with the concepts of *terroir* and “taste of place,”⁴⁸ that is, the link between a product, its geographical origin and its maker. In the nineteenth century, this notion had not yet been formalised, but it encapsulates the way a specific environment (soil, subsoil, topography, climate, etc.) impacts the final quality of food products. Wine as a beverage is often included in Food Studies, but it could be argued that its specificities make it an object of study on its own right. Its organoleptic characteristics, the methods of its production, the importance of its reputation and origin, the marketing strategies employed to secure its distribution, and the legislation that controls its distribution; all these elements make it a very complex commodity. With the French notion of *terroir*, wine has also acquired multiple dimensions – geographical, socio-cultural and even metaphysical – connecting the drinking of an alcoholic beverage with a taste of place, making it a product which reveals the authenticity of a geographical area (both its natural and human elements).

In 2016, the first international conference on Wine Studies was co-organised by the Wine Studies Research Network from the University of Newcastle, Australia, and the Menzies Centre for Australian Studies from the King’s College of London. The plenary session concluded that Wine Studies were necessary as an independent area of research.⁴⁹ A year later in France, a transdisciplinary symposium held in Dijon focused on the place of wine in gastronomy throughout history and resulted in a publication in 2019.⁵⁰ Finally, an edited book published this year investigates the links between wine and the concepts of *terroir* and utopia through an international perspective.⁵¹ Overall, Wine Studies have been reinvigorated by transdisciplinary academic research worldwide.

In France, Wine History was first developed by geographers. In his celebrated article published in 1952, Roger Dion questioned the factors influencing wine quality and concluded: “*Aussi le rôle du terrain, dans l’élaboration d’un grand cru, ne va-t-il guère au-delà de celui*

⁴⁸ Regarding the reputation of food products in modern France, see Philippe Meyzie, “La construction de la renommée des produits des terroirs: Acteurs et enjeux d’un marché de la gourmandise en France (XVIIe-début XIXe siècle),” *French Historical Studies* 38, no. 2 (2015). On the French concept of *terroir*, see Amy B. Trubek, *The Taste of Place: A Cultural Journey into Terroir* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 2008). And Thomas Parker, *Tasting French Terroir: the History of an Idea* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2015).

⁴⁹ Julie McIntyre, “Wine Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences: A Report on Symposia and State of the Field,” *Journal of Wine Research* 28, no. 2 (2017).

⁵⁰ Jocelyne Pérard and Olivier Jacquet, eds., *Vin et gastronomie: regards croisés* (Dijon: Éditions universitaires de Dijon, 2019).

⁵¹ Jacqueline Dutton and Peter J. Howland, eds., *Wine, Terroir and Utopia: Making New Worlds* (London and New York: Making New Worlds: Routledge, 2020).

de la matière dans l'élaboration d'une œuvre d'art".⁵² Through these words, he suggests that the main factor in quality is human techniques and not the soil, which was a very controversial opinion in the 1950s in France. In his seminal work *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France*,⁵³ first published in 1959, he argues that the sustainability and the success of a vineyard mostly depend on its location and its connections with consumer markets. Dion was echoing the idea of famous French agronomist, Olivier de Serres, who wrote in 1600: "*Si n'êtes en lieu pour vendre votre vin, que feriez-vous d'un grand vignoble?*" ("If you are not at the right location to sell your wine, what would you do with a large vineyard?").⁵⁴ This point can be evidenced both on national and international scales. For example, the success of Bordeaux wines first derived from the booming demand of the English market in the thirteenth century. Then, northern European merchants (Dutch, British and German) stimulated southwestern French wine exports between the seventeenth century and the nineteenth century, greatly contributing to the extension of the vineyards around Bordeaux. Following Dion's path, other scholars have undertaken research from a similar perspective, including Henri Enjalbert on the origins of quality wines⁵⁵ and Marcel Lachiver on the history of viticulture and winegrowing in France from the early days to the twentieth century.⁵⁶ All these works insist on the role of consumer markets and merchant networks both in France and abroad. It is thus worth questioning the role the British market and the colonial markets in the development of the Australian wine industry as well as the transfer of French wine models.

The transnational or transregional interconnections which have shaped wine trade are now increasingly being investigated.⁵⁷ This trend has led to the writing of global wine histories both in France and in the Anglo world.⁵⁸ One of the most significant works in this field was

⁵² Roger Dion, "Querelle des anciens et des modernes sur les facteurs de la qualité du vin," *Annales de géographie* 61, no. 328 (1952): 431.

⁵³ Roger Dion, *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France: des origines au XIXe siècle* (Paris: CNRS éd., 2010).

⁵⁴ Cited in Dion, "Querelle des anciens," 418.

⁵⁵ Henri Enjalbert, *Histoire de la vigne et du vin: L'avènement de la qualité* (Paris: Bordas, 1975).

⁵⁶ Marcel Lachiver, *Vins, vignes et vigneron: Histoire du vignoble français* (Paris: Fayard, 1988).

⁵⁷ See for examples, David Hancock, *Oceans of Wine: Madeira and the Emergence of American Trade and Taste* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009). Anne Wegener-Sleeswijk, "Les vins français aux Provinces-Unies au XVIIIe siècle. Négoce, dynamique institutionnelle et la restructuration du marché" (Thèse de doctorat, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales / Universitet van Amsterdam, 2006). Charles C. Ludington, "Inventing Grand Cru Claret: Irish Wine Merchants in Eighteenth-Century Bordeaux," *Global Food History* 5, no. 1-2 (2019).

⁵⁸ In the Anglo world, see the global geographical history of wine by Tim Unwin, *Wine and the Vine: An Historical Geography of Viticulture and Wine Trade* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996). Historian Rod Phillips published four years later a world history of wine, see Rod Phillips, *A Short History of Wine* (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 2000). Phillips is also the author of a global history of alcohol, Rod Phillips, *Alcohol: A History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014). Cultural geographer Jean-Robert Pitte is the only author of a global history of wine in the Francophone world, Jean-Robert Pitte, *Le désir du vin: à la conquête du monde* (Paris: Fayard, 2009). He focuses his study on the cultural aspects of wine and the

published by James Simpson in 2011 analysing the development of a world wine industry in the second half of the nineteenth century in the wake of the first globalisation.⁵⁹ In 2018 an international symposium brought together specialists in Wine Studies in Bordeaux to discuss the intermediations in the production, distribution and consumption of wine on different scales: local, national and international.⁶⁰ Finally, the next year, an edited book in two volumes was published on the history of wine in Europe, focusing on the role of producers, sellers and public institutions in shaping different wine regions and market organisations.⁶¹

Cultural and anthropological aspects are linked to the perception of wine as a cultural object. Wine has acquired particular symbolic and cultural values over time. It may be desired or rejected because of these values. That is why the concept of “wine civilisation” is used, both in an academic context and in a promotional one. In the 1950s, French philosopher and semiologist Roland Barthes analysed wine as a myth, a “totem-drink” (“*boisson-totem*”) which has specific powers that differ depending on consumers and societies.⁶² British historian and sociologist Theodore Zeldin devoted most of his working life to a *History of French Passions*, published in five volumes between 1973 and 1977. He argued that wine has played a role in French lives as considerable as social and political ideas, and he drew a parallel with the development of democracy: “*Les progrès de la démocratie furent accompagnés d’une augmentation considérable de la production viticole, si bien que le peuple acquit tout d’un coup en même temps le droit de vote et le droit de boire*” (“The progress of democracy and viticulture occurred simultaneously, so much so that the people acquired the right to vote and the right to drink at the same time”).⁶³

causes of the spread of viticulture and winemaking through the world since antiquity. Pitte also published a comparative history of the vineyards of Bordeaux and Burgundy, Jean-Robert Pitte, *Bordeaux-Bourgogne: les passions rivales* (Paris: Hachette, 2005).

⁵⁹ James Simpson, *Creating Wine: The Emergence of a World Industry, 1840-1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011). Simpson highlights the differences in the evolution of the wine industry in different countries with an Old World attached to small and family-own businesses while the New World turned early on to the concentration of the sector in a handful of big companies dominating the market by the turn of the twentieth century.

⁶⁰ “Wine Worlds, Networks and Scales: Intermediations in the production, distribution and consumption of wine,” international symposium hosted by Université Bordeaux Montaigne, University of Newcastle (Australia), Liqueureux d’Aquitaine and Teresma, and organised by Stéphanie Lachaud, Corinne Marache and Julie McIntyre in Bordeaux, 17-19 October 2018. This symposium will result in the publication of an edited book, to be published in late 2020.

⁶¹ Silvia A. Conca Messina et al., eds., *A History of Wine in Europe, 19th to 20th Centuries, Volume I: Winegrowing and Regional Features*, Palgrave Studies in Economic History (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019). Silvia A. Conca Messina et al., eds., *A History of Wine in Europe, 19th to 20th Centuries, Volume II: Markets, Trade and Regulation of Quality*, Palgrave Studies in Economic History (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

⁶² Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1957), 74.

⁶³ Theodore Zeldin, *Histoire des Passions Françaises*, vol. 3 (Paris: Editions Payot et Rivages, 2003), 581.

Gilbert Garrier talks about the “use of wine” (*usage du vin*), which can be religious, cultural, social, political, medical or organoleptic.⁶⁴ All these uses have changed over space and time and through different strata of society. Thus, the social and cultural dimension of taste can be linked with the sociology of Bourdieu and the phenomenon of social distinctions. Echoing Brillat-Savarin’s axiom, Garrier defines the meaning of wine consumption as follows: “*Dis-moi quel vin tu bois, où, quand, avec qui et comment tu le bois, et je te dirai qui tu es*” (“Tell me what wine you drink, where, when, with whom and how, and I will tell you who you are”).⁶⁵ In France, popular wine consumption was related to food use. Wine was appreciated for its calorific value: what is called *vin de soif* (“thirst-quenching wine”). Consumption of wine by elites, in contrast, was linked to a desire for distinction and refinement; it was a social practice related to a specific wine, *vin de cru*. In Great Britain, “the emergence of quality” (Henri Enjalbert)⁶⁶ between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries followed the appearance of a specific demand among British consumers, who wanted to know the exact origin and vintage of the wine they were drinking.⁶⁷ In Australia, the socio-cultural use of wine as a “civilising” commodity was advocated by middle- and upper-class British colonists for whom French society became a model of healthy wine culture while the working classes favoured spirits and beer.

State of the Field

Only a few works have been written by historians on the historiography of viticulture in Australia. This can be explained by the weakness of the wine industry in the Australian economy throughout the nineteenth century and most of the twentieth. Indeed, wine had long remained a marginal activity compared to pastoralism, cereal farming and mining, and had limited economic and cultural impact.⁶⁸ David Dunstan (1994) provides the most comprehensive historical analysis of the development of the Victorian wine industry from its origins to the early twentieth century.⁶⁹ The evocative title of his book (*Better than Pommard*) reveals the influence of France as a comparative model for wine production. Dunstan also

⁶⁴ Garrier, *Histoire sociale et culturelle du vin*, 9-10.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁶⁶ Enjalbert, *Histoire de la vigne*.

⁶⁷ Garrier, *Histoire sociale et culturelle du vin*, 108.

⁶⁸ McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 6.

⁶⁹ David Dunstan, *Better than Pommard: A History of Wine in Victoria* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1994).

mentions the presence of some Frenchmen and French-speaking Swiss in the wine industry of Victoria.

There have been several studies focusing on New South Wales in particular. W. P. Driscoll's book studies winemaking in the Hunter Valley up to 1850.⁷⁰ Julie McIntyre, in a thesis on the history of viticulture in New South Wales published in 2009, shows the civilisational aspect of grapevine cultivation to wealthy colonists.⁷¹ Her work resulted in the publication of a book, *First Vintage*, that reviews the development of and changes in the wine industry in colonial New South Wales.⁷² A second book, written in collaboration with sociologist John Germov and published in 2018, focuses on the famous wine district of the Hunter Valley, west of Newcastle.

Unfortunately, there is no equivalent research on South Australia, despite its dominant role in the Australian wine industry since the late nineteenth century.⁷³ The absence of a general history of wine in Australia on the model of those written by Roger Dion or Marcel Lachiver about France is to be regretted as well.⁷⁴ It is reasonable, however, to expect to see such a work in the future thanks to the recent dynamism of the field of Wine Studies in Australian universities. Lastly, it is worth mentioning the research of Jennifer Regan-Lefebvre on the distribution of Australian wines in Britain and their marketing as an "imperial" commodity by colonial winegrowers and wine merchants,⁷⁵ as well as Chelsea Davis' thesis-in-progress which

⁷⁰ W. P. Driscoll, *The Beginnings of the Wine Industry in the Hunter Valley* (Newcastle: Newcastle public library, 1969), 62-64.

⁷¹ McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 5.

⁷² McIntyre, *First Vintage*. McIntyre has extensively published since 2007 on the wine history in New South Wales and Australia as a whole, Julie McIntyre, "Camden to London and Paris: The Role of the Macarthur Family in the Early New South Wales Wine Industry," *History Compass* 5, no. 1 (2007). Julie McIntyre, "Historical Networking and Knowledge Sharing: Wine Making in the Hunter," in *2009 Wine Business Research Symposium Proceedings* (Newcastle: University of Newcastle, 2009). Julie McIntyre, "Resisting Ages-Old Fexity as a Factor in Wine Quality: Colonial wine tours and Australia's early wine industry," *Locale: The Australasian-Pacific Journal of Regional Food Studies*, no. 1 (2011). Julie McIntyre, "Adam Smith and Faith in the Transformative Qualities of Wine in Colonial New South Wales," *Australian Historical Studies* 42, no. 2 (2011). McIntyre and Germov, "Drinking History." Dunstan and McIntyre, "Wine, olives, silk."

⁷³ However, some works realised by non-academic researchers should be mentioned as they used valuable primary sources, Geoffrey C. Bishop, *The Vineyards of Adelaide* (Blackwood: Lynton Publications, 1977). Geoffrey C. Bishop, *Australian Winemaking: The Roseworthy Influence* (Hawthorndene, South Australia: Investigator Press, 1980). Second Bishop's book gives an overview of the connections between the Roseworthy College and the École nationale d'Agriculture of Montpellier. Annelly Aeuckens and Geoffrey Bishop, *Vineyard of the Empire: Early Barossa Vignerons 1842-1939* (Adelaide: Australian Industrial Publishers Pty Ltd, 1988). Valmai Hankel, "Viticulture and Wine-Making in Early South Australia, from 1837 to 1862," *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, no. 5 (1978).

⁷⁴ A couple of non-academic works attempted to fill this gap, see John Beeston, *A Concise History of Australian Wine* (Allen & Unwin, 1994). And Nicholas Faith, *Liquid Gold: The Story of Australian Wine and its Makers* (Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 2002). Faith's work mostly relied on wine writers rather than scholars.

⁷⁵ Jennifer Regan-Lefebvre, "John Bull's Other Vineyard: Selling Australian Wine in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 45, no. 2 (2017).

compares British colonial wine production in the Cape of Good Hope and in South Australia in the nineteenth century through the integration of imperial networks.⁷⁶ Davis has also published a chapter in a collective book in 2018 on the transfers of European wine knowledge to colonial Australia.⁷⁷ Finally, there are, in addition to academic works, many books written by wine writers or people involved in the wine industry that adopt a more descriptive or promotional perspective.⁷⁸

The subject of Franco–British economic and cultural exchanges has been renewed since the 1980s. François Crouzet in 1985 published an influential book comparing the English and French economies from the seventeenth to the twentieth century,⁷⁹ which does not, however, concern transfers between those two countries. Jean-Charles Asselain, in *Histoire économique de la France, du XVIIIe siècle à nos jours*, often uses Great Britain as a model for comparison. He also argues that the economic development of France was facilitated by the assimilation of English technologies, especially from the 1760s and 1770s onwards.⁸⁰ This phenomenon has been further researched by Liliane Hilaire-Pérez, who points out that the transfers became more important when the technological gap between the two economies became narrower, notably in the early eighteenth century.⁸¹ In 2008, Renaud Morieux underlined the role of the Channel both as a border and as a bridge between the kingdoms of England and France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁸² Despite political and military rivalries, economic and cultural exchanges occurred across *la Manche*.

Investigations of Franco–British cultural and intellectual exchanges have been developed in the Anglo world since the 1980s.⁸³ Theodore Zeldin compares French and English

⁷⁶ Davis's thesis is entitled: *Cultivating Imperial Networks: British Colonial Wine Production at the Cape of Good Hope and South Australia*.

⁷⁷ Chelsea Davis, "From European Roots to Australian Wine: International Exchanges of Agricultural Knowledge in the Nineteenth-Century Australian Wine Industry," ed. Joe Regan and Cathal Smith, *Agrarian Reform and Resistance in an Age of Globalization: The Euro-American World and Beyond, 1780-1914* (London: Routledge, 2018), accessed 15 October 2019.

⁷⁸ See for example, H. E. Laffer, *The Wine Industry of Australia* (Adelaide: Australian Wine Board, 1949). Max Lake, *Hunter Wine* (Brisbane: Jacaranda Press, 1964). Len Evans, *Australia and New Zealand Complete Book of Wine* (Sydney: Paul Hamlyn, 1973). James Halliday, *A History of the Australian Wine Industry 1949-1994* (Adelaide: Australian Wine & Brandy Corporation in association with Wine Titles, 1994).

⁷⁹ François Crouzet, *De la supériorité de l'Angleterre sur la France. L'économique et l'imaginaire, XVIIe-XXe* (Paris: Perrin, 1985).

⁸⁰ Asselain, *Histoire économique de la France*, vol. 1, 81.

⁸¹ Hilaire-Pérez, "Transferts technologiques," 548.

⁸² Renaud Morieux, *Une mer pour deux royaumes: la Manche, frontière franco-anglaise (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008). See in particular the third part, "La frontière abolie?", which highlights interconnections and mutual influences despite frequent rivalries and wars.

⁸³ Josephine Grieder, *Anglomania in France, 1740-1789: Fact, Fiction, and Political Discourse* (Genève: Droz, 1985). Ceri Crossley and Ian Small, eds., *Studies in Anglo-French Cultural Relations: Imagining France* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988). John Falvey and William Brooks, eds., *The Channel in the Eighteenth Century:*

cuisine in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and mentions some transfers between them. From 1725, French cookery books were regularly translated into English.⁸⁴ French and English cuisine and eating practices were further compared in Mennell's *All Manners of Food* published in 1985.⁸⁵

Finally, academic research addressing the historiography of Franco–Australian connections has been renewed since the 1980s.⁸⁶ R. Marchant studies French explorations around the antipodean continent and the effort to establish a penal colony in southwestern Australia.⁸⁷ Anny P. L. Stuer establishes the French presence in Australia as a field of study with her book published in 1982.⁸⁸ As a demographic work, it offers valuable statistical information on the French migrants who had settled in Australia since the middle of the nineteenth century as well as short monographs of eminent French colonists and notable winegrowers. This pioneering work has influenced other research and initiatives in French–Australian studies.⁸⁹ One of the most valuable books on this theme is certainly Robert Aldrich's *The French Presence in the South Pacific*, published in 1990, which gives a broader picture of French activities in the region and analyses political, economic and cultural relations with the nations and people of the region.⁹⁰ In 2002, The Research Centre for the History of Food and Drink of the University of Adelaide organised a symposium entitled “French and Australian

Bridge, Barrier, and Gateway (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation at the Taylor Institution, 1991). Robin Eagles, *Francophilia in English Society, 1748-1815* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2000). Margaret Cohen and Carolyn Dever, eds., *The Literary Channel: The Inter-National Invention of the Novel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). Isabelle Tombs and Robert Tombs, *That Sweet Enemy: The French and the British from the Sun King to the Present* (London: William Heinemann, 2006).

⁸⁴ Zeldin, *Histoire des Passions Françaises*, vol. 3, 580-581.

⁸⁵ Mennell, *All Manners of Food*.

⁸⁶ Before that period, a few works had been published on French explorers around the antipodean continent and French migrants in Australia, L. A. Triebel and J. C. Batt, *French Exploration of Australia* (Sydney: Les Editions du Courrier Australien, 1943). Jean Miller, "French People in Australia," *Annuaire français d'Australie* (1961).

⁸⁷ Leslie R. Marchant, *France Australe. A Study of French explorations and attempts to found a penal colony and strategic base in south western Australia, 1503-1826* (Perth, Western Australia: Artbook Books, 1982).

⁸⁸ Anny P. L. Stuer, *The French in Australia* (Canberra, Dept. Of Demography, Institute of Advanced Studies, Australian National University, 1982). She also wrote the article on the French in James Jupp's encyclopedia, Anny P. L. Stuer, "French," in *The Australian people: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins*, ed. James Jupp (North Ryde, New South Wales: Angus & Robertson, 1988).

⁸⁹ Since 1985, the Institute for the Study of French Australian Relations (ISFAR) issue an academic journal *The French Australian Review* dedicated to the publication of research works on the field. In 1994, a series of essays originally published in the Bulletin de la Société d'études historiques was translated into English, Jean Guillou, *The French Presence in Australia: Sailors, Settlers and Ships*, trans. M. Kuilboer (Townsville, Queensland: James Cook University of North Queensland, 1994). See also, Ivan Barko, "The French presence in Sydney and the establishment of the French Chamber of Commerce," *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 84, no. 2 (1999). On arts exchanges, a dual language book was published in 2008, Sue Ryan-Fazilleau and Serge Linkès, *France and Australia Face to Face. France/Australie: regards croisés* (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2008).

⁹⁰ Robert Aldrich, *The French Presence in the South Pacific, 1842-1940* (Basingtoke: Macmillan, 1990).

Encounters: Gastronomy”, which was followed two years later by the publication of an edited book collecting chapters treating French–British and French–Australian gastronomic and cooking-related exchanges.⁹¹ More recently, Alexis Bergantz has submitted a thesis about the cultural and political aspects of “Frenchness” in Australia from 1890 to 1914.⁹² He examines representations of French culture in Australian society and how they have been incorporated into Australians’ everyday life. Finally, Argyris Karavis’ thesis-in-progress looks particularly at the French influence on Australian gastronomy in the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁹³

The first article focused on the particular subject of this thesis – the French influence on Australian winegrowing – was published in 1961 in the *Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce Française en Australie*, issued in Sydney since 1900.⁹⁴ It is centred on the role of a handful of French vigneron, mostly in Victoria and South Australia. In 2004, two articles were published, one by Valmai Hankel and the other by Eric Bouvet and Chelsea Roberts, focusing on French influences on wine culture in South Australia.⁹⁵ Several years later, Amie Sexton wrote on “The French in the Australian Wine Industry: 1788-2009”.⁹⁶ Merrily Hallsworth self-published a monograph on Edmond Mazure, a French winemaker established in South Australia in the late nineteenth-early twentieth century,⁹⁷ drawing on contemporary newspaper articles and family papers to show that Mazure made significant impacts on Australian winemaking and the wine industry in general thanks to his efforts to improve the production process. Although all these works use primary sources, none provide a general historical analysis of this French presence.

⁹¹ Barbara Santich and Martin A. Lynn, eds., *Gastronomic Encounters* (Brompton, South Australia: East Street Publications, 2004).

⁹² Alexis Bergantz, *French Connection, The culture and politics of frenchness in Australia, 1890-1914*, Australian National University, December 2015. Chapter 3 of this thesis is focused on French migrants in Australia.

⁹³ His thesis is entitled: “Bon Goût in the Antipodes: French Gastronomic Taste and Antipodean Culinary Culture (1850-1914).”

⁹⁴ J. Ludbrook, “Frenchmen Played a Part in Pioneering Australian Wines,” *Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce Française en Australie*, no. 258 (1967). A few years earlier, that same journal had published a history of the French chamber of commerce established in Sydney in 1899, George Bader, “History of the French Chamber of Commerce in Australia,” *ibid.* (1956).

⁹⁵ Valmai Hankel, “French Authority: The French Influence in Australian Winemaking,” in *Gastronomic Encounters*, ed. A. Lynn Martyn and Barbara Santich (Brompton, South Australia: East Street Publications, 2004). Eric Bouvet and Roberts Chelsea, “Early French Migration to South Australia: Preliminary Findings on French Vignerons,” in *The Regenerative Spirit: (Un)settling, (Dis)location, (Post-)colonial, (Re)presentations-Australia Post Colonial Reflections*, ed. Sue Williams and et al. (Adelaide: Lythrum Press, 2004).

⁹⁶ Amie Sexton, “The French in the Australian Wine Industry: 1788-2009”, Conference Proceedings for “The Business of Wine”, the Inaugural Wine Business Research Symposium, Newcastle, Australia, 7th and 8th of December 2009. Organized by: Wine Industry Research Collaboration. In 2017, Sexton published her thesis comparing French and Australian winery identity, Amie Sexton, “Crafting the Image and Telling the Story: a Cross-Cultural Analysis of Winery Identity in France and Australia” (PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2017).

⁹⁷ Merrily Hallsworth, *The Valiant Vigneron: Léon Edmond Mazure (1860-1939). Inventor of Australian style Sparkling Burgundy and creator of the original St Henri Claret* (South Australia: Merrily Hallsworth, 2014).

Julie McIntyre and David Dunstan have both highlighted the influence of the French model for early Australian winegrowers, though neither of their works focuses centrally on this matter.⁹⁸ Finally, a co-authored chapter has been published recently on the Australian imaginary of wine production and consumption that considers the introduction of the French concept of *terroir* in colonial Australia.⁹⁹ Another book chapter is expected to be published this year on the impact of the phylloxera crisis on the French–Australian wine competition in Britain.¹⁰⁰ The present thesis investigates further the motivations, means and impacts of the French viticultural transfers into colonial Australia.

Primary Sources

This work mostly draws on the writings of the people who instigated winegrowing in Australia. These are manuals and handbooks on viticulture and winemaking based on their visits to Europe, their own experimentations on colonial soils and the writings of French wine experts. Translations were decisive in transmitting scientific literature to colonists willing to experiment with the cultivation of grapevines and the making of wine. Thus, colonial winegrowers' publications provide evidence of the French influence, which occurred via collections of vine stocks, cuttings, skills and technologies in France, translations of French wine literature, and a regular use of French wines as a model of comparison or a standard to be aspired to.

The second main type of source is newspaper and journal articles (local or regional). Colonial Australia had a well-developed newspaper culture and networks in the nineteenth century. A large number of these have been digitised by the National Library of Australia and are available on its website Trove.¹⁰¹ The newspapers reported the activities of individual colonial winegrowers and collective organisations (associations, societies, exhibitions, institutions, etc.). However, they may contain inaccuracies, especially concerning the biographical notes of the colonists. Journals specialising in agriculture and viticulture also offer valuable knowledge about the advancement of the industry, its organisation and the methods and technologies used in the field. Like winegrowers' books, journal articles include details of

⁹⁸ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*. McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink." See also their journal articles, McIntyre, "Camden to London." McIntyre, "Resisting Old-Age Fixity." Dunstan and McIntyre, "Wine, olives, silk."

⁹⁹ Julie McIntyre, Mikaël Pierre, and John Germov, "To Wash Away a British Stain: Class, Trans-imperialism and Australian Wine imaginary," in *Wine, Terroir and Utopia: Making New Worlds*, ed. Jacqueline Dutton and Peter J. Howland (Abingdon, Oxon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2020).

¹⁰⁰ Mikaël Pierre, "Phylloxera Crisis and French-Australian Wine Rivalry on the British Market (1882-1914)," (Unpublished manuscript, February 2020), typescript.

¹⁰¹ <https://trove.nla.gov.au/>

French viticultural and winemaking practices, descriptions of equipment and translations of French articles on the subject. They constituted a practical means of diffusing wine science in the colonies. Newspaper and journals articles supply evidence of both individual and collective initiatives in regard to transnational transfers.

Private archives of families involved in the wine industry contain valuable materials including correspondences, diaries and personal and professional notes. Winegrowers' correspondence reveals the motivations behind the transfer of elements of French wine culture to Australia or the hiring of French winemakers to develop viticulture on private properties, as well as the means by which such transfers took place. It also gives information on the interpersonal links established between colonial Australia and France among viticulturists, négociants and oenologists.

In France, sources are limited. However, the consular correspondence of Sydney and Melbourne with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the archives of the Ministry of Commerce provide valuable information regarding the French perspective on the growing Australian wine industry and the relations between the two countries in general. They reveal both cordial exchanges and rivalries or concerns on the French side. Certain works of French travellers and wine experts, which have been digitised and are available on Gallica, the online catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (National Library of France), are also useful. These travellers visited vineyards in the Australian colonies and left interesting comments about Australian farming methods and wines.¹⁰² Wine experts compared French and Australian methods and techniques as well as cultural practices and societies. Other documents regard international exhibitions hosted in France.

Argument and Thesis Structure

This thesis argues that the transfer of French wine models to colonial Australia relied mostly on private initiatives on the part of Australians rather than on French migrants' influence or British governmental policy to replace imports of French products. As a matter of fact, a limited number of wealthy colonists attempted to adopt French-style wine production and consumption. Though their views of French wine were mostly derivative of British views, their originality

¹⁰² See for example: Eugène Delessert, *Voyages dans les deux océans Atlantique et Pacifique, 1844 à 1847*, 117-118; Edmond Cotteau, *En Océanie. Voyage autour du monde en 365 jours, 1884-1885*, 195-199 ; Ernest Michel, *A travers l'hémisphère sud, ou mon second voyage autour du monde, vol. II*, 404-408.

relied on the desire to reproduce a complete set of practices from grape-growing to winemaking and wine-drinking. Thus, they concerned themselves not only with consumption but also with production. Their objective was to develop the colonies economically and culturally by providing a labour-intensive agricultural and industrial activity and a healthy beverage suitable for domestic consumption. Winegrowing would eventually bring opportunities in exporting to international markets. Even if the French model was not prioritised in the early colonial period in comparison with other European models, it became increasingly attractive during the second half of the nineteenth century owing to the growing reputation of French *grands crus* internationally. The development of wine-teaching institutions in France also stimulated transfers of knowledge and technology to Australia during that period. This trans-imperial process eventually led to questioning of the French wine model and its suitability to Australian natural conditions. The phylloxera crisis, the deterioration in French wine quality and the rising competition between the two countries on the British market in the wake of nineteenth-century globalisation also contributed to reconsider if France was a model to be followed or a competitor to be overcome.

This thesis is divided into three main parts, with eight chapters organised thematically. Though the scope of study is long (a century), this scale encapsulates more accurately the different means of wine-related transfers between France and Australia and their impacts. Some processes, like wine tours, the importation of equipment and wine books and the hiring of French vignerons occurred similarly in the early and the late nineteenth century. However, the successive chapters bring out a chronological evolution: Chapters 1, 2 and 3 focus more on the events occurring during the first half of the nineteenth century. Chapters 4 to 8 are centred on the latter half of the century.

Part I presents the general context and the historical background of the wine-related transmissions in the British Empire, the impact of wine trade on Franco–British relations and the factors that motivated the transplantation of French wine models into colonial Australia. Part II investigates the means employed to transplant viti-vinicultural practices from France through three approaches: the role of private individuals in importing French grapes, methods and ideas; the impact of French migrants in Australia despite their limited number; and the formalisation of the transfers of the late nineteenth century through associations, journals and agricultural institutions. Finally, Part III aims to shed light on the limits of these transfers and

their impacts both in Australia and in France. Its first chapter investigates the environmental, socio-cultural and political setbacks working against the adoption of French wine models in the British colonies of the Antipodes. The last two chapters focus on trade rivalries and mutual perceptions among Australian and French wine professionals.

Part I

The British Empire, Australia and French Wine Culture

The transfer of a French wine model to colonial Australia was influenced by the cultural and commercial relations between France and Britain in the late Modern Period. The first traces of wine trade between the two countries date back to the Roman Empire with the reexport of Italian wines to Roman Britain via the Gallic merchants of Burdigala during the first century AD. But this was long before the British and French nation states – and their respective empires – took shape and long before wine culture was introduced at the heart of the French “civilisation” during the late Modern Period.¹ The first part of this thesis looks at the major role French wine culture and trade played in French–British relations and the way they impacted British colonisation and more particularly the Australian colonies. Chapter 1 summarises the spread of winegrowing worldwide in the wake of European expansion as well as the particular case of colonial British wine industries and French–British relations from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Chapter 2 focuses on colonial Australian perspectives regarding wine culture and the benefits expected from the French model.

¹ Garrier, *Histoire sociale et culturelle du vin*, 152. Regarding wine consumption in nineteenth-century France, see also Didier Nourrisson, *Le buveur du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1990), 22-38.

Chapter 1

Global Diffusion of Viti-Viniculture and French–British Relations

Viticulture and winemaking have been developed for centuries in the Mediterranean basin and more extensively in Europe but only reached the New World from the sixteenth century in the wake of the European colonial expansion into lands inhabited by Indigenous people unaccustomed to these types of production. Wine was brought by the colonists as a traditional practice of production and consumption, but it later became an important commodity in imperial and trans-imperial trade during the nineteenth century. Australia was reached by viti-viniculture through the British colonisation which started in the late eighteenth century. The context of European expansion and rivalry provides a frame that allows to understand the diffusion of vine cultivation and winemaking globally as well as the international relations regarding trade and production.

Other cultivations and commodities have been studied for their role in colonialism and imperialism: chocolate, coffee, tea, etc. Marcy Norton has shown how cocoa – and chocolate – from America was gradually accepted into Spanish Christian societies – both in the colonies and in Spain – as a benign commodity in the early Modern Period.¹ Coffee, which originated in Abyssinia, reached Europe in the seventeenth century, first via the Turkish conquest of the Balkans and then via Italian and Dutch merchants. It was first advocated as a medicinal beverage among upper classes. Its production then spread to European colonies in Asia, Africa and America and it became an ordinary item of consumption to a large part of the population during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.² Recently, Erika Rappaport has highlighted the uniqueness of tea cultivation and its role in shaping the British Empire. She points out that the transfer of this plant outside China was forbidden for a very long time. Europeans only began to transplant it to newly controlled territories from the early nineteenth century. They imported not only the production of tea but also the belief in its benefits: moral and physical health as well as sobriety.³ It is worth noting that during the Georgian era, British elites associated both

¹ Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasure: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

² For a global history of coffee, see Mark Pendergrast, *Uncommon Grounds: The History of Coffee and How it Transformed our World* (New York: Basic Books, 1999). Though not an academic work, Pendergrast's book brings a global analysis of the way coffee production and consumption impacted the modern world. See also Frédéric Mauro, *Histoire du café* (Editions Desjonquères, 2014).

³ Erika Rappaport, *A Thirst for Empire: How Tea Shaped the Modern World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 24.

tea and wine with healthiness and temperance and both were used as medicines.⁴ Like tea, wine could not be cultivated in Britain and had to be either imported or transplanted and cultivated on British-ruled territories. These transfers leaned on colonial and imperial expansion as well as trade opportunities and cultural trends in European societies. Overall, stimulants and intoxicants have always followed the development of empires and colonisation throughout the world and stimulated trade between Europe and the rest of the world.⁵

Most of the products cited above were made from exotic plants unknown in Europe prior to the Renaissance and the “Great Discoveries”. Winegrowing, on the other hand, was a long-established agricultural tradition supplying Europeans – at least the “better-off” among them – with a daily beverage since ancient times. The acclimatisation of the *vitis vinifera* – the vine species best suited to the production of wine – to the New Worlds stemmed from the desire of European settlers to perpetuate an ancient tradition, while exotic cultivations were the result of the desire to secure the production of new commodities in European-controlled territories and create new consumption habits in the imperial centres. Alfred W. Crosby suggests the concept of “ecological imperialism” to talk about the transplantation of European agriculture and foodstuff production into other continents. This transfer, he explains, is the result of the similarity in climate between Europe and “neo-Europes”, which enabled European colonists to transfer the cultivations and livestock farming they were most accustomed to.⁶ Kathleen Brosnan suggests adapting this concept to consider the transfer of winegrowing to territories unaccustomed to viticulture and winemaking as a form of ecological imperialism and cultural colonisation, the purpose of which was to shape these conquered lands to the image of the colonisers.⁷ Or, as Julie McIntyre puts it regarding New South Wales, wine was supposed to “civilise the civilisers” and preserve their “Europeanness” in a wild country inhabited by “uncivilised” Indigenous people.⁸ In other terms, European ecological imperialism has drastically disrupted the environment of these “new” worlds as well as the populations that

⁴ Ibid., 67.

⁵ Regarding Modern Europe, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants*, trans. David Jacobson (New York: Pantheon, 1992). Schivelbusch gives an interesting glance at the way new produces from the New Worlds, “articles of enjoyment” or *Genusmittel* in German, transformed European societies and consumer habits.

⁶ Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 7.

⁷ Kathleen Brosnan’s concluding plenary response to the first international conference on Wine Studies, called “The World in a Wine Glass: Perspectives from the Humanities and Social Sciences,” and hosted by the Wine Studies Research Network, University of Newcastle, Australia and the Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, King’s College London, at King’s College Strand Campus, 9-10 May 2016. Cited in McIntyre, “Wine Studies.”

⁸ McIntyre, “A ‘Civilized’ Drink,” 35-36, 74-75.

inhabited them prior to the European arrival by imposing new cultivations and agricultural models.

It can also be argued that wine is a special commodity involving a complex system of interactions from production to distribution and consumption. Its value relies not only on its taste and aspect but also on its place of origin and the specific qualities attached to it and the environment – soil, topography, climate, human practices – from which it was grown, all of which is articulated through the French concept of *terroir*.⁹ Over time, some places have developed reputations that give their wines additional value independent of its actual quality. Thanks to the innovation of the “Dutch match”¹⁰ developed in the seventeenth century and spread widely during the eighteenth, wines can acquire higher quality and value by the aging process and thus be speculated on. What is more, an increasingly refined demand in Britain from the late seventeenth century on led the way to the improvement of viticultural and winemaking methods.

It is thus interesting to analyse why and how different peoples of Europe made such efforts to transfer its production all over the world. The role of wine is thus examined through the process of imperialism and colonisation and its impact on – or the way it is impacted by – international relations. By this means, it is expected to understand the motivations behind the diffusion of wine models throughout the world and the rivalries in which wine trade was inserted. Finally, it brings elements of context and comparison to our understanding of the specificity of the transfer by British settlers of a French wine model into Australia.

Colonisation, imperialism and viti-viniculture

Diffusion of alcohol and wine in the world

The earliest evidence of alcoholic beverages was found in northern China in pottery jars dating from around 7,000–5,600 BCE.¹¹ But alcohol consumption by humans may have occurred much earlier, since receptacles made of wood or leather would not have left any trace. Further,

⁹ Thomas Parker points out that the idea of *terroir* has been conceptualised in France from the Renaissance to the Revolution in parallel with the construction of the French nation. Parker, *Tasting French Terroir*. However, *terroir* and taste of place do not only concern wine and can be associated to other food products since the early Modern Period in France, see Meyzie, "La construction de la renommée."

¹⁰ A sulfur match burnt in the empty cask in order to kill bacteria responsible for souring the wine.

¹¹ BCE : Before the Common Era.

it is possible to speculate about the accidental consumption of alcohol from overripe fruit.¹² Engineered processes of alcohol production by humans might have begun eight or nine thousand years ago – or even earlier – in China and West Asia. The oldest traces of winemaking, found in Georgia, date from around 6,000 BCE. From there, the making of wine reached the Fertile Crescent, Mesopotamia and Egypt between 6,000 and 3,000 BCE.¹³ It then spread through all of the Middle East, Anatolia, Greece and North Africa, but generally competed with beer, which remained the most popular alcoholic beverage in these regions, while wine-drinking was the privilege of the more affluent. This social distinction shifted when wine became the traditional drink of ancient Greece and Rome. Greeks and Romans of all social classes consumed wine but not beer, though the elites enjoyed more distinctive and high-quality wines than the rest of the population. These cultures also associated cultural values to these two beverages. Beer was considered barbaric and unsuited to civilised peoples. On the other hand, both the Greeks and the Romans exported viticulture and wine-drinking habits as a means of civilising the territories they conquered or colonised across the Mediterranean basin and as far afield as Britain.¹⁴

With the fall of the Roman Empire and the political and economic disruptions resulting from the great migrations of Germanic, Slavic and Central Asian people in southern and western Europe, the wine industry suffered a critical decline for several centuries. It was only beginning in the early Modern Period that a new wave of innovations and diffusions began in the wake of European colonisation.¹⁵ This period was marked by the spread of capital investments in different agricultural crops and industries in the New Worlds, including viticulture and winemaking.¹⁶ Thus, transfers of cultural practices and technologies followed the European expansion overseas. Winegrowing was a major concern for Portuguese and Spanish colonisers, as it was part of their cultural and economic models. However, it is more intriguing that viticulture was spread with great determination in Dutch and British colonies as well, though neither of these countries has ever had a traditional and prosperous wine industry on its soil.

¹² Phillips, *Alcohol: A History*, 8-13.

¹³ Pitte, *Le désir du vin*, 23-26. For a more comprehensive study on the origins of viticulture and winemaking in the ancient worlds, see Patrick E. McGovern, *Ancient Wines: The Search for the Origins of Viniculture* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003).

¹⁴ Phillips, *Alcohol: A History*, 25.

¹⁵ Pitte, *Le désir du vin*. Jean-Robert Pitte shows how wine has conquered the world through different civilisations and based his research on archaeology, history, myths, and legends. He highlights the links between wine and religions (polytheistic and monotheistic), politics, societies, health, luxury and economy and argued that there is a civilisation of wine through the current globalisation which has been initiated by European expansions.

¹⁶ Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 205-220, 242-252, 296-306. Rod Phillips, *Nine Thousand Years of Wine: A World History* (Vancouver, British Columbia: Whitecap, 2017), 181-210.

This could be explained by rising wine consumption in the Low Countries (later the Dutch Republic) and England (later Britain) since the Renaissance. In these two countries, wine was imported from southern Europe, but it was only consumed by a small part of the population, namely the upper classes.

Mercantilism and the transfer of wine models during the early Modern Period: imperialism of viti-viniculture

Fernand Braudel rightly points out that “*hors d’Europe, le vin a suivi les Européens*” (“outside Europe, wine followed in the wake of Europeans”).¹⁷ Colonisation was the extension of European powers overseas and involved transfers of people, goods, capital, ideas, and rivalries from the metropolises to the New Worlds. Winfried Baumgart notes that this Europeanisation of the globe came in three great waves: the age of discovery (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries); the age of mercantilism (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries); and the age of imperialism (nineteenth and twentieth centuries).¹⁸ During each of these waves, viticulture was extended to further territories annexed to European empires. However, the causes of these expansions and the forms they took changed over time.

Tim Unwin has noticed a similarity in the spread of viticulture in the Mediterranean basin by ancient Greeks and Romans and the viti-vinicultural transfers that occurred to the Americas, Africa and Australia in the wake of western and northern Europeans during the Modern Period. Unwin argues that in both cases viticulture was transplanted to reproduce socio-cultural environments and civilise new territories. But the later transfers also resulted from the necessity of developing the colonies economically to the benefit of the European powers.¹⁹ Wine represented one of the founding principles of European civilisation as well as a major commodity of colonial trade. The Europeans brought wine on every trip they made overseas for the consumption of sailors at sea and then, for settlers on land. However, the transfers of vine stocks, skills and technologies in order to make wine locally were the result of different motives: political, ideological, cultural or economic. A colonial wine industry could be initiated to supply the settlers and eliminate the need to import wines from the imperial centre and/or to

¹⁷ Fernand Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme, XVe-XVIIIe siècles. Les structures du quotidien*, vol. 1 (Paris: Armand Colin, 1979), 263. Translation from Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism 15th - 18th Century: The Structures of Everyday Life, the Limits of the Possible*, trans. Siân Reynolds (London: Harper & Row, 1981), 232.

¹⁸ Winfried Baumgart, *Imperialism: The Idea and Reality of British and French Colonial Expansion, 1880-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 10.

¹⁹ Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 9-10.

establish an export trade to this centre. Some scholars have noticed differences in the way southern Europeans (traditionally producers and consumers) and northern Europeans (consumers only) initiated the diffusion of winegrowing through different parts of the world. But they all acknowledge that both southern and northern Europe were involved, to some extent, in this enterprise, corroborating the significance of wine culture to the European civilisation in general, and not only in Mediterranean Europe.²⁰ Rod Phillips notices, however, that the implantation of viticulture and winegrowing in Spanish colonies in the Americas was much more successful than in the territories controlled by the British in North America due to environmental difficulties in the latter region.²¹

Iberians first transplanted viticulture to the Atlantic islands of Madeira and the Canaries during the sixteenth century. These lands were quickly integrated in the transatlantic trade owing to their strategic positions on the oceanic route to America. In the late sixteenth century, Canary wines – mostly made from Malvasia grapes – were shipped to Spanish colonies in America, Portuguese Cape Verde and northern European markets, especially England, the Netherlands and France. But, from the mid-seventeenth century, Canary producers had to rely chiefly on the English market due to the competition with Portuguese Madeira wines elsewhere. The island of Madeira first experienced a boom of sugar production during the sixteenth century. However, by 1700 this cultivation had collapsed owing to competition from Caribbean and Brazilian sugar and been replaced by a flourishing winegrowing industry boosted by the Anglo-Portuguese alliance and the booming demand in the British North American colonies.²²

In Central and South America, Spanish *conquistadores* wished to recreate their homeland by introducing European crops. Vines were reported in Mexico as early as the 1520s, and in Peru between the 1530s and the 1550s, just after the conquest of the Aztec and Inca empires. In the second half of the sixteenth century, vines were planted in Chile. The rapid extension of viticulture in the Americas resulted from socio-cultural and economic factors rather than religious purposes. Wine was an essential part of the conquerors' diet. The extension of viticulture in the colonies was considered vital to civilise this "new" land. In fact, settlers were even required by the Spanish Government to plant vines and cultivate them. Until the late sixteenth century, the wine produced was destined essentially for local consumption, not for

²⁰ See Pitte, *Le désir du vin*, 241-253. Phillips, *Nine Thousand Years of Wine*, 181-210. Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 214-220, 242-252, 296-306.

²¹ Phillips, *Nine Thousand Years of Wine*, 210.

²² Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 245-248. Phillips, *Nine Thousand Years of Wine*, 181-184. On Madeira wine trade, see in particular Hancock, *Oceans of Wine*. Hancock shows that Madeira viticulture thrived thanks to the role of British merchants in establishing Madeira wines as a luxury product in the colonies of North America.

export to Europe. Still, the rapid rise of the colonial wine industry worried wine producers in Spain, as they expected to export their goods to the new colonies. Attempts to forbid colonial vine cultivation proved, however, to be ineffective.²³

This type of competition was not an issue for northern European powers, to whom colonial viticulture was a way to limit imports from other nations as part of their mercantile strategy. During the seventeenth century, mercantilism was dominant in European economic policies. The Dutch Republic, England and France started their overseas expansion during this period and attempted to protect their trade and industry by imposing prohibitive tariffs on rival productions.²⁴ Unlike the French, the Dutch and the English did not own wine industries on their soil and thus used their colonies to develop complementary production unsuited to the environment of their homeland. Unwin argues that Dutch motivations for transplanting viticulture to the Cape colony were based essentially on economic factors, in contrast to the Iberian desire to recreate cultural identities in the Americas.²⁵

Prior to the seventeenth century, the inhabitants of the Low Countries had no traditional wine-drinking habits or wine industry. But with the declaration of independence in 1581, the northern provinces established a Dutch Republic and started a formidable economic and colonial expansion which led to growing demand for alcohol for the booming urban population as well as for sailors at sea. Wine became an essential commodity for the Dutch navy and the Dutch merchants who controlled its supply from southwestern France. As soon as the Dutch East India Company established a colony at Table Bay, near the Cape of Good Hope, in 1652, the commander of the expedition, Jan van Riebeeck, ordered vine grapes to create a vineyard. He received several varieties, certainly from the south-west of France, the region that traditionally had supplied the Dutch wine merchants. Then, the need to replace wine supply became critical owing to Franco–Dutch rivalries in the last third of the seventeenth century. It was caused by rising mercantilism and the expansionist policy of Louis XIV. Those rivalries were exacerbated during the Franco–Dutch war in 1672–78 – which was the continuation of a

²³ Phillips, *Nine Thousand Years of Wine*, 185-188.

²⁴ Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System II. Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750* (New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1980), 37, 90, 103. Mercantilism was an economic theory developed in Europe from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century, and which involved state policies of economic nationalism. Wallerstein points out that between the early seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth, the European world-economy was marked by a relative stagnation and the adoption of mercantile policies in a context of commercial and imperial rivalries.

²⁵ Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 250.

trade war started in 1671 – and during the Nine Years’ War (1689–1697).²⁶ However, as the population of the Dutch Republic lacked experience in vine-growing and winemaking, the Dutch Government hoped to find skilled workers among foreigners. A political event answered their need in the mid-1680s. Viticulture in the Cape Colony was then boosted by the arrival of French Huguenots exiled from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Some of them were sent in 1688 by the “Lords XVII” – the Directors of the Dutch East-India Company in Holland –, in the hope of developing colonial winegrowing. However, Cape wines never replaced European wines, which were cheaper and of higher quality, on the Dutch market.²⁷ The Dutch case shares similarities with that of another northern European country which consumed wine but did not produce it: Britain.

Expansion of viticulture and winemaking through the British Empire

European countries adopted mercantilist policies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, avoiding imports and favouring exports to increase national wealth. This doctrine was particularly critical with respect to wine trade in Britain, as the British climate prevented the development of viticulture on its soil. However, territorial expansions in warmer climates from the seventeenth century created the possibility of developing this cultivation. Several scholars argue that the colonies in North America represented an opportunity for England to substitute colonial production for imports from southern Europe, including olive oil, silk and wine.²⁸

From the beginning of the colonisation of North America by the English, there were attempts at establishing viticulture – first at Jamestown, Virginia as early as 1607. During the 1610s, the government forced colonists to develop viticulture. In 1619, each householder was instructed to cultivate vine grapes on their lands. The colony was also to be supplied with European vines, as the native ones proved unsuited to winegrowing. However, due to the lack of experienced labour, eight French vigneron from Languedoc were sent to the colony to help develop this activity. A year later, the Virginia Company was seeking more vinedressers and vine stocks from France, Germany and elsewhere in Europe. Additionally, on the king’s demand, each householder received from the company a manual on vine-dressing and

²⁶ Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 290-291, 341- 344.

²⁷ Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 250-252.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 242-245, 249. Thomas Pinney, *A History of Wine in America: from the Beginnings to Prohibition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 12-13. Phillips, *Nine Thousand Years of Wine*, 192.

winemaking, written by John Bonoil, the Frenchman who had recruited the Languedoc vigneron. Though very optimistic about the potential of viticulture in North America, Bonoil recommended dubious practices for making wine, as he had never visited the colony of Virginia himself and was not acquainted with its environment. Eventually, vineyards would be superseded by tobacco plantations, as the latter were considered much more profitable through the trade with the imperial centre.²⁹ One French observer assumed that the lack of an English winegrowing tradition was the main cause of the inability of English settlers to establish a thriving wine industry in North America:

Neither Lord Delaware nor the rich merchants of the Company in London could know that the wine-grower's metier is one that is learned slowly, if one has not been early initiated to its patient disciplines, and, especially, if one is not a countryman, in unreflecting, genuine communion with the soil.³⁰

This opinion was shared two centuries later by some British colonists in Australia.³¹ As Thomas Pinney puts it, environmental conditions and lack of experience explain most of the failures in colonial viticultural efforts of the time.³² Traditional practices in Europe could not be transplanted to the New Worlds without expert adaptations.

Early colonists in Massachusetts attempted to make wine with native grapes in 1630, but the result was so terrible that they eventually asked the English Government to send some French vigneron to spread their knowledge across the colony.³³ Several decades later, several vineyards were planted in Carolina near modern Charlestown, and these faced the same issues seen in Massachusetts and Virginia. Colonists claimed help from the colonial authorities to acquire European grapevines and recruit skilled workers. Their requests were satisfied with the arrival of French Huguenots in 1680, exiled due to the persecution of Protestants in France.³⁴ That same year, the Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the initiators of the Carolina project, sent John Locke, the famous philosopher, to investigate Mediterranean crops in the south of France. Dunstan and McIntyre highlight that wine was a prominent topic in Locke's observations; he reported, for instance, a list of grape varieties producing wine in the region of Languedoc.³⁵

²⁹ Pinney, *Wine in America*, 15-19. Pinney suggests that Bonoil's book, though maybe not the first American wine manual, was at least the first manual addressed to American winemakers.

³⁰ Cited in *ibid.*, 24.

³¹ See Chapter 6.

³² Pinney, *Wine in America*, 25-26.

³³ Phillips, *Nine Thousand Years of Wine*, 194.

³⁴ Pinney, *Wine in America*, 36-37.

³⁵ Dunstan and McIntyre, "Wine, olives, silk." 30-31.

Additionally, while founding the new colony of Pennsylvania, William Penn brought Spanish and French vines as early as 1683.³⁶

Finally, although all these attempts turned out to be unsuccessful, they reveal the persistent desire among British colonists to produce wine and their regular attempts at securing French vignerons' services to help them achieve this task. However, Franco–British relations deteriorated from the late seventeenth century, a development which impacted the wine trade.

French–British relations and the wine trade

“That Sweet Enemy”³⁷: French–British cultural influences

Relations between France and Britain must be reinserted in the broader context of Modern Europe impacted by increasing exchanges of products, the diffusion of fashions and the mutual influences between countries and between the lower classes and the elites. European food cultures are the fruit of this dynamic process enriched by the new products arriving from the New Worlds since the sixteenth century. France's culture and cuisine in particular had served as a model for all of Europe since the middle of the seventeenth century.³⁸ But France and Britain maintained complex and troubled relations during this period. It is common to present these two countries as age-old enemies from the time of the Middle Ages. Political, military, economic and cultural rivalries reached their height during the eighteenth century, a period sometimes called the Second Hundred Years War and summarised as a struggle for global domination.³⁹ Such a perspective tends to neglect all the cordial exchanges and mutual influences that occurred between these two nations.⁴⁰ During the century prior to the colonisation of Australia, Britain became a political model for a number of French philosophers

³⁶ Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 249.

³⁷ This expression comes from Tombs and Tombs, *That Sweet Enemy*.

³⁸ Philippe Meyzie, *L'alimentation en Europe à l'époque moderne. Manger et boire, XVIe siècle-XIXe siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2010), 4-5.

³⁹ The expression “Second Hundred War” first appeared in the late nineteenth century in John Robert Seeley, *The Expansion of England* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1883), 31. See also, Arthur H. Buffinton, *The Second Hundred Years' War, 1689-1815* (New York: Henry Hold and Company, 1929). H. M. Scott, “The Second Hundred Years War: 1689-1815,” *The Historical Journal* 35(1992). François Cruzet, “The Second Hundred Years War: Some Reflections,” *French History* 10(1996).

⁴⁰ In 2008, Renaud Morieux published a book showing that the Channel constituted both a barrier and a bridge between France and England during the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. Morieux, *Une mer pour deux royaumes*. See in particular the third part, “*La frontière abolie?*”, which highlights interconnections and mutual influences despite frequent rivalries and wars. Regarding cultural and intellectual exchanges see Grieder, *Anglomania in France*. Falvey and Brooks, *The Channel in the Eighteenth Century*. Cohen and Dever, *The Literary Channel*.

of the Enlightenment, and Anglomania in France reached its peak after the American Revolutionary War in the 1780s.⁴¹

At the same time, France appeared both attractive and threatening to the British gentry and aristocracy. This dual perception was reinforced by the practice of the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century.⁴² The British who visited France were attracted by French culture and Parisian policy, but they were also aware that their southern neighbours represented their main maritime, commercial and colonial rivals.⁴³ Regarding cultural matters, things were not always easy, either. Alimentation turned out to be a matter of constant concern for British tourists, who generally disliked the *ragoûts* they were served and missed the traditional roast beef of their native cuisine.⁴⁴ More surprisingly, French wine was often disappointing to British palates, though their experiences in Burgundy and Champagne – on the way to and from Italy – appeared much more satisfying. Lord Gardenstone, for instance, observed around 1787: “the wine better, and cheaper; – good burgundy for the price of adulterated port in the English inns”.⁴⁵

Some tourists visited Provence or Languedoc in the south of France. George, Viscount Beauchamp observed near Montpellier in 1743: “The public walks are high and command a distant prospect of the Mediterranean, and the muscat wines grow all along the coast. Which way soever you turn the eye the prospect is chequered with olives and vineyards with which the little hills around us are covered.”⁴⁶ Mediterranean crops were of great interest to British tourists, as the commodities produced were in high demand among those who could afford them in Britain.⁴⁷ Wine was an essential beverage among the gentry, and wines from France in particular remained an exclusive product for the aristocracy even during the periods of war thanks to the role and perseverance of smugglers and privateers.

After the Napoleonic Wars, British tourism in France acquired a new perspective. France had been defeated, and Britain appeared as the main victor of the new European order and the only power able to control maritime traffic globally. The British could finally visit

⁴¹ François Crouzet, *La guerre économique franco-anglaise au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2008), 81.

⁴² On the Grand Tour and the beginnings of tourism in southern Europe, see John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). Roger Hudson, ed. *The Grand Tour 1592-1796* (London: Folio Society, 1993). Jeremy Black, *France and the Grand Tour* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). British tourists of the time mostly visited Italy and France.

⁴³ Black, *France and the Grand Tour*, 1-5.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁴⁵ Cited in *ibid.*, 72.

⁴⁶ Cited in *ibid.*, 35.

⁴⁷ Dunstan and McIntyre, "Wine, olives, silk," 29-30.

France with no fear and without dissimulating their “Britishness.” Castlereagh and Wellington settled there and sympathised with their old enemies. Though militarily defeated, France managed to remain the cultural centre of Europe through its fashion, pleasures, gastronomy and elegance.⁴⁸ Braudel has pointed out that during the eighteenth century, the economic centre of Europe’s world-economy was London, while Paris was its cultural centre.⁴⁹ It has sometimes been overemphasised that French was the language of eighteenth-century European elites, as well as of philosophy, science and arts during the period.⁵⁰ Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire shows that the vision of a culturally French Europe at the time is an exaggeration and needs to be nuanced. “*L’Europe n’assimile pas les Lumières française, elle les acculture, les travaille et les enrichit*” (“Europe did not assimilate French Enlightenment, it acculturated it, reshaped it and enhanced it”).⁵¹ Furthermore, in Britain as well as in the German states, a desire for dissociation from the French cultural model and a reject of Jacobinism, its uniformity and its rationalism were developing through the romantic movement arising in the late eighteenth century.⁵² Yet, it is true that French was the diplomatic language of Europe and that a portion of the English elites considered French education a mark of distinction and prestige.⁵³ This attitude was to be inherited by the British colonists of Australia, and especially by those eager to shape a colonial wine complex on the French model, as analysed in Chapters 2 and 3.

Regarding gastronomy, as early as the sixteenth century, France became the *bonne chère* country, with its recipes and *art de la table*.⁵⁴ From the middle of the seventeenth century, French *haute cuisine* began to influence all the aristocratic societies in Europe, leading to the homogenisation of food culture among the elites.⁵⁵ However, France also constituted a counter-model to some countries in Europe, especially England, though many French cookery books were translated into English during the eighteenth century.⁵⁶ In this country, political ideas strongly influenced food choices. While Francophile groups in the aristocracy hired French cooks, the gentry largely rejected the French influence for patriotic reasons and preferred a

⁴⁸ Robert Tombs and Isabelle Tombs, *La France et le Royaume-Uni. Des ennemis intimes* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2012), 11-17.

⁴⁹ Braudel, *Le temps du monde*, vol. 3, 70.

⁵⁰ Marc Fumaroli, *Quand l’Europe parlait français* (Paris: Editions de Fallois, 2001). This work is mostly a series of monographs and do not provide any historical perspective.

⁵¹ Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, *Le Mythe de l’Europe Française au XVIIIe siècle: diplomatie, culture et sociabilités au temps des Lumières* (Paris: Editions Autrement, 2007), 5-6.

⁵² Tombs and Tombs, *La France et le Royaume-Uni*.

⁵³ Anny P. L. Stuer, *The French in Australia* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1982), 45-46.

⁵⁴ Braudel, *Les structures du quotidien*, vol. 1, 210.

⁵⁵ Meyzie, *L’alimentation en Europe*, 87.

⁵⁶ Zeldin, *Histoire des Passions Françaises*, vol. 3, 580-581.

more authentic English cookery based on heavy, simple and elegant meals.⁵⁷ It has been argued that Puritanism was the cause of the English neglect of gastronomy and food pleasure from the seventeenth century onwards. Stephen Mennell shows, however, that this argument is an oversimplification and that the main causes were to be found in distinct court societies and cultures in France and England.⁵⁸ Actually, until the 1790s, the English “country house” style of cookery remained as prestigious as the French courtly cuisine. A shift occurred in the nineteenth century, however, when England lost its high-level cooks while France developed its model of restaurants and prestigious cuisine.⁵⁹

Ultimately, the nineteenth century, from the battle of Waterloo to the establishment of the *Entente Cordiale* in 1904, constituted an ambiguous period in Franco–British relationships, marked at once by rivalries and rapprochements. The British government imposed prohibitive tariffs against French products to reduce the trade deficit in the 1820s–1830s, but the economic policy of Britain drastically shifted in the middle of the nineteenth century in favour of free trade. This change was made significantly easier with the rise of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte as Emperor of France in 1851. Napoleon III was known to be an unwavering Anglophile and eager to experiment with new, liberal economic policies. He also initiated the 1855 Classification of wines at the Paris Universal Exhibition, which played a great role in celebrating the *grands crus* of Bordeaux⁶⁰ and consecrating them in the British world. The appeasement certainly led to the improved reputation of French wines in Britain and its colonies. However, if intergovernmental relations between France and Britain were by and large improved, the French presence in the South Pacific remained a bone of contention for Australian colonists throughout the nineteenth century.⁶¹ Fears of France, as well as a sense of its attractions, were carried by British settlers across the British Empire. These ambivalent feelings impacted international and inter-imperial wine trade as well.

⁵⁷ Meyzie, *L'alimentation en Europe*, 92.

⁵⁸ Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, 104-133. Country life rusticity and simplicity were treasured among English nobility while they were constantly disdained in France, especially at the court of Versailles. Thus, country cookery and plain food remained esteemed in the high society of England.

⁵⁹ Tombs and Tombs, *La France et le Royaume-Uni*. 131-132.

⁶⁰ Dewey Markham Jr, *1855: Histoire d'un classement des vins de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux: Féret, 1997).

⁶¹ Barko, "French presence in Sydney," 50-52. See also Aldrich, *The French Presence*.

Wine trade and the Franco–British rivalry

As Braudel put it, “*Le vin met en cause l’Europe entière, quand il s’agit de le boire; une certaine Europe seulement s’il est question de le produire*” (“The whole of Europe drank wine; only a part of Europe produced it”).⁶² This configuration led to a large-scale distribution process from southern to northern Europe to provide wealthy people with an exotic beverage. This possibility was easily illustrated by the medieval Anglo–Gascon wine trade from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries while Aquitaine was controlled by the Plantagenets of England.⁶³ After the Hundred Years’ War, Bordeaux and the duchy of Gascony were definitively reunited to the kingdom of France in 1453. Bordeaux merchants were still allowed to trade with England, but only by paying a heavy tax on goods shipping.⁶⁴ With the rise of trade competition between the two countries from the seventeenth century, followed by the growth of imperial and colonial rivalries from the eighteenth century, commercial exchanges became limited and French wines were introduced into the English market only with difficulty. This was true to such an extent that the consumption of port, madeira, or sherry – encouraged by preferential tariffs, especially since the famous Methuen Treaty of 1703 between Britain and Portugal⁶⁵ – dominated during the whole of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth.

Until the late seventeenth century, duties on French wines had remained relatively moderate in comparison with those on wines from other origins. Protectionism began in earnest after the Franco–Dutch war (1672–78), when the Dutch Republic lost a part of its influence on international trade and merchant shipping. France then became a direct threat for England due to its powerful situation in Europe and Louis XIV’s hegemonic ambitions – so much so that the English Government soon decided to implement a protectionist policy against French goods. The Act of 1678 prohibited imports of French commodities. In 1685, the accession of James II appeased this policy until 1689. During this period, French wines experienced a new, but short-

⁶² Braudel, *Les structures du quotidien*, vol. 1, 262. For the English translation, see Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life*, 231.

⁶³ Though this trade was centred at the port of Bordeaux, the term “Bordeaux wines” was not yet used. Other terms were used like *vinum Vasconie* or “Gascoyne wines”, in contemporary sources. It was a considerable trade amounting to more than 82,000 tuns a year at its peak in the early fourteenth century. But it was also restricted to upper classes of the English society. See Yves Renouard, “Le grand commerce des vins de Gascogne au Moyen Age,” *Revue Historique de Bordeaux* 221, no. 2 (1959): 272-275, 288. This trade had origins in ancient times. Indeed, it is likely that the Bituriges, the Gauls of Burdigala (ancient Bordeaux), reexported wines from Campania to Roman Britain as early as the 1st century A.D. See Robert Étienne, “Les importations de vin campanien en Aquitaine,” in *Vignobles et vins d’Aquitaine: histoire, économie, art* (Bordeaux: Fédération Historique du Sud-Ouest, 1970), 24. Lachiver, *Vins, vignes et vigneronns*, 29- 35.

⁶⁴ Renouard, “Vins de Gascogne au Moyen Age,” 296.

⁶⁵ This treaty also known as “wine for cloth” defined British-Portuguese trade relations for a century, boosting the British cloth industry at the cost of the Portuguese one and increasing British investments in the port wine sector.

lived, boom on the English market.⁶⁶ The Glorious Revolution of 1688 brought William of Orange to the English throne and favoured the establishment of the Grand Alliance against France in 1689. During the Nine Years' War, duties on French wines were raised again with the Act of 1696.⁶⁷

The economic policy established in the late seventeenth century in England remained as a principle for a century and a half. John V. C. Nye highlights “the myth of free trade Britain” during this period using the example of wine trade with France. He argues that “the British tariffs on French wine were at the heart of the mercantilist policy and can be traced back to trade struggles between Britain and France during the long reign of Louis XIV”.⁶⁸ The wine tariffs remained at the centre of all commercial disputes and negotiations until the Anglo–French Treaty of 1860. In contrast, strong fortified wines from Spain and Portugal were less strongly impacted by duties and flooded the British market.⁶⁹ Charles Ludington points out that the clarets (Bordeaux wines) which were celebrated in England during the Middle Ages and the early Modern Period (“New French Clarets”) became subject to derogatory comments during the eighteenth century and were described as a product linked to the vile opponent from beyond the Channel by Francophobic groups in British society, especially among the gentry. As with cooking preferences, this was mostly a matter of national interest rather than personal taste – an effort to counter the hegemony of France on the continent and shape a new national food culture.⁷⁰

French wines were not rejected by everyone in England, however. François Crouzet, who talks about a *guerre économique franco-anglaise* (Franco–English economic war) during this period, argues that it resulted in the transformation of the Bordeaux vineyard with the

⁶⁶ Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 243. According to Alan D. Francis, “the four years 1686-9 saw more French wines imported than there had ever been since the separation of Aquitaine or were to be again until the twentieth century”, Alan D. Francis, *The Wine Trade* (London: A&C Black, 1972), 99.

⁶⁷ Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 243-244.

⁶⁸ John V. C. Nye, *War, Wine and Taxes: the Political economy of Anglo-French Trade, 1689-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 14.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 15-16. British tariffs were levied by volume of wine rather than alcoholic content. This system favoured Spanish and Portuguese wines which were high in alcohol volume, and penalised the lighter French production. It is worth noting, however, that some commercial rapprochements between Britain and France occurred during that period: first in 1713 after the War of the Spanish Succession; then during the Fleury-Walpole entente in the 1730s; and finally in 1786 with the Eden Treaty of commerce. See for example, Doohwan Ahn, “The Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce of 1713: Tory Trade Politics and the Question of Dutch Decline,” *History of European Ideas* 36, no. 2 (2010). Jean-Pierre Jessenne, Renaud Morieux, and Pascal Dupuy, eds., *Le négoce de la paix: les nations et les traités franco-britanniques (1713-1802)* (Paris: Société des études robespierristes, 2008). Antonella Alimento and Koen Stapelbroek, eds., *The Politics of Commercial Treaties in the Eighteenth Century: Balance of Power, Balance of Trade* (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

⁷⁰ Ludington, *The Politics of Wine*, 61-62, 80-81, 182-187.

development of quality wines and the creation of *grands crus* (great growths). Crouzet specifies that it is impossible to affirm that these great wines were created specifically to overcome the English protectionist system, but it can be argued that they were the main reason why French wines could still be introduced into the English market in relatively low but highly valued quantities.⁷¹ In fact, British elites were divided regarding the question of free trade with France. The Whigs traditionally favoured a protectionist policy, while the Tories generally promoted a closer commercial relation with the southern neighbour.⁷² Though protectionism dominated the period, cultural exchanges between the two countries were maintained. Clarets from Bordeaux were still consumed by the aristocracy for their taste as well as for their distinctive qualities. Eventually, claret consumption determined socio-cultural values in the British political environment. Taste was part of the distinction, and British connoisseurs were the first to develop a specific vocabulary to define the different nuances. Bordeaux négociants responded to this desire for distinction by introducing their *grands crus* (great growths), which articulated simultaneously the exact origin of the product and the identity of a commercial brand.⁷³

While import statistics during the 1680s prove the persistence of a taste for French wines among English consumers,⁷⁴ a century of tariffs preferential to Portuguese wines and prohibitive policies against French trade eventually led to a major shift in taste. The strong fortified wines of Oporto replaced light claret wines and dominated the market until the mid-nineteenth century – so much so that Bordeaux négociants were forced to increase the strength of their products by blending different wines to obtain a beverage more suited to the British palate.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Crouzet, *La guerre économique franco-anglaise*, 53.

⁷² *ibid.*, 81-84.

⁷³ The first known *cru*, in the district of Bordeaux, was established by Arnaud de Pontac in the 1660s, who sold his wine under the name of his property, Haut-Brion, near Bordeaux. The name was transformed in English into “Ho-Bryan,” see Lachiver, *Vins, vignes et vigneron*, 296-297. It is worth noting that many négociants established in Bordeaux and involved in the international wine trade were actually from Ireland and used their networks with the British Islands to develop a profitable export trade. As Charles Ludington shows, they were also at the forefront of the creation of these *grand crus* for refined British customers, see Ludington, “Inventing Grand Cru Claret.”

⁷⁴ Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System II. Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750*, 187. See also S. Sideri, *Trade and Power: Informal Colonialism in Anglo-Portuguese Relations* (Rotterdam: Rotterdam University Press, 1970), 64. In 1683, while French wines were prohibited in England, English merchants imported 16,772 gallons from Portugal and only 65 from France. But, with the end of the prohibition in 1686, importation of French wines amounted to 12,750 gallons, and only 289 gallons from Portugal.

⁷⁵ Hugh Johnson, *Une histoire mondiale du vin: de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, trans. Claude Dovaz, Pluriel (Paris: Hachette Littératures, 2009), 517. It was a traditional practice called *travail à l'anglaise*, in Bordeaux, using hermitage wines to strengthen the alcohol content of claret (Bordeaux) wines. The reason for strengthening wine may also be linked to improving shipping conditions.

The end of the Napoleonic Wars brought hope for a rapprochement with France. But despite the development of ideas about free trade in the first half of the nineteenth century, the British Government was not immediately convinced of the necessity of developing commercial relations with its former enemy. France was still seen as a dangerous economic rival. Consequently, direct wine trade between France and the British colonies was forbidden. Wine still symbolised the strength of the France and freer trade represented a threat to the British economy, justifying the continuation of protectionist policies during the first third of the nineteenth century.⁷⁶ Wine duties were, however, lowered in 1825, from £144 per tun to £78, while those on Portuguese, Spanish and Rhenish wines were reduced to £50 per tun. An important change occurred in 1831, when duties on French wines were lowered to £58 per tun, while those on other European wines were slightly increased to the same amount, ending the century-old trade discrimination against French wines instigated with the Methuen Treaty of 1713. Another step was reached with the 1860 Cobden–Chevalier Treaty promoting free trade, which equalised duties on foreign wines and on British colonial wines from the Cape, validating the liberal philosophy that rejected all forms of exclusivity, including imperial preferences. Finally, in 1861 and 1862, the Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer William Gladstone implemented a new tax system based on alcohol volume, mostly favouring French and Rhenish wines against Portuguese, Spanish and Cape wines.⁷⁷ In this way, from the 1830s to the 1860s, Britain gradually abandoned its Francophobic trade policy, as France no longer represented a military, maritime or economic threat. Furthermore, new concerns about excessive alcohol-drinking influenced Government policies promoting consumption of light wines instead of fortified wines. These changes naturally impacted the British Empire and its settlers who shared the culture, taste and political ideas of the imperial centre.

Conclusion

Viticulture was spread outside its traditional Mediterranean area by colonists determined to develop and civilise new territories. However, the role of European governments was also instrumental in legitimating and supporting private initiatives. Viticulture and winemaking were transferred by both southern and northern Europeans – though the latter needed the help of the former to transplant this industry with efficiency.

⁷⁶ Nye, *War, Wine and Taxes*, 106.

⁷⁷ Ludington, *The Politics of Wine*, 239-243, 255-254, 265.

Viticultural colonialism was constant from the Spanish colonisation of the Canaries in the fifteenth century to the British takeover of the Australian continent in the nineteenth century. By 1783, after the American Revolutionary War, Britain had lost its main colonies in North America, except Canada. This event constituted a turning point in the history of the British Empire, which eventually turned its attention from the Atlantic to the Pacific, including towards some new lands which had recently been explored by Captain James Cook. The continent of New Holland, renamed “New South Wales”, was expected to welcome a new convict colony.⁷⁸ The fleet which convoyed the first convicts reached the Australian shores in 1788 and brought wine and vine stocks in the holds of its ships. British desire to transfer a Mediterranean agricultural complex to the colonies remained constant from the early seventeenth century in North America to the nineteenth century in Australia, despite much political and military turmoil.⁷⁹

In parallel, cultural and economic rapprochements between Britain and France impacted their respective empires. While distrust was prevalent in the late eighteenth to early twentieth centuries, a growing taste for French culture and light wines influenced segments of the elites of colonial Australia.

⁷⁸ Macintyre, *History of Australia*, 18-19.

⁷⁹ Dunstan and McIntyre, "Wine, olives, silk."

Chapter 2

Desire for French Wines: A Therapeutic, Cultural and Economic Model for Colonial Australia

A few British colonists brought what Jean-Robert Pitte calls *désir du vin* (“desire for wine”)¹ to the Antipodes. That desire included wine production as well as consumption. David Dunstan and Julie McIntyre have analysed this desire through the perception and idealisation of Mediterranean cultures and crops among British colonists in Australia.² Wine, olive, almond, silk and fruit crops were believed to be able to generate wealth and growth. This was also the heart of McIntyre’s thesis analysing the construction of the wine industry as a way to “civilise” the colony of New South Wales, its “barbarous” land and its settlers.³ British colonists thought that wine – both its production and its consumption – would enable them to develop a temperate and healthy society by shaping this “new” world to their image, or an idealised image of Europeanness. Since the dawn of European colonisation of Australia, wine had represented a conjunction of British and Mediterranean cultural meaning, from production in Southern Europe to consumption in Britain. Economic motivations were also central to the development of this activity, since the colonists expected to make profits from the wine trade. But among all European wine models, what was the specific attraction of the French model for colonial Australians?

It is worth mentioning that the colonisation of New South Wales occurred amid a century of conflicts between Britain and France. From the 1790s to the 1810s, the French Revolutionary Wars and the Napoleonic Wars considerably reduced trade through the Channel. Also, facing the loss of the North American colonies and the French threat in continental Europe, the British Government saw in the recent annexation of New South Wales a new place to send convicts and pursue its colonial ambitions. The main reasons for establishing a settlement at Botany Bay (near what is now Sydney) are still debated. As Australian historian Stuart Macintyre put it: “Those who argue that Australia was settled as a dumping-ground for convicts see in these inauspicious origins the necessity of a new beginning. Those who hold to the geopolitical design seek a more affirmative continuity with imperial foresight.”⁴ It has also

¹ Pitte, *Le désir du vin*.

² Dunstan and McIntyre, "Wine, olives, silk," 1.

³ McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 37.

⁴ Macintyre, *History of Australia*, 31.

been argued that the French presence in the area – several expeditions occurred in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries – may have urged the British to thwart the establishment of the sworn enemy. However, no realistic plans were ever made to colonise the continent by the various French governments. “Perhaps the scare of French occupation was, after all, but a phantom, but it was a very substantial phantom to the founders of Australia”, argued English-born explorer and journalist Ernest Favenc in 1904.⁵ Though the two countries were at peace, tensions between Britain and France were still prevalent during the nineteenth century and directly impacted wine trade. It could thus be argued that French viti-vinicultural practices were brought to the new colony to replace British wine imports from France. However, this chapter argues that the initiative came mostly from private individuals who idealised French wine culture and supported free trade with France without concern for inter-imperial rivalries.

Furthermore, in the first half of the nineteenth century, British economic policy leant towards less regulation and exclusive trade, replacing these with more *laissez faire* policies and free trade.⁶ In this context, investments flowed more easily to grain cropping and sheep farming, forms of agriculture to which the colonists were much more accustomed. Colonial governments were also inclined to encourage such economic activities, which could more easily meet the British demand than the exotic wine production. Thus, a cultural argument was used by wine enthusiasts to promote a “foreign” model of wine production that was otherwise considered marginal. In wine boosters’ minds, this industry would bring wealth and temperance in the context of increasing concern in Britain as well as in Australia about the consumption of alcohol, particularly spirits (gin, rum and whisky).⁷ Lacking the knowledge to establish a wine industry on their own, British settlers had to turn their attention to Mediterranean countries such as France.

When promoting the French wine model (of production, distribution and consumption) in colonial Australia, the same types of argument were used for European wines and the Mediterranean culture in general. However, gradually, some specificities appeared to distinguish the French model from other European wine models. This distinction relied on the characteristics and taste of French wine, its economic value and its reputation in the British

⁵ Ernest Favenc, "The French in Australia," *Herald* 3(1904).

⁶ Macintyre, *History of Australia*, 54-55.

⁷ Spirit drinking peaked in New South Wales in the 1830s with 4.5 gallons a year per capita and reached the same amount in Victoria in the 1850s. See A. E. Dingle, "The Truly Magnificent Thirst: An Historical Survey of Australian Drinking Habits," *Historical Studies* 19, no. 75 (1980): 229-230.

empire, and also the proximity between France and Britain and the perception of French culture in the British world. As Alexis Bergantz points out, Frenchness played a role in defining British identity but also Australian identity, either through admiration or rejection. Fashion, arts, literature and taste were often associated with France and high civilisation in nineteenth-century Australia.⁸ It is thus worth highlighting the cultural, social and economic benefits expected from the importation of French wine practices into colonial Australia and the production there of French-style wines.

Cultural and health benefits

Light wines versus spirits and tea

Early colonial winegrowers advocated Mediterranean cultural practices over British drinking habits. Scottish migrant James Busby had lived for a while in France before moving to New South Wales with his family in 1824.⁹ In his *Manual* specifically addressed to colonial winegrowers, published in 1830, he compared the living conditions among labour classes in southern Europe with those found in northern Europe. “Those who have witnessed,” he argued

the temperance and contentment of the lowest classes of the people in the Southern Countries of Europe, where wine is the common drink of the inhabitants, and have contrasted them with the unhappy effects produced by the consumption of spirits, or of malt liquors, among the same ranks, in less favoured climates, will easily perceive, how much it would add to the happiness of the Colony of New South Wales, if their habits were assimilated, in this respect, to those of the inhabitants of wine countries; and will appreciate the importance of introducing the one beverage, and diminishing the use of others, in a Community constituted like this, – in which the high price of labour is calculated to allow the almost unlimited use of ardent spirits, and where the excitement they produce, is more likely than in most other countries, to terminate in mischievous results.¹⁰

Busby was expressing here a concern common at the time about drunkenness and alcoholism among the British working classes. McIntyre rightly points out that though Busby did not directly mention Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations*, it is possible to perceive here its influence

⁸ Alexis Bergantz, "French Connection: The Culture and Politics of Frenchness in Australia, 1890-1914" (PhD thesis, Australian National University, 2015), 16-54.

⁹ James Busby, *A Treatise on the Culture of the Vine and the Art of Making Wine: Compiled from the Works of Chaptal and other French Writers and from the Notes of the Compiler during a Residence in some of the Wine Provinces of France* (Australia: R. Howe, government printer, 1825), xix.

¹⁰ Introduction of James Busby, *A Manual of Plain Directions for Planting and Cultivating Vineyards and for Making Wine in New South Wales* (Sydney: Printed by R. Mansfield, for the executors of R. Howe, 1830).

on the link between wine and temperance.¹¹ For Smith, wine-producing countries had fewer problems related to drunkenness and their populations were more temperate in general:

If we consult experience, the cheapness of wine seems to be a cause, not of drunkenness, but of sobriety. The inhabitants of the wine countries are in general the soberest people in Europe: witness the Spaniards, the Italians, and the inhabitants of the southern provinces of France. People are seldom guilty of excess in what is their daily fare. Nobody affects the character of liberality and good fellowship, by being profuse of a liquor which is as cheap as small beer.¹²

Following Smith's opinion, Busby thought that the prosperity of the colony involved the assimilation of southern European habits of consumption by settlers of New South Wales. In his mind, the colony had the same kind of climate as Mediterranean countries, which was a perfect incentive for the adoption of Mediterranean cultural and growing practices, including wine production and consumption:

It is my belief that no greater service could be rendered to this Colony, than to induce its inhabitants to cultivate the vine; [...] Had New South Wales been settled by a Colony from France, or any other countries whose climate is favourable to the growth of the vine, we should at this day have seen few corn fields without their neighbouring vineyards; and the poorest settler, aye, and his meanest servant, would daily have regaled their palates and invigorated their bodies with this first of the blessings which nature bestows upon the more genial climates of the earth. But the settlers of NSW, reared in a country where the vine does not flourish, and where the place of wine is supplied by malt liquors, and ardent spirits, have brought with them to the Colony their prejudice in favour of these liquors, which they continue to use at home, forgetting that even in cold countries they form but a poor substitute for wine, and that their pernicious effects are increased ten-fold by the heat of such climate as this, where few heads are able to withstand the stupefying effects of the *muddling ale*, and where the *liquid fire* burns more fiercely, and destroys more rapidly the health, and the happiness, and at length the life of those unhappy beings, who have become addicted to its use. [...] But, in wine countries, while even the peasantry consider wine as much a necessary of life as a luxury, nothing is more rare than intoxication; [...].¹³

Busby, as this quotation shows, made no distinction between the French model and other Mediterranean models. However, elsewhere he underlined French traditions that he perceived as an ideal mixed production of corn for sustenance and wine for pleasure.¹⁴ He was one of the first to deplore the lack of advancement in vine-dressing. It was suggested that Busby's preference for French wines was the result of his being of Scottish descent. "Claret was, of course, the recognised table beverage of good society in Scotland at that time; a relic of Stuart times, and close association with France. In that country, even today, it is often said that 'every

¹¹ McIntyre, "Adam Smith and Faith," 205.

¹² Adam Smith cited in *ibid.*, 199.

¹³ Busby, *A Manual*, 8-9.

¹⁴ McIntyre, Pierre, and Germov, "To Wash Away a British Stain," 46.

Scot is a French citizen’.”¹⁵ Yet non-Scottish colonists promoted French wines with the same enthusiasm.

English-born George Suttor, another pioneer of viticulture in New South Wales, described the advantages of the French wine culture as follows:

The light wines of France are for a warm climate a very healthy beverage; they constitute the chief support of the people of the country. A bottle of wine and decanter of pure water, with some *été*, are grateful accompaniments to a *déjeuner*; the same at dinner and supper. So that in France they do not use much tea or coffee, their wines superseding the use of all foreign beverages. Thus in time they may become in Australia and New Zealand, if due attention be paid to the cultivation of the vine; wine will give the best support to health, and contribute much to the wealth of the colony.¹⁶

This Francophile statement highlights not only economic and commercial advantages but also social and health benefits. When it comes to wine-drinking habits, British colonists in Australia distinguished fortified wines – mostly produced in Portugal and Spain with the addition of spirit – and light wines – mostly from France or Germany with no spirit added. Throughout the nineteenth century, issues linked to excessive alcohol consumption became prevalent, leading hygienist movements and temperance leagues to argue in favour of abstinence or – at the very least – in favour of lighter beverages like beer or light wines. In that context, the health qualities of French wines were increasingly pointed out in wine advocates’ publications.

Geologist and viticulturist William Keene – English-born like Suttor – in his *Addresses to the Hunter River Vineyard Association* in 1865–1866 expressed a preference for red wines as more refreshing than whites: “Such wines as you can produce and deliver to the consumer, *au naturel*, are the very milk of human kindness, and will I believe drive the turbulent alcohol from the position it now so prominently occupies.”¹⁷ His use of French expressions gives evidence of the origin of his influence. Keene indeed had lived for twenty years in southwestern France. This experience shaped his preference for French habits against British ones: “The abuse or excessive use of tea is more likely to degenerate a people than the use of wine. [...] Tea, drunk hot and strong, injures digestion; and strong alcoholic drinks destroy appetite; whilst sound light wine excites a wholesome desire for food.”¹⁸ In the same way, he despised hygienist movements: “Temperance doctrines are good for those who can only be intemperate, and total abstinence is a needful intemperance for those who cannot otherwise control their desires. [...]

¹⁵ Laffer, *The Wine Industry*, 20-21.

¹⁶ George Suttor, *The Culture of Grape-vine, and the Orange, in Australia and New Zealand* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1843), 129.

¹⁷ William Keene, *Addresses to the Hunter River Vineyard Association at their annual meetings in 1865 and 1866* (Maitland, New South Wales: Henry Thomas Printer, 1867), 9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

It is to the wine-growers that the advocates of temperance must look for their greatest help.”¹⁹ His idealism of wine culture had been put into practice in France by cultivating some vines at the foot of the Pyrenees near Bayonne between 1827 and 1836. Then, between 1836 and 1848 he was resident in Bordeaux, where he could observe the effects of claret wine trade and drinking:

In a 20 years’ intimate knowledge of French habits in those parts of France where the vine is one of the most ordinary cultures of the soil – where distillation is free, and alcohol can be had ten pence a bottle, I never saw a Frenchman sit down to drink brandy – and why? Because he found a sufficient stimulant in the wine which is his ordinary beverage. He uses brandy as it were medicinally, or by the thimbleful, which he calls a ‘petit verre.’ He exports much, but drinks little. Where wine can be had abundantly it will displace the use of spirits, and the more we encourage the growth of the vine the more we shall be promoting a healthy sobriety in the population.²⁰

Affordability and profusion were necessary to make wine an efficacious substitute to spirits.

Busby, Suttor and Keene were all members of the British upper middle class and were accustomed to wine-drinking themselves. They intended to turn this luxury beverage reserved for the wealthy into a staple product easily available to most of the population as it was in France, or as they perceived it to be in France. As such, they were eager to expand their socio-cultural preferences and privileges to the whole society. By this means, they expected to secure temperance among the lower classes of the colonial populations – notably, the convicts – who were believed to abuse spirits. Their knowledge and perception of France and its wine culture determined their preference for the emulation of light wines, which were considered healthier than ports and sherries. More surprisingly, they found among colonial medical practitioners some substantial allies in the promotion of this type of beverage.

Australian doctors and the French wine medicine

The health values of wine were interestingly advocated by a handful of influential colonial doctors of medicine in the middle of the nineteenth century. This position derived from a phenomenon which started in the early Modern Period in Europe. The Brunonian system of medicine based on therapeutic wines, further developed by Scottish physician John Brown in the late eighteenth century, had had some influence in British society as well as in some German and Italian states.²¹ Other types of wine therapies were developed in Britain and France during

¹⁹ Ibid., 10.

²⁰ Ibid., 20.

²¹ Harry W. Paul, *Bacchic Medicine: Wine and Alcohol Therapies from Napoleon to the French Paradox* (New York: Rodopi, 2001), 27.

the nineteenth century, and wine was regularly cited in medical works for its curative effects.²² In nineteenth-century France, peasants' traditional wine therapies were confirmed and extended by scientists and doctors. Celebrated agronomist Jules Guyot insisted on the qualities of "*vin naturel, alimentaire et bienfaisant*", which should be substituted for harmful spirits and become the daily beverage of all families. Louis Pasteur's opinion on wine ("*la plus saine et la plus hygiénique des boissons*"; "the healthiest beverage") had a strong echo in French society owing to his scientific discoveries related to alcoholic beverages.²³ These ideas in turn influenced several Australian medical practitioners who diffused them in the antipodean colonies.

Henry Lindeman followed in his father's path to become a doctor in England. He visited Europe, and notably France, before moving to Australia with his wife Eliza in 1840. Two years later he purchased a property named Cawarra – an Aboriginal word meaning "flowing water" or "meeting place" – in the Paterson district near the Hunter, New South Wales.²⁴ He planted his first vineyard in 1843. Having witnessed the disastrous effects of inebriation among poor communities of farmers and workers in Victoria and, by way of contrast, the benefits of wine-drinking in different regions of Europe, he concluded that Australia should favour light wines like hocks and clarets²⁵ – that is, German and French light wines. Lindeman also supported the reduction of duties on French wines to facilitate their trade in the British Empire.

In South Australia, Christopher Rawson Penfold and his wife Mary Penfold arrived in South Australia from England in 1844. They bought an estate – the Grange Cottage – in the district of Magill, east of Adelaide, where Christopher based his medical practice and Mary planted some grenache grapevines that they had brought with them from the south of France. The first wine was made by Mary with the help of her companion Ellen Kimbrell, neither of whom had any previous experience in viticulture nor winemaking.²⁶ It is believed that, at first, the wine made at the Grange was reserved for Christopher's patients and not for public distribution.²⁷ If so, the Penfolds had complementary activities; Christopher prescribed wine to his patients and Mary produced it. Later, Mary expanded the wine business at the Grange and started to commercialise her wine and export it to other Australian colonies and as far as British

²² Ibid. See Chapter 4: "French and British Wine Therapies."

²³ Garrier, *Histoire sociale et culturelle du vin*, 282-285.

²⁴ McIntyre and Germov, *Hunter Wine*, 92.

²⁵ L. Holden to 'Bertie', undated Lindeman Records, Historical Material 1487-1981, Z 418, Box 148, NBAC.

²⁶ Julie McIntyre, "Farmer, Businesswoman - and Founder of Penfold: Mary Penfold (1816-95)," Inside Story, <https://insidestory.org.au/farmer-businesswoman-and-founder-of-penfolds/>.

²⁷ Beeston, *A Concise History*, 41-42.

India. But it has been reported that the production consisted mostly of Spanish and Portuguese styles of wines,²⁸ the most popular at the time.

English-born Samuel Davenport, who had likewise established his own vineyard in South Australia, clearly recommended both the production and consumption of French-style light wines.²⁹ In a manuscript on winemaking and vine grape cultivation, he spoke up for daily wine-drinking, adding: “Good wine, in abundance, effectively promotes both temperance and health: whilst bad wine is an enemy to the human race.”³⁰ Davenport had been influenced by Jules Guyot’s works and especially his *Études des vignobles de France*, supported by the French imperial government and published in 1868.³¹ Davenport reported and translated an extract from this book about the benefits of the red wines of Auvergne (central France) on a local population accustomed to its daily consumption, acknowledging that “endemic sickness of intermittent fever [...] ha[d] disappeared since the inhabitants could habitually drink these wines at their meals.”³² According to him, this constituted evidence of the health benefits of regular drinking of locally made light wines. Furthermore, the wine had to be pure, that is non-fortified with brandy, affordable enough to enable all the population to drink it daily, and constantly available to prevent people from looking for substitute alcohol.

Davenport also preferred French agricultural products in general – especially from the southern regions – over those of other nations in Europe.³³ His preference for Mediterranean produce resulted from his personal observations. He had spent two years in the south of France in 1839–1840 with the hope of recovering from a lung disease prior to settling in South Australia.³⁴ It seems that he mostly stayed in the regions between Toulouse and the Rhône valley, and especially at Montpellier and Nîmes, where he became accustomed to local produce: vine grapes, olives and almonds.³⁵ Davenport’s desire was to see the neighbouring farms of

²⁸ D. I. McDonald, "Penfold, Christopher Rawson (1811-1870)," ed. National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University), accessed 9 October 2019, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/penfold-christopher-rawson-4387/text7143>.

²⁹ *Australian Vigneron and Fruit Growers' Journal* (Sydney), July 1, 1890, vol. 1, 37-38.

³⁰ Papers on the fermentation of grape juice and on vine olive cultivation, c. 1872-1900, manuscript, Davenport family papers, PRG 40, 20, SLSA.

³¹ Jules Guyot, *Études des vignobles de France: pour servir à l'enseignement mutuel de la viticulture et de la vinification françaises*. (Paris: Victor Masson et Fils, 1868).

³² Davenport family papers, PRG 40, 20, SLSA.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ B. S. Baldwin, "Letters of Samuel Davenport, chiefly to his father George Davenport, 1842-1849, Part 1: 1842-1843," *South Australiana* 6, no. 1 (1967): 18.

³⁵ Dunstan and McIntyre, "Wine, olives, silk." 40. Geoffrey Bishop reported that Davenport would have studied winemaking at the Montpellier Agricultural College while he lived in France in 1839-1840, see Bishop, *Australian Winemaking*, 28. However, the school of agriculture was created near Lyon in 1842 and transferred to

Adelaide covered with vine grapes and olive trees “such as you would see any day in travelling from Marseilles to Montpellier.”³⁶ Southern French landscapes were in his mind evidence of civilisation, prosperity and temperance and a model for the colony of South Australia.

In the same way, Davenport’s friend Charles Alexander Kelly, a Scottish-born medical practitioner who established himself at his property in Morphet Vale, south of Adelaide, in the early 1840s, denounced the protectionist policy of Britain against the “wholesome” wines of France while favouring the “coarse” wines of Spain and Portugal. According to him, this policy had had negative side effects in generalising the taste for fortified wines in Britain.³⁷ The distinction between the poor, strong fortified wines from the warmest districts and the healthy light wines from the mild and cold climates was increasingly redundant in British writings during the nineteenth century. It was the result of a social distinction between the upper classes and upper middle classes consuming claret, burgundy, or champagne while the middle and labouring classes consumed sherry and port.³⁸

This preference for claret wines reached the colony of Victoria as well. There, Hubert de Castella, a Swiss migrant who had naturalised French prior to moving to Melbourne, settled near Lilydale, north-east of the city, in 1854. He became one of the main advocates of wine consumption in the colony and praised its medicinal qualities, stating that “wine is the most nourishing, the most invigorating, the most restorative beverage that God has given to mankind.” Though not a doctor himself, de Castella spread English medical practitioner Robert Druitt’s recommendations on Bordeaux wines. “They increase the appetite, they exhilarate the spirits, they tend to fill the veins with pure healthy blood, and at the same time favour the action of the excretory organs; they are good in anaemia and chlorosis.”³⁹ He even recommended its consumption by children with the addition of two parts water, stating that it would predispose them for habits of temperance in later life. This opinion was widespread at the time in France⁴⁰ and is still topical today.⁴¹ According to de Castella, the availability of wine in southern districts

Montpellier only in 1870. But the fact that he engaged J. C. Gelly in 1884, a French winemaker graduate of the École nationale d’Agriculture of Montpellier, would ascertain his links with this institution at a later period.

³⁶ *Australian Vignerons*, 1 July 1890, vol. 1, 38.

³⁷ Alexander Kelly, *The Vine in Australia* (Sydney: The David Ell Press, 1980), 1.

³⁸ Ross Fitzgerald and Trevor L Jordan, *Under the Influence: A History of Alcohol in Australia* (Sydney: Harper Collins Publishers, 2009), 112.

³⁹ Hubert de Castella, *Extracts from an English Book on Wine* (Melbourne: Still and Knight, printers, 1877), 10. De Castella directly quoted Robert Druitt, *Report on the Cheap Wines from France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Greece, Hungary, and Australia: their use in diet and medicine* (London: H. Renshaw, 1873), 86.

⁴⁰ Nourrisson, *Le buveur*, 161-167.

⁴¹ Katherine Kinzler and Justine Vanden Heuvel, "Do Children in France Have a Healthier Relationship With Alcohol?," *New York Times*, April 28 2016.

of Europe allowed a balanced alimentary diet and limited drunkenness. Consequently, he promoted the adoption of this economic and cultural model in the colony, as “the day will come when, in Victoria, every farmer will have his one or two acres of vineyard for the supply of wine for his family”.⁴² De Castella also made a distinction between wine styles and their inherent qualities. He clearly preferred light wines, rather than the strong and fortified types, and approved the customs policy designed to decrease duties on wines from France in 1860.⁴³

Thus, for Kelly, Davenport and de Castella, free trade with France was not a threat to the development of a colonial wine industry but rather complementary and necessary. It would make French light wines more affordable and enable the inhabitants of Britain and the British Empire to become more accustomed to this type of beverage and shun fortified wines. This would eventually increase the demand in the empire and shape a healthier society on the French model. Their status as doctors gave strength to their wine boosterism by the addition of medical arguments either through their writings or by directly prescribing light wine to their patients. But the promotion of this type of alcoholic beverage also relied on different perceptions of French and Australian societies.

The myth of temperate France and intoxicated Australia

The idea that Australian people have had problems with alcohol throughout their history is still prevalent. But Ross Fitzgerald and Trevor L. Jordan nuance this statement by arguing that the depiction of alcohol consumption as a special feature of Australian identity is a myth.⁴⁴ In fact, this idea dates back to the earliest time of European settlement in Australia, when convicts were considered prone to all kinds of excess. This stereotype remained prevalent even after the end of the convict transportation system in the late 1860s. Australian author Marcus Clarke published an essay called “The Curse of the Country” in the satirical journal *Humbug* in which he stated that “Australians are not a nation of Snobs like the English, or of extravagant boasters like the Americans, or of reckless profligates like the French, they are simply a nation of Drunkards.”⁴⁵ This caricature gives an example of how some Australians saw themselves as an intoxicated country, even though alcohol consumption was gradually decreasing throughout the

⁴² Castella, *Extracts*, 12-14.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

⁴⁴ Fitzgerald and Jordan, *Under the Influence*, 7.

⁴⁵ Cited in Diane Erika Kirkby, "Drinking "The Good Life". Australia c. 1880-1980," in *Alcohol. A Social and Cultural History*, ed. Mack P. Holt (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 203. Original source: Marcus Clarke, “The Curse of the Country,” *Humbug*, 15 September 1869.

century. Furthermore, even if the picture of “reckless profligates” was less flattering than the descriptions by colonial wine advocates of a temperate people, Clarke seemed to suggest that French people were relatively less intoxicated than the Australians.

But, in the same way that Australia was not the most intoxicated country in the world in the nineteenth century, the picture of France as being temperate thanks to its wine culture involved a misconception of drinking habits of the time. This idea was challenged in the 1860s in Australia, when a debate opposed Archibald Michie, Minister of Justice for Victoria, and Charles Jardine Don, representative of the working classes. The former was involved in establishing wine saloons in the colony. After travelling through France, he had become convinced that the populations in winegrowing countries were more temperate. Don contradicted Michie’s arguments, arguing that the inhabitants of winegrowing countries were simply too poor to buy alcohol and get drunk, and that this was the main reason behind their sobriety.⁴⁶

This debate revealed a misconception about alcohol consumption in France. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, when France was still largely dominated by rural life and peasantry, wine and alcohol consumption were concentrated in cities and towns. In the winegrowing districts, peasants could drink a certain quantity of their own production, but mostly the poorest one, the *piquette* that is the “wine” made by blending the must with water and which could not be sold on the market.⁴⁷ In this sense, Don might have been right in pointing out economic causes of temperance in France. Yet, it is true that the populations of viticultural regions in southern Europe regularly consumed wine during most of the Modern Period.⁴⁸ This behaviour influenced the first colonial Australians who toured in France in the first half of the nineteenth century – observers like the Macarthurs, James Busby and George Suttor – in thinking that wine culture led to reasonable drinking. They generally focused their attention on rural wine districts, where alcohol consumption appeared temperate.

At the time of the discord between Michie and Don, the situation was rapidly evolving though. Owing to industrialisation, urbanisation and the development of the railway enabling the connexion of viticultural districts to the main cities in the 1830s–1860s, wine consumption per capita in France sharply increased. Gilbert Garrier even argues that during this period,

⁴⁶ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 47.

⁴⁷ Zeldin, *Histoire des Passions Françaises*, vol. 3, 581-582. Garrier, *Histoire sociale et culturelle du vin*, 215-220. Nourrisson, *Le buveur*, 33. Nourrisson points out that most French peasants only began to drink wine on a daily basis after the First World War.

⁴⁸ Meyzie, *L'alimentation en Europe*, 100-102.

supply and demand were growing in parallel, so much so that wine became the popular drink of the French and the symbol of their national identity.⁴⁹ The emergence of massive consumption was followed by the rise of excessive drinking issues. After a time-lag, France faced the same problems related to alcohol that plagued Britain. Thus, scientists, hygienist movements and temperance leagues in France blamed wine, even though it was, at the same time, increasingly celebrated in literature and arts.⁵⁰

Table 1: Consumption of alcoholic beverages in France, 1831–1910 (annual average in litres per capita)

	Wine	Beer	Spirits
1831–1839	84.5	10.5	1.3
1840–1849	78	12	1.8
1850–1859	79.5	15.5	2
1860–1869	127.5	19	2.5
1870–1879	141.5	20.5	2.8
1880–1889	98.5	22.6	4
1890–1899	115	23.6	4.5
1900–1909	162.5	28.4	4

Source: Didier Nourrisson, *Le buveur du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1990), 321.

⁴⁹ Garrier, *Histoire sociale et culturelle du vin*, 152.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 275-290.

Table 2: Consumption of alcoholic beverages in New South Wales and Victoria, 1831–1900 (annual average in litres per capita)

	NSW			Victoria		
	Wine	Beer	Spirits	Wine	Beer	Spirits
1831–1840	15.9	19.1	21	5.9	42.7	10.9
1841–1850	7.7	13.6	8.6	5	30.5	10.5
1851–1860	6.4	20	12.7	9.1	36.5	20.9
1861–1870	5	14.5	8.6	4.5	80.9 ^b	8.6
1871–1880	6.4	10	7.3	4.1	81.8	5
1881–1890	3.6	53.2 ^a	5.9	5	78.2	5.9
1891–1900	3.2	45.5	4.1	6.4	60.5	4.1

^a Consumption of locally brewed beer not included until 1886.

^b Consumption of locally brewed beer not included until 1863.

Source: A. E. Dingle, “The Truly Magnificent Thirst”: An Historical Survey of Australian Drinking Habits,” *Historical Studies* 19, no. 75 (1980): 230-232.

Table 3: Volume of total alcohol consumption in France, Britain and Australia, 1860-1909 (annual average in litres of pure alcohol per capita)

	France	UK	Australia
1860–1869	n/a	9.8	8.6
1870–1879	n/a	12.2	7.2
1880–1889	16	9.7	6.6
1890–1899	17.8	9.1	4.9
1900–1909	22.4	8.6	4.7

Source: Kym Anderson, Signe Nelgen, and Vicente Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets, 1860 to 2016: A Statistical Compendium* (Adelaide: The University of Adelaide Press, 2018), 220-221.

Overall, the figures presented in Tables 1, 2 and 3 – though incomplete – refute the idea of a temperate France in comparison with an intoxicated Australia, especially in the second half of the century. Total alcohol consumption was quickly reduced, thanks to the decrease in consumption of spirits, which was replaced by beer-drinking in New South Wales and Victoria (Table 2), while consumption of all types of alcoholic beverages were on the rise in France – except for wine during the phylloxera crisis in the 1880s (Table 1). Yet, the picture of a healthy French drinking culture did not fade among its Australian promoters. In the late nineteenth century, while alcohol consumption had drastically risen in France, Australian newspapers still advocated wine as a source of temperance: “Experience shows that wine-drinking people are

very temperate [...]; and the French, taken as a whole, are reputed to be the most sober and most thrifty people in the world.”⁵¹ This statement was published in 1891 in the Melbourne newspaper *The Argus*. During the previous decade, the average annual volume of alcohol consumed in France reached sixteen litres per capita, while in Australia it amounted to only 6.6. The difference increased even further during the next decades (Table 3). Thus, idealisation of French wine culture could survive even though France was one of the most – if not the most – intoxicated countries in the world.⁵²

This misconception was partly the result of the difference existing between the winegrowing districts in France and the regions which were deprived of vine grape cultivation. Indeed, the British colonists who travelled through France during the nineteenth century usually described the traditional wine-producing regions as temperate. The maps of alcohol and wine consumption in France drawn and published by Doctor Lunier in 1877 tend to corroborate their assertions. They bring out much higher alcohol consumption and mental health issues linked to it in the northern *départements* (French territorial districts) where there is no viticulture.⁵³ American immigrant H. Mortimer Franklyn used Lunier’s statistics in his book investigating the leading industries of Australia, published in 1881. In a chapter promoting the colonial wine industry, Franklyn pointed out that annual consumption of alcohol was much higher in the *départements* of Nord, Pas-de-Calais, Somme and Seine-Inférieure (today Seine-Maritime) in northern France, where the vine did not thrive, while being much lower in the Haute-Garonne, Tarn and Tarn-et-Garonne, in the southwest of France, where wine constituted a part of the inhabitants’ daily diet.⁵⁴

The picture of wine regions as more temperate should be questioned though. It may be possible to discover economic and social reasons for this “temperance”, as Don argued in Victoria in the 1860s. The vigneron who lived mainly from the sales of their wines could not afford to drink their own production, except unsellable wines – that is the poorest ones. Rural

⁵¹ *The Argus* (Melbourne), 8 November 1891. Article reprinted in the *Journal of the Board of Viticulture of Victoria*, 10 March 1892.

⁵² For more statistics on global wine and alcohol consumption, see Kym Anderson, Signe Nelgen, and Vicente Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets, 1860 to 2016: A Statistical Compendium* (Adelaide: The University of Adelaide Press, 2018), 220-221.

⁵³ See the maps in Claude Quénel and Jean-Yves Simon, "L'aliénation alcoolique en France (XIXe siècle et première moitié du XXe siècle)," *Histoire, économie et société* 7, no. 4 (1988): 514-517. They are extracted from L. Lunier, *De la production et de la consommation des boissons alcooliques et de leur influence sur la santé physique et mentale des populations* (Paris: F. Savy, 1877).

⁵⁴ H. Mortimer Franklyn, *A Glance at Australia in 1880: Or Food from the South Showing the Present Condition of Some of its Leading Industries...* (Melbourne: The Victorian Review Publishing Company Limited, 1881), 162.

areas in general were less wealthy and alcohol there less affordable. Moreover, several scholars have warned about the context of production of Lunier's maps and statistics. Indeed, the influence of the wine lobby in France in the second half of the nineteenth century was instrumental in minimising the negative effects of excessive wine consumption on physical and mental health.⁵⁵ Nourrisson argues that Dr. Lunier's method and results were not scientifically accurate because of the impossibility of measuring the mortality caused by alcohol consumption. In the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, the temperance of the populations living in wine districts was seriously questioned by new statistics which showed that cirrhosis of the liver was much more common in those regions (Languedoc, Roussillon, Rhône Valley, Champagne, etc.) than in areas accustomed to different types of alcoholic beverages.⁵⁶ Finally, the drinking of alcohol – including wine – usually rose with industrialisation and the shaping of an urban working class. Winegrowing areas being less industrial in general, they were later to be affected by issues linked to alcohol consumption, which the wine culture did not ultimately prevent.

Yet, in 1897, after studying viti-viniculture in France, South Australian winemaker Leo Buring, though admitting that French people were clearly not total abstainers, considered them temperate nonetheless, highlighting regional differences. “In the south of France wine is the chief beverage and although I have lived for more than three months among wine-drinking people, where the workmen consumes his one and a half to two litres a day, only twice have I met cases of intoxication, and then these were due to the use of spirits and not wine.”⁵⁷ In this respect, Buring noticed a difference in drinking behaviour between the northern part of France, whose population was subject to intoxication with spirits – especially absinth – and the southern part more accustomed to daily wine-drinking. He concluded: “Would it not be better to follow the example of France, and make wine our national beverage, especially as the vine flourishes in our sunny land as well as, if not better than, in any other country in the world?”⁵⁸ Like his predecessors, Buring based his opinion on personal observations and focused on the scarcity of cases of drunkenness – thus neglecting the total amount of alcohol consumed – to determine the level of intoxication of a nation.

Thus, the idealisation of France and its wine culture was still significant in the very late nineteenth century and could have been the result of wine lobbies' activities in Europe, which

⁵⁵ Quétel and Simon, "L'aliénation alcoolique," 513. Nourrisson, *Le buveur*, 191-192.

⁵⁶ Nourrisson, *Le buveur*, 191-192.

⁵⁷ *South Australian Register*, 29 December 1897, 7

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

in turn influenced Australian wine advocates. However, while the idealisation of wine in the early nineteenth century relied more especially on a romanticised view of Mediterranean cultures, the promotion of wine in the late part of the century leaned on scientific and medical discourses. It was also the consequence of the rising reputation of French fine wines across the world. Bordeaux great growths became the symbol of high-quality and sophisticated consumption. As a matter of fact, throughout the nineteenth century, it became clear that Australian promoters of French wines were more and more interested in transferring skills and methods from the most celebrated wine regions of France, namely Bordeaux, Burgundy and Champagne. The success of these wines on international markets highlighted the economic benefits to be expected from this type of production. Indeed, cultural and medical benefits were not the only reason French-style wines were promoted in Australia. The importance of the wine sector in the French economy was regularly highlighted to legitimate the development of a similar activity in the antipodean colonies, since the primary objective of colonial winegrowers was to make profits.

Economic and trade benefits

In colonial wine advocates' minds, wine consumption had to be accompanied by wine production in the colonies in order to shape a coherent temperate and wealthy society. However, in the first half of the nineteenth century, viticulture was generally not considered by the colonists to be profitable enough and made little progress in comparison with cereal cultivation and sheep breeding, the main agricultural activities at the time. Pastoralism in particular thrived in the 1820s–1840s thanks to government supports. The number of sheep rose from 100,000 in 1820 to one million in 1830, four million in 1840 and thirteen million in 1850. The graziers gradually improved the quantity and quality of their wool to meet the growing demand of British manufactures. Australia only supplied one tenth of British wool imports in 1830, but half in 1850. “Here was the staple that sustained Australian prosperity and growth for a century”, argues Macintyre.⁵⁹ In comparison, the low demand for wine in Britain could not arouse the same enthusiasm. Yet, for its advocates, viticulture represented a labour-intensive crop that allowed larger colonial settlements than extensive crops like wheat growing and sheep farming.⁶⁰ Wine was also expected to become an export product designed to satisfy European demand. Busby was convinced that winegrowing would become more useful and more

⁵⁹ Macintyre, *History of Australia*, 59-60.

⁶⁰ Simpson, *Creating Wine*, 220.

successful than cereal production. After having tasted different wines made in the colony, he believed that with some years of improvement they could compete against European products and obtain a high price for their sales. Suttor highlighted the economic advantages provided by viticulture and winemaking in southern Europe:

Those who regard the *useful* only, must admit the value of this branch of husbandry, when we reflect what a great source of wealth it proves to those countries where it is successfully pursued. France, Spain, Portugal and Italy have accumulated riches by their commerce in wine, and the fruit of the vine; and a vast portion of the population are maintained thereby in habits of industry, contentment, and peace.⁶¹

Although Mediterranean countries were indiscriminately cited as examples to demonstrate the economic value of viticulture, France often represented a peculiar example for Australian colonists. Its status in this regard resulted from observations made by members of the British gentry during their “Grand Tours”. Most remarkably, Arthur Young, during the years prior to the French Revolution, noticed the value that viticulture gave to the land in many provinces.⁶² This tradition was passed on to the nineteenth century, and for a number of visitors France was not a mere passage to reach Italy but the destination of a trip of investigation. Travellers often commented on viticulture and the wine industry as a source of significant wealth for France. Through adaptation of this industry to the Australian context, benefits were expected to be realised thanks to the exports of colonial products to Britain and its empire.

In his *Treatise* published in 1825, Busby reported and translated several French works on viticulture and winemaking, concluding that vine cultivation could lead to profits, give value to the land and, eventually, secure the prosperity of the colony. Busby notably cited Arthur Young’s observations in France in 1787–89 in order to lend weight to his argument.⁶³ More importantly, vine grape cultivation was expected to add value to poor land unsuited to any other types of cultivation, as explained by Jean-Antoine Chaptal, Napoleon’s Minister of Interior, between 1800 and 1804: “To form a correct idea, of the advantages France draws from her vineyards; it is necessary to take into account, that four-fifths of the soil consecrated to the vine, would remain uncultivated without it.”⁶⁴ Chaptal was a renowned scientist and statesman whose role was instrumental in reorganising French economy, industry, trade, agriculture and

⁶¹ Suttor, *The Culture of the Grape-vine*, 16.

⁶² Arthur Young, *Arthur Young's Travels in France during the Years 1787, 1788, 1789* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1909), first published in 1794. On the Grand Tour tradition, see in particular Hudson, *The Grand Tour*. Michèle Cohen, “The Grand Tour: constructing the English gentleman in eighteenth century France,” *History of Education* 21, no. 3 (1992). Black, *France and the Grand Tour*.

⁶³ Busby, *A Treatise*, xxi-xxiv.

⁶⁴ Chaptal cited and translated by Busby, *ibid.*, xxiv-xxv.

infrastructure after the turmoil of the Revolution, and he published several works on wine sciences.⁶⁵ In his 1843 publication, Suttor also drew on French writers to praise winegrowing as a “great source of national wealth.”⁶⁶

Forty years later, an economic and demographic boom in the Australian colonies allowed the development of “marginal” industries like winegrowing. After the Bordeaux universal wine exhibition of 1882, Henry Bonnard, representative of the colony of New South Wales, presented the economic advantage of developing a wine industry in the colony given the results obtained in France. Bonnard estimated that eight million people were directly or indirectly employed in the French wine sector, producing a turnover of about £80 million in 1881 despite the phylloxera crisis. He concluded:

Without going further into statistical comparisons it may be said that the Australian Colonies, with these results of the wine trade for France, should prove unconscious of the wealth of their soil, if they neglected to consecrate such portions of their land as may be favourable for the cultivation of the vine – that “*wet-nurse of mankind*,” which has already conquered the right to appear in the coat-of-arms of New South Wales, conjointly with the corn-stalk, the miner’s tools, and the sheep’s fleece.⁶⁷

The link between winegrowing, economic prosperity and demographic growth was also made in the colony of Victoria, where in the 1880s–1890s the Board of Viticulture spread opinions in favour of establishing a wine industry on the French model. One contributor argued: “What had made France the nation she was but vine-growing?”⁶⁸ Wine represented the strength of France and an object of desire for Australian wine boosters.

Hubert de Castella regularly highlighted the health benefits of wine, but he also paid close attention to its economic and commercial value. His most famous work, entitled *John Bull’s Vineyard* and published in 1886, was devoted to making Australia the vineyard and wine supplier of Britain.⁶⁹ While visiting the Trouettes and Blampieds, French vigneron established at Great Western, western Victoria (Grampians), he proposed a toast “to the Australian Vine!

⁶⁵ The most remarkable were *L’art de faire, gouverner et de perfectionner le vin* and *Traité théorique et pratique sur la culture de la vigne*, both published in 1801. Chaptal is most famous for mastering the method enabling to increase the volume of alcohol in wine by adding sugar to the must before fermentation. This practice has since been called “chaptalisation.”

⁶⁶ Suttor, *The Culture of the Grape-vine*, 12.

⁶⁷ Henry Bonnard, *Report of the Executive Secretary on the Bordeaux International Exhibition of Wines, 1882* (Sydney: Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1884), 5.

⁶⁸ *Journal of the Board of Viticulture for Victoria* (Melbourne, Victoria: Robt. S. Brain, Gov. Printer), 10 March 1892, 53.

⁶⁹ “John Bull” is a national personification of the United Kingdom.

To the Vine which gives prosperity, which makes men sober and kind, which engenders sociability, which employs most hands, which brings the greatest comfort to rural families – to the cultivation of the Vine, the best of all to develop a new country.”⁷⁰ De Castella was directly referring to Jules Guyot’s comments as his main source of reflection, and he was confident in the eventual success of the vine grape in the colonies. Australian journals and newspapers quoted and translated Guyot as well: “‘The vine,’ says Dr. Jules Guyot, one of the most eminent French authorities on vine-growing and winemaking, ‘is the culture best adapted for colonists. Vine-growing is, of all methods of utilising the soil, that which assures the greatest competence to the rural family’.”⁷¹ This was quoted from Guyot’s *Culture de la vigne et vinification*, particularly the first chapter entitled “*Influence colonisatrice des cultures en général et de la vigne en particulier.*” Guyot considered that the real wealth of a place could only be determined by the number of people who inhabit and thrive on it. From this postulate, he proposed to establish the degree of “*valeur colonisatrice d’un sol*” or “colonising value of a soil”. The vine – like tobacco, indigo, tea, coffee, sugar cane, cotton, flax or hemp – was considered to be a labour-intensive cultivation and thus highly colonising or developing. The other advantage of the vine was its capacity to thrive on poor soils, fertilise them and add value to the land.⁷² As such, embracing Guyot’s analysis, de Castella was highly confident in the economic value of vine-growing and winemaking in the economic development of Victoria.

In South Australia, Arthur J. Perkins, a British migrant graduated from Montpellier who devoted his life to viticultural research and teaching, adopted similar reflections and estimated the number of people involved – directly or indirectly – in the wine industry in France at 1.6 million in 1910. To these he suggested adding the labourers, coopers, teamsters, merchants and their staff.⁷³ By keeping the greatest number of colonists busy and productive, the French wine model would secure economic prosperity and social peace. Thus, the main motivations for developing viticulture and winemaking in Australia chiefly relied on cultural and economic

⁷⁰ Hubert de Castella, *John Bull's Vineyard* (Melbourne: Sands & McDougall Limited, 1886), 78-79.

⁷¹ *South Australian Advertiser*, 20 January 1886, 2. *The Vignerons, A Monthly Journal of the Australian Wine Association of Victoria*, February 1886, vol. 1, no. 1., 10.

⁷² Jules Guyot, *Culture de la vigne et vinification* (Paris: Librairie agricole de la Maison rustique, 1860), Chapter 1. In this work, Guyot analysed the value of viticulture in poor soils regarding three main concerns: private interest, colonising power and national wealth. All these arguments in favour of vine cultivations have been used by colonial winegrowers in Australia.

⁷³ Arthur James Perkins, *Agriculture in Other Lands. Notes collected during the course of a visit in 1910, to Europe, North Africa and Asia Minor* (Adelaide: R. E. E. Rogers, Government Printer, 1912), 53.

benefits for the colonies themselves rather than on a potential British policy of substitution against the wine trade with France.

The idea that colonial vineyards could replace imports from southern European rivals – as argued by Tim Unwin⁷⁴ – did not influence local settlers, who were first motivated by the prosperity and health of their colonies. Yet, it is true that the British Government maintained a drastic protectionist trade policy on French wines throughout the eighteenth century and during the first half of the nineteenth century. Direct imports of wines from France or French colonies on French ships were prohibited across the British Empire. The Legislative Council during the governorship in New South Wales of George Gipps – a promoter of moderate temperance – sought to encourage wine production and consumption in the colony. The Council in 1841 even attempted – but failed – to alter British trade policy. As McIntyre points out, it prevented experimentation from determining whether the regular drinking of light French wines could make the colonial population more temperate.⁷⁵ Actually, the desire to develop a wine industry on the French model in colonial Australia did not threaten wine trade with France but was rather complementary. This principle was clearly stated in 1861 by Alexander Kelly when the Franco–British free trade treaty was established.⁷⁶ This new policy did not worry Australian colonists about the future of wine trade with the imperial centre or the possibility of higher competition with French wines in the colonies. It was seen as an opportunity to make ordinary French light wines better known and appreciated in Britain and its Empire.

The reputation of French fine wines in Britain played a role in determining wine models for Australian colonists. It is notable that in the second half of the nineteenth century – that is, after the celebrated 1855 Classification of Bordeaux *grands crus* – the famous châteaux of Médoc appeared more regularly in Australian winegrowers' comments as a model of comparison.⁷⁷ In 1859, William Acland Anderson, Hubert de Castella's brother-in-law, brought back some cuttings from the celebrated Chateau Lafite in the hope that they would produce high quality wine in Victoria as well.⁷⁸ During their tours or studies in France, Australian winegrowers visited with increasing regularity the *grands crus* like the châteaux of Médoc. At least six of them made the trip in the 1880s–1890s: Thomas Hardy and his son Robert of Tintara

⁷⁴ Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 298.

⁷⁵ McIntyre, "Adam Smith and Faith," 206.

⁷⁶ Kelly, *The Vine in Australia*, 1-2.

⁷⁷ Castella, *John Bull's Vineyard*, 172. *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 1, no. 1, July 1890, 254. *Australian Vignerons*, vol. 1, 1 August 1890, 57; 1 April 1891, 216-218. *Journal of the Board of Viticulture for Victoria*, 10 March 1892, 113.

⁷⁸ François de Castella, "Early Victorian Winegrowing," *The Victorian Historical Magazine* 19, no. 4 (1942).

(today McLaren Vale, South Australia), Hubert de Castella's son François (St Hubert's vineyard, today's Yarra Valley, Victoria), and South Australian winemakers Alfred and Bernhard Basedow and Leo Buring.⁷⁹ As a consequence, they left very detailed descriptions of the organisation and practices of these particular vineyards and wineries.

Even though they were less celebrated than the châteaux of Bordeaux, the great growths of Burgundy were well appreciated in Britain, and, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, some famous brands of Champagne acquired important market shares in this market as well.⁸⁰ These new trends reached Australia, and the development of colonial champagne-making was pioneered in the 1870s; it is analysed in the second part of this thesis. The adoption of French fine-wine models was motivated by the desire to reproduce organoleptic qualities and add value to a commodity destined to be consumed in the colonies and in Europe. The belief in the superiority of French fine wines over all others influenced Australian wine connoisseurs and advocates, but it is worth noting that other countries were still mentioned for the qualities of their wines and the particularity of their growths in the late nineteenth century, notably the rieslings of the Rhine valley or the tokays from Hungary.⁸¹ Eventually, French *grands crus* often served as a point of comparison among experts and connoisseurs. One of the most famous examples is François de Castella's recollection of a wine degustation at his uncle's property in the 1850s. After the Pommard was exhausted, a wine of the former Ryrie vineyard made by a Burgundian Swiss vigneron was served and received with an enthusiastic "Better than Pommard!" by the gathering.⁸² The triumph of French *grands crus* internationally participated in defining the French wine model among Australian growers as one of high quality.

Conclusion

At first, the choice of a French wine model was not necessarily based on the superior

⁷⁹ Thomas Hardy, *Notes on Vineyards in America and Europe* (Adelaide: Hardy, 1885), 105-110. Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 153. Bernhard Basedow, *The Basedow Story, A German Australian Heritage* (Adelaide: National Library of Australia, 1990), 85-92. Diary of Leo Buring, manuscript (1896), Leo Buring Limited records, BRG 248/1, SLSA.

⁸⁰ See the work of Graham Harding on Champagne trade and distribution in nineteenth-century Britain. Graham Harding, "The establishment of champagne in Britain, 1860-1914" (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2018).

⁸¹ For example, J. T. Fallon preferred light wines from France but also from Germany and Hungary with no distinction of quality between them. See James T Fallon, *Australian Vines and Wines* (London: printed by W. Trounce, 1873), 12.

⁸² This event was told by François de Castella himself in his article published in 1942, see Castella, "Early Victorian Winegrowing," 146. The expression was then famously used by Dunstan for his book on the history of winegrowing in Victoria, *Better Than Pommard!* Dunstan insists on the importance of the French influence in the development of Victoria's wine industry even though the French migrants were scarce.

organoleptic qualities associated with fine wines. It was rather linked to health and medical concerns (the wine was lighter and thus healthier) and a desire to adopt an economically productive model that would bring prosperity to the colony. It was also linked to a traditional French influence among British elites. Busby in the 1820s–1830s, Kelly and Davenport in the 1860s and de Castella, Perkins and Buring in the 1880s–1890s all pointed out the therapeutic, cultural and economic values of the French wine model. Because this activity was capital-intensive and only profitable on the long term – the vines only bear grapes after three or four years of cultivation – investing in this production was costly and risky. Thus, wine boosters highlighted the wealth obtained by France from winegrowing to convince investors and new wine pioneers in the colonies.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the growing reputation of French great growths and high-quality champagne brands influenced Australian winegrowers, or at least those wealthy enough to undertake the investments necessary to emulate them. Such luxury or semi-luxury goods were expected to be profitable enough to be shipped to Europe in small quantities and compete with European wines.⁸³

⁸³ Regarding trade and competition issues in Europe, see Chapters 7 and 8 of this thesis.

Conclusion to Part I

Viticulture and wine production began in Australia in the context of mercantilism in Europe as well as rivalries and mutual exchanges between Britain and France. However, the taste for wine and Mediterranean culture was transferred to the Antipodes with the European colonists, although not in a protectionist strategy to replace French imports. Viticulture was not officially supported by colonial authorities until the 1860s and was overshadowed by grain cropping and sheep farming, more suited to the British market. Winegrowing was marginalised, though it was promoted by wealthy individuals from the British upper classes convinced of its cultural and economic value. For them, the French wine model represented a way to develop the colony itself rather than to replace French commodities on the British market. These wine boosters were often Francophile or French wine connoisseurs, and imperial rivalries did not interfere with their personal motivations. Other European wine models were also considered suitable. Models derived from Spain, Portugal and Germany competed with the French model. But given its geographical proximity, the constant mutual exchanges and the growing success of French fine wines worldwide, France increasingly appeared as a favoured model among colonial wine boosters and pioneers. The promotion of wine-drinking also occurred in the context of rising concerns about excessive alcohol consumption in Britain and its empire. Light wines from France were considered to be a healthy substitute for spirits and fortified wines. Throughout the century, the idealisation of Mediterranean cultures was gradually replaced by medical and economic arguments and the rising reputation of the clarets, burgundies and champagnes. However, early British settlers of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia usually lacked winegrowing skills to implement the basis of this industry. Consequently, they looked toward traditional wine-producing countries in Europe, and especially France, to obtain this knowledge.

Part II

Transferring the French Wine Model: A Trans-Imperial Process

George McEwin, a colonist established in South Australia since the 1840s, referred to the issue of selecting the soil most suited to viticulture in the colonies. In his manual inscribed to his employer George Stevenson, he claimed:

It is impossible for us, at this early stage of the Colony, to furnish from our experience any data which may be altogether correct as a guide on this point; the only alternative left us is to look to other countries, and to refer to good authorities for information.¹

The necessity of transferring wine-related knowledge from Europe was a major concern for early colonists willing to establish a colonial wine industry.

Circulation of knowledge was neglected in historical studies until the 1990s. Since then, this literature has developed through interests in knowledge transfers in transregional and transnational perspectives and through the history of cultural practices.² Transfers of skills, technologies and science often relied on both private and public involvements and intermediations. Governmental interests concerned economic, cultural and ideological questions. Thus, circulations and hybridisations could be accepted and even promoted if they were considered beneficial. On the other hand, they could be concealed or prevented when they were considered harmful and denaturing. Private individuals could initiate these transfers, but they sometimes needed administrative supports to realise them.³

In the early phase of the colonisation of Australia, between 1788 and the 1810s, experiments in winegrowing were mostly organised by government farms. Then, from the 1820s on, they began increasingly to be instigated by private landowners.⁴ Australian colonists developed different strategies to overcome their lack of experience in winegrowing methods. They collected skills, tools and vine cuttings themselves in France or imported them. They also attempted to send for French vinedressers and winemakers to manage colonial wineries. Some

¹ George McEwin, *South Australian Vigneron and Gardeners' Manual: containing plain practical directions for the cultivation of the vine; the propagation of fruit-trees, with catalogue and directions for cultivation; and the management of the kitchen garden, with catalogue of culinary vegetables, &c. &c.* (Adelaide: James Allen, 1843), 3.

² Hilaire-Pérez, "Les savoirs-mondes," 19-21.

³ Gonzalez Bernaldo and Hilaire-Pérez, *Les savoirs-mondes*, 23.

⁴ McIntyre, "Adam Smith and Faith."

French vigneronns also came on their own initiative to find better living conditions. Finally, from the 1870s, colonial winegrowers developed agricultural institutions to import technical and scientific knowledge more efficiently and spread it to a large audience through the colonies. This was facilitated by increasing colonial governments' involvement in the wine business, and it strengthened formal transfers from France. These different methods shaped a trans-imperial process of knowledge circulation throughout the nineteenth century.

Chapter 3

Interpersonal Exchanges and British Private Initiatives (1815–1860s)

Importing wine-related knowledge into Australia remained a concern throughout the colonial era. As evidenced in the previous chapter, France gradually emerged as the chosen model to be implemented in the colonies for cultural and economic reasons. The next problem was to find a way to realise these transfers from a foreign country. This circulation of knowledge occurred in a transversal colonising process between France and colonies belonging to the British Empire.

In order to achieve these trans-imperial transfers, a handful of wealthy colonists undertook wine tours in France to observe winegrowing methods and bring back vine cuttings and equipment. They also translated and introduced French experts' publications in the colonies. France constituted, early on, the main source of wine science due to the number of works published in French on viticulture and winemaking in the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century. Its status was also due to the major impact of key wine scientists such as Jean-Antoine Chaptal, Jules Guyot and Louis Pasteur, who deeply influenced viticulture and winemaking in France and abroad.¹ It was, however, necessary to make these works available and readable to the settlers interested in winegrowing in the British world. Translations have always been a major part of transfers of culture and technology over history. These circulations can be impacted by distortions and losses of information due to the differences between languages, cultures or even civilisations.² Colonial initiators of the wine industry sometimes avoided this problem by using and introducing French words and expressions, such as *bouquet*, *égrappage*, *cru*, and so on, into the colonies. Understanding and adapting theoretical knowledge to practical conditions was a major issue for early Australian winegrowers, whose desire was to emulate French wines.

During the colonial era, a considerable collection of publications and translations on viticulture and winemaking appeared, most of them initiated by private actors. The early period

¹ On Chaptal and Pasteur, see in particular Harry W. Paul, *Science, Vine, and Wine in Modern France* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 123-193. Guyot was noticeably famous for the generalisation of the pruning method that bears his name nowadays.

² Michel Prum, "Circulation européenne de la traduction," in *Les savoirs-mondes: mobilités et circulation des savoirs depuis le Moyen Age*, ed. Pilar Gonzalez Bernaldo and Liliane Hilaire-Pérez (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2015), 325.

between the 1790s and the 1830s had seen scant publications, as the industry was still in its infancy. But from the 1840s on, colonial wine literature was stimulated by the rise of winegrowing in New South Wales, thanks to the arrival of migrants with capital and skilled labour. In turn, booster literature aimed to stimulate wine production as a complementary activity when the economy was slowing down.³ The publications of wine books also responded to a new demand in Victoria and South Australia, where viticulture was just beginning to attract new colonists. In total, forty-nine Australian wine books were published between 1830 and 1900.⁴

By pioneering wine-related transfers from France, British colonists established the basis of a burgeoning industry. In doing so, they made available a reservoir of knowledge on winegrowing, crossing national and imperial boundaries to do so.

Initiating the transfers to New South Wales (1815–1860s)

A few instances of wine-related transfers from France occurred prior to 1815, but they appear anecdotal or inconclusive. The captain of the First Fleet, Arthur Phillip, had realised a trip through France in the early 1780s as a spy for the Kingdom of Great Britain. McIntyre suggests that he may have found an interest in winegrowing during this period.⁵ Soon, however, war prevented British people from travelling freely to France. However, this did not stop wine-related transfers from this country. In 1800, British Secretary of State for the Colonies William Bentinck, Duke of Portland, sent a document entitled “Method of Preparing a Piece of Land for the purpose of forming a Vineyard,” originally written in French by J. B. Laideau and translated into English before its publication in the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* in 1803.⁶ Though they were translated, the instructions had not been adapted to the conditions of the southern hemisphere and still recommended pruning the vines in January and February – that is, in the middle of the antipodean summer. French wine-related transfers really began in 1815 with the wine tour taken by the Macarthurs in France.

³ McIntyre, *First Vintage*, 98-99.

⁴ Bishop, *The Vineyards of Adelaide*, 22.

⁵ McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 45.

⁶ J.B. Laideau, 'Method of Preparing a Piece of Land for the purpose of forming a Vineyard', Enclosure no. 1, Duke of Portland to the Governor of New South Wales, 22 April 1800, *HRA I*, vol. 2, 494-496.

The Macarthurs and James Busby: Wine tours and the introduction of French grapevines and writings

In the early nineteenth century, viticultural experiments in New South Wales began to rely more systematically on private initiatives. Wealthy colonists eager to transplant profitable agricultures and industries attempted to invest in various types of production, including vine-growing and winemaking. However, these initiators lacked traditional knowledge on these matters and consequently had to import it from Europe, especially France. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars – and just before the Hundred Days started – John Macarthur and his two sons, James and William, undertook a trip through France and Switzerland from March 1815 to April 1816. Born in New South Wales, the two boys had been educated by the French-exiled Huon de Kerilleau.⁷

According to James, the purpose of this voyage was to collect skills and plant stocks suitable for cultivating in the colony of New South Wales.⁸ They arrived in Paris in March 1815 and then headed to Montreux in Switzerland to meet with Jean Jacques Duffour, a Swiss who had settled for several years in the United States to invest in winegrowing.⁹ On their way, they visited several French wine districts, travelling through Dijon, Beaune, Mâcon and Lyon before reaching Geneva and several other Swiss cantons. Then, they returned to France and visited southern vineyards, near Tain l’Hermitage, Montpellier, Nîmes, Aix and in Vaucluse.¹⁰ Overall, William Macarthur stated that they would have brought back “thirty of the best varieties of the vine which were collected in the vineyards in which they grew.”¹¹ They were mainly collected from the vineyards of Côte d’Or, Côte-Rotie, Hermitage and Languedoc. However, William deplored that they were transported in poor conditions.

Back in New South Wales, a site of twenty-two acres was selected, deeply trenched and planted with the different varieties acquired in France and Switzerland. Despite possessing the “best” varieties, poor management and inappropriate methods led to unsuccessful bearing except of table grapes and mediocre varieties. “In October 1817”, William stated,

⁷ R. Teale, "Macarthur, Sir William (1800-1882)," ed. National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University), accessed 17 October 2019, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/macarthur-sir-william-4061/text6469>.

⁸ James Macarthur, “Journal of a Tour in France and Switzerland, March 1815-April 1816,” manuscript, vol. 33, A2929/Item 1, SLNSW.

⁹ McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 85-86.

¹⁰ James Macarthur, “Journal of a Tour, 12 March 1815 to 28 April 1816”, Macarthur family papers, A2929/Item 1, SLNSW.

¹¹ (William Macarthur) Maro, *Letters on the Culture of the Vine, Fermentation, and the Management of Wine in the Cellar* (Sydney: Statham and Foster, 1844), v.

a great part of the collection we had with us was landed alive at Sydney, and in the course of time thrive. But after several years' careful cultivation, the only sorts which we obtained, were those now known as the Gouais (La Folle), Muscat Noir, Black Hamburg, Little Black Cluster, Miller's Burgundy, and Sweet Water, of which, all but the first three had been before introduced, and probably only the first two had formed part of the original collection from France. We have never been able to account in any manner for the remainder of the French vines, and from the information we now possess, we know that they ought to have consisted, after making a due allowance for deaths, of from twenty or twenty-five of the most valuable varieties in France.¹²

Ten years later, a second site was selected with a quite different soil and topography. This new location seemed much more suitable for the growing of grapes.¹³ In his book *Letters on the Culture of the Vine, Fermentation, and the Management of Wine in the Cellar*, published under the pseudonym of "Maro" in 1844, William took these problems into account and proposed a classification of grape varieties according to their suitability to various New South Wales conditions. This book brought valuable information from French agricultural experts and wine scientists.¹⁴ It also contains many details on his personal experience during his travel through France, which he kept good memories of:

Every person who has travelled in France in pursuit of information connected with its agriculture, will, I am sure, bear testimony to the urbanity and obliging disposition commonly manifested towards strangers by the people of the country, and their desire to communicate useful information.¹⁵

However, according to him, their results at Camden only began to be improved with the arrival of new vine cuttings from James Busby's collection in 1832.¹⁶

Scottish migrant James Busby wrote his first book on winegrowing during the voyage to New South Wales. *A Treatise on the Culture of the Vine and the Art of Making Wine; compiled from the works of Chaptal, and other French writers; and from the notes of the compiler, during a residence in some of the wine provinces of France* was self-published in 1825 in Sydney.¹⁷ Busby had visited what he called "the most celebrated wine districts in the south of France." Though there are no details on this trip, Busby stated that he stayed for a while at Cadillac, a small town south-east of Bordeaux. He thus certainly observed viticulture in the neighbouring vineyards, notably in the celebrated district of Sauternes and others near Bordeaux. He also partly drew his information from famous English writer Arthur Young's

¹² Ibid., vi.

¹³ Macarthur family memoranda and accounts relating to wine, 1838-1930, typescript, Macarthur family papers, A2969: papers on wine, SLNSW.

¹⁴ The book contains the translation of two extracts on the management of wine in the cellar from Jullien's *Manuel du Sommelier* and Cavoleau's *Œnologie française*. Maro, *Letters on the culture*, 133-153.

¹⁵ Ibid., 21.

¹⁶ Ibid., vii-viii.

¹⁷ McIntyre and Germov, *Hunter Wine*, 6.

Grand Tour and from French agronomist and statesman Jean-Antoine Chaptal. After this first trip to France, Busby supplied several winegrowing pioneers with vine cuttings through the colony of New South Wales. He claimed that he distributed 20,000 cuttings to fifty individuals during the season before his second trip, which was motivated by a lack of cuttings available for diffusion.¹⁸

Busby returned to Europe in 1831 for a four-month trip through Spain and France. He arrived at Cadiz on 26 September and visited several wine districts in Spain before he reached the Pyrenees and France in mid-November. Near Perpignan he was introduced to Messrs. Durand and visited their vineyard, where they grew three grape varieties: “the Grenache, which gives sweetness, the Carignan, which gives colour, and the Mataro, which gives quantity”.¹⁹ François Durand had become an important négociant in Perpignan, selling wines in France and Spain but maybe also as far as the United States, India and Australia.²⁰ Having discussed the purpose of his visit, Busby received from the Durands several cuttings of nine different varieties of vines. Busby then arrived in Montpellier on 23 November, where he met with the Director of the Botanic Garden of the city, Professor Delisle. Busby described a very cordial meeting:

He received me with great kindness, and asked many questions respecting the Australian settlements, in which he appeared to take a great deal of interest. He conducted me over the gardens, and through the conservatories, pointing out every object which he thought would interest me.” [...] Finally, Professor Delisle told me, that I was not only welcome to get cuttings of all the vines he had, but he offered me his correspondence for any thing he could in future supply. He also said, he would make up a packet of seeds for our Botanic Garden. In return for such liberality, I did not hesitate to pledge myself to make him whatever returns our Botanic Garden could supply.²¹

He was welcomed with the same enthusiasm at Tarascon in the Rhône valley by the proprietor of the nursery, M. Audibert, to whom he had received a letter of introduction from Prof. Delisle. Both Delisle and Audibert expressed their wish to be put in communication with the Botanic Garden of Sydney and the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of New South Wales to be provided with seeds, plants and information on the natural conditions of the antipodean colony. It was an opportunity to obtain knowledge about a continent still little known in France. Busby then visited the vineyard of Hermitage. There, he met with local wine merchant M. Richard senior, from whom he learnt that “the greatest part of the finest growth [of hermitage wines] is

¹⁸ James Busby, *Journal of a Recent Visit to the Principal Vineyards of Spain and France...* (Philadelphia: Jacob Snider, JR., 1838), vii.

¹⁹ James Busby, *Journal of a Tour through some of the Vineyards of Spain and France* (Sydney: Stephens and Stokes, 1833), 56.

²⁰ Alain Plessis, *Régents et gouverneurs de la banque de France sous le Second Empire* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1985), 21.

²¹ Busby, *Journal of a Tour*, 71.

sent to Bourdeaux[sic] to mix with the first growths of Claret.”²² Busby then pursued his trip through Burgundy, where he was struck by the “extremely closeness and feebleness of the plants.”²³ Near Beaune and Dijon, he visited the vineyards of Pommard, Gevray-Chambertin and Clos Vougeot, where he met the proprietor, M. Ouvrard, and his manager M. L’Écrivain to visit cellars and collect cuttings from each vine variety cultivated on the property (pinot noir, pinot blanc and chardonnay).²⁴

Overall, Busby gathered an impressive collection of 437 varieties of vines from the Botanic Garden of Montpellier and 133 from the Royal Nursery of the Luxembourg in Paris, which he completed with several varieties collected from private vineyards across France.²⁵ As he explained to Viscount Goderich, his wish was to place this collection at the disposal of the colonial government “for the purpose, should it be deemed expedient, of forming an experimental Garden at Sydney to prove their different qualities and propagate for general distribution those which may appear most suitable to the Climate.”²⁶ Busby hoped that the Government Garden would be able to cultivate these different varieties and make cuttings available for general distribution through the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land as well as to the Cape of Good Hope.²⁷ However, many of them turned out to be unsuitable for winegrowing or to have already been introduced, and many others were simply misnamed. This limited the impact of Busby’s introduction of vines.

Busby eventually left New South Wales for New Zealand in 1832, just after returning from Europe. It is not known if he did plant some vines himself at his father’s property at Kirkton prior to leaving the colony. He apparently was not a practical agriculturist. Yet one cannot neglect his role in spreading vine grapes and wine-related knowledge through the colony, as McIntyre and Germov point out in relation to the district of the Hunter River.²⁸ William Macarthur not only acknowledged Busby’s efforts to distribute good vine stocks among the settlers but also his valuable publications on winegrowing in New South Wales:

These successive publications are exceedingly creditable, as well to the intelligence of Mr. Busby, as to the zeal with which he pursued the subject. I think any erroneous views which

²² Ibid., 85. This practice was common in the early nineteenth century and was also known as *hermitager son vin* or “to hermitage a wine.” According to M. Richard, four-fifths of the finest red wine of Hermitage would be shipped to Bordeaux for that purpose.

²³ Ibid., 91.

²⁴ Ibid., 94-99.

²⁵ Ibid., 5-6.

²⁶ James Busby to Viscount Goderich, 6 January 1832, *HRA*, Series I, vol. XVI, 508.

²⁷ Ibid., 509.

²⁸ McIntyre and Germov, *Hunter Wine*, 8-10.

may be expressed in them, are attributable to his not having had practical experience to the extent which was desirable.²⁹

Macarthur implied a form of complementarity between his family and Busby: while the Macarthurs lacked good wine-grape varieties and theoretical knowledge on the best methods to grow them, Busby had both but lacked practical experience. As such, William's *Letters* combined theoretical knowledge using French writers' works, as Busby did in his *Treatise*, with practical knowledge gained by several years of experimentation at the Macarthurs' property of Camden.

It remains difficult to ascertain what French varieties Busby indeed introduced to the colony in 1825 and 1832 because of mislabelling and the confusing names attributed at the time. Also, some varieties appear in the list several times but under different names. Among the vines that were not yet cultivated in New South Wales, it should be assumed that he added the three main varieties grown in Roussillon: carignan, grenache and mataro (also called mourvèdre) that were transferred then to the other colonies, as well as the "chaudenay" collected in Burgundy.³⁰ But it seems that this variety did not succeed in the colony.

Busby also introduced French wine science into the colony. Overall, he mentions that thirty writers had published works on viticulture and winemaking during the second half of the eighteenth century in France and that this was evidence that winegrowing constituted one of the main sources of French wealth.³¹ Busby noted the misleading instructions of most of these experts, who prescribed the methods used in one particular district as if they were suitable everywhere. On the other hand, he granted Jean-Antoine Chaptal the pre-eminence of establishing different systems in different districts according to "the influence of the climate, seasons, soil, exposure, and culture on the plant."³² Busby acknowledged in his *Treatise* the essential influence of Chaptal's writings. However, he was vague about the works he used and only mentioned in his introduction an 1819 Chaptal's publication,³³ which must be *De l'industrie française*, in which a sub-chapter treats viticulture and wine trade.³⁴ In the second chapter of Busby's *Treatise*, about the different varieties of vines, he mentioned a co-authored book published in 1801, *Traité théorique et pratique*,³⁵ from which it is possible to recognise

²⁹ Maro, *Letters on the culture*, ix.

³⁰ Busby, *Journal of a Tour*, 56, 67, 98-99. "Chaudenay" may refer to gamay teinturier de Chaudenay observed first in Saône-et-Loire in 1832. It could also be a misspelling of the chardonnay.

³¹ Busby, *A Treatise*, xxvi.

³² *Ibid.*, xxxii.

³³ *Ibid.*, xxxi.

³⁴ Jean-Antoine Chaptal, *De l'industrie française* (Paris: Antoine-Augustin Renouard, 1819), 173-177.

³⁵ Busby, *A Treatise*. 29.

many parts translated by Busby in the second part of his book.³⁶ Thus, he was one of the first British colonists of New South Wales to initiate the introduction of French literature on winegrowing and adapt it to the antipodean colony.

Busby warns his readers that unlike in France, where vigneron could rely on centuries-old traditions and experience to establish the best varieties and methods adapted to a specific district, New South Wales growers would have to discover that knowledge on their own by meticulously analysing the natural conditions in which they wanted to plant vines. However, he had no doubt that after a period of experimentation, the colony would eventually succeed in making fine wine like France's.³⁷ In the early stage of the establishment of Australian winegrowing, local natural conditions were not perceived as an obstacle to European agriculture. However, experiences would teach pioneers that they had to adapt the knowledge from the Old World.³⁸

Busby's *Treatise* did not meet with great success but was well-received by a few settlers interested in adapting the French model of winegrowing. Busby's second book *A Manual*, published in 1830, ended up being more successful as it was adapted to winegrowing in New South Wales conditions, but more particularly thanks to the efforts of the governor of the colony, Lieutenant General Ralph Darling, in distributing the book among the colonists.³⁹ Finally, Busby published a third book in 1833, a journal of his wine tour in Spain and France in 1832, in which he cited Jean-Alexandre Cavoleau's *Oenologie française*. From this work, Busby reported the legend of the ciras (syrah), the main red grape variety of the Hermitage region, which would have been brought back by a hermit from the town of Shiraz in Persia.⁴⁰

In the end, the Macarthurs' and Busby's tours in France represented the most influential experiences of French wine-related transfers in the first half of the nineteenth century. Despite failures in shipping useful vine stocks and cuttings to New South Wales in good condition, their

³⁶ Jean-Antoine Chaptal et al., *Traité théorique et pratique sur la culture de la vigne* (Paris: Delalain, fils, 1801). Chaptal's theories on fermentation were first published in 1800 in the article "Vin" in the volume 10 of François Rozier's *Cours complet d'agriculture*, see J. B. Gough, "Winecraft and Chemistry in 18th-Century France: Chaptal and the Invention of Chaptalization," *Technology and Culture* 39, no. 1 (1998): 74, 103. Gough points out that Chaptal's treatise on wine fermentation was an international success and influenced winemakers all over the world. In Europe it was translated in Spanish, Italian and Hungarian. It also reached the United States and New South Wales.

³⁷ Busby, *A Treatise*, 38-47.

³⁸ See Chapter 6.

³⁹ Faith, *Liquid Gold*, 27.

⁴⁰ Busby, *Journal of a Tour*, 88. For Busby's original source, see Jean-Alexandre Cavoleau, *Oenologie française, ou statistique de tous les vignobles et de toutes les boissons vineuses et spiritueuses de la France, suivie de considérations générales sur la culture de la vigne* (Paris: Madame Huzard, Librairie, 1827), 87.

publications greatly influenced other early winegrowers in New South Wales as well as in the neighbouring colonies of Victoria and South Australia. However, it should be mentioned that other colonists imported wine-related knowledge and vine cuttings from France during this period.

Other initiators in early New South Wales

Leaving his native England, George Wyndham arrived in New South Wales with his wife Margaret in 1827. Like the Macarthurs and Bussy, they came from the British upper middle-class and had travelled through Europe before migrating to the Antipodes. They bought a property at Branxton, near the Hunter River, north of Sydney (see Appendix 8.1), renamed “Dalwood,” with the intention of developing sheep farming and growing different kinds of plants, including vine grapes. Prior to his migration, Wyndham had observed viticulture and winemaking in France and Italy. Unfortunately, there are no details on this trip, and it is not known what he brought back from Europe. There is evidence, however, that he planted his first vines that he had received from Busby’s collection in 1830. This first trial failed, as most vines died before the grapes could grow.⁴¹ He then bought stocks and cuttings from other farmers who experimented viticulture like Gregory Blaxland of Brush Farm, George Townshend of Trevallyn and William Macarthur of Camden. A small network of winegrowing pioneers was then taking shape to support this emerging activity and provide mutual aid. The new grape varieties planted at Dalwood included *sémillon* – then called Shepherd’s white or Hunter riesling and first introduced via the Cape – muscatel, gouais, black cluster, black hermitage or shiraz, white pineau and verdelho.⁴²

Henry Lindeman planted his first vines at Cawarra in 1843 using the knowledge he gained during his trip through French and German wine districts. He experimented with a large variety of grapevines, but most of them turned out to be unsuited to local conditions. The most successful were the verdillos and aucarat for white wines and hermitage (most likely shiraz)

⁴¹ Alward Wyndham, Frances McInherny, and Dalwood Restoration Association, eds., *The Diary of George Wyndham of Dalwood, 1830-1840* (Armidale: Parkes the Printer, 1987), 27, 33. Original document in George Wyndham papers, B1313: Diary of George Wyndham (1830-1840), SLNSW.

⁴² McIntyre, *First Vintage*, 197-215. See also McIntyre and Germov, *Hunter Wine*, 69-71. The black cluster is believed to be a rare southwestern French grape vine used to make red wine, also known as *abouriou*, see Anthony J Hawkins, "The Super Gigantic Y2K Winegrape Glossary," http://www.wineloverspage.com/wlp_archive/wineguest/wgg.html. But it could also refer to a garden grape from south-west England, see McIntyre and Germov, *Hunter Wine*, 17. Black Hermitage is syrah and white pineau could be either chardonnay or pinot meunier.

and carbinet (cabernet) sauvignon for red wines.⁴³ In his report to the Hunter River Vineyard Association in 1850, he explained that the two samples of wines he brought with him were made from ciras (syrah) for red wines and rousette (certainly the roussanne from the Rhône Valley) for the whites. He also stated that he used the spur method of pruning for both kinds, “as adopted in France.”⁴⁴ Although, his personal inclination was to light dry wines on the French or German model, Lindeman quickly realised that the demand was for sweet and strong wines in Australia, and he bought another property at Corowa, in the south-west of New South Wales near the Murray river, a much warmer district where he made heavier wines. It is said that the shiraz grapes he planted there produced a port-style wine while at Cawarra he obtained a claret with that same variety.⁴⁵ This indicates that the grape variety was not always associated with the type of wine from which it originates and the growing importance of the *terroir*. From this new property, Lindeman spread new techniques to local winegrowers, such as sulphuring the vines as a protection against fungal diseases and regularly racking the new wines in the cellar, which would have allowed to improve the quality of the wines produced in the district.⁴⁶ Mutual aid and solidarity was common among pioneers of viticulture in Australia, which is to be explained by the quasi absence of government support and the lack of general knowledge among British colonists regarding this type of cultivation.

English settler George Suttor arrived in Sydney with his wife in November 1800. He was sponsored by naturalist Sir Joseph Banks and brought with him several plant stocks and cuttings from Europe and the Cape, including vine grapes.⁴⁷ But his first attempt to cultivate vines turned out to be unsuccessful. His second trial in 1835 at his new property of Castle Hill was more conclusive.⁴⁸ It was after this second planting that he undertook a trip to Europe in 1839 aiming to obtain better knowledge regarding viticulture in diverse wine districts of France (Champagne, Burgundy, Orléans, Charentes, Bordeaux, Toulouse) as well as in the Rhine Valley in Germany.⁴⁹ There he collected some practical skills in the storing of wines, the processes of sulphuring, fining, racking, and on the management of casks.⁵⁰

⁴³ Lindeman records, Box 148: Historical Material 1487-1981, Z 418, Noel Butlin Archives Centre; *Sydney Mail*, 1 January 1901.

⁴⁴ *Maitland Mercury*, 9 November 1850, 2. Dr. Lindeman’s report

⁴⁵ *Sydney Mail*, 1 January 1901.

⁴⁶ Brian Edmund Lloyd, *Rutherglen, a History of Town and District* (Wangaratta: Shoestring Press, 1985), 143.

⁴⁷ Vivienne Parsons, "Suttor, George (1774-1859)," ed. National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University), accessed 4 October 2019, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/suttor-george-1270/text3813>.

⁴⁸ McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink." 122.

⁴⁹ Suttor, *The Culture of the Grape-vine*. 58-86.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, v.

Suttor was convinced of the cultural and health values directly derived from wine and published in 1843 a manual on the adoption of winegrowing in the colonies addressed to British settlers, *The Culture of the Grape Vines, and Oranges, in Australia and New Zealand: Comprising Historical Notices; Instructions for Planting and Cultivation; Accounts from Personal Observation of the vineyards of France and the Rhine; and Extracts Concerning all the Most Celebrated Wines, from the Works of M. Jullien*. Like Busby before him, he based his work on his personal observations and the writings of agricultural experts. But, while Busby used Chaptal's writing, Suttor relied mostly on André Jullien's seminal work *Topographie de tous les vignobles connus*, first published in French in 1816 and translated into English in 1824.⁵¹ As Phillips put it, Jullien's guide was written to inform wine drinkers from the middle class and the upper class.⁵² Its diffusion in Britain influenced British consumers before migrants like Suttor introduced it to the colony of New South Wales. Suttor also used the work of agronomist Thiébaud de Berneaud, *Manuel du vigneron français*, published in 1823, especially for his analysis of the quality of the soil. He compared de Berneaud's remarks with his own observations on the soil around Sydney and Parramatta and concluded that this area was suitable to wine-grape cultivation.⁵³ This district was not to be developed for winegrowing though.

The most surprising element of Suttor's book was the attention he paid to the treatment and making of wine casks, an activity often neglected in the wine literature of the time. He derived his recommendations from the work of an English writer⁵⁴ but also from his own observations: "The making of wine-casks, in France, is a business that occupies many thousand hands; and I believe France abounds with the best of wood, both for casks and hoops."⁵⁵ In this sense, cooperage constituted an essential part of the wine industry to be developed in New South Wales as it was labour-intensive and useful for colonial winegrowing and other activities. However, indigenous woods proved unsuited to cooperage.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Ibid. See André Jullien, *Topographie de tous les vignobles connus* (Paris, 1816). Suttor used the 1832-1836 publications. Jullien's *Topographie* was the most comprehensive catalogue of the world's wine regions at the time. It influenced English wine writer Cyrus Redding who published *A History and Description of Modern Wines* in 1833.

⁵² Rod Phillips, *French Wine. A History* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2016), 142.

⁵³ Suttor, *The Culture of the Grape-vine*, 25, 47.

⁵⁴ David Booth, *The Art of Wine-Making in All its Branches* (London: F. J. Mason, 1834). See especially Chapter IX, "On the Preparation of the Cask," 35-38.

⁵⁵ Suttor, *The Culture of the Grape-vine*, 157.

⁵⁶ See Chapter 6.

At Camden, the sons of John Macarthur, James and William, pursued their father's enterprise in farming, including winegrowing. In 1855, William undertook another trip to France to participate in the great Universal Exhibition of Paris as a commissioner for the colony of New South Wales.⁵⁷ This is during this exhibition that Bordeaux grands crus were celebrated and confirmed as some of the best – if not the best – fine wines in the world. He then visited several vineyards in France and Europe to investigate the latest methods and technologies of winegrowing as well as to find skilled labour willing to follow him to Australia. In France, he went to the Loire valley, Poitiers, Bordeaux and Burgundy, before heading to England, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and Italy.⁵⁸ In October 1855, he sent a letter to his brother James describing the management of the vineyards as well as the methods of winemaking in Médoc, a district north of Bordeaux, famous for its grands crus.⁵⁹ The Bordeaux Classification, established by the wine brokers and merchants of Bordeaux, surely influenced William's view of French fine wines and his desire to imitate them in New South Wales.

As a matter of fact, William met with several vigneron and wine négociants in the wake of the exhibition. He notably visited Pierre-François Guestier from the celebrated Bordeaux house Barton & Guestier, well known in the British world due to their successful trade of great growths of claret wines. William first contacted the Bordeaux négociants with the help of Didier Joubert, a former agent of the company, who had established himself in Sydney in 1837 to form Joubert & Murphy.⁶⁰ When he arrived in New South Wales, Joubert had brought four grape varieties from the Médoc district via Barton & Guestier: cabernet sauvignon, malbec, verdot and sauvignon blanc.⁶¹ He then began to trade James and William Macarthur's wines and influenced the making of their product, promoting quality over quantity on the Bordeaux's great growths model. In the 1850s, during and after his visit to Bordeaux, William received valuable advice from Pierre-François Guestier on bottling and the preservation of wine in general. He also ordered cases of fine wines, especially great growths of Médoc and Sauternes and some of

⁵⁷ Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte, *Rapport sur l'Exposition universelle de 1855, présenté à l'Empereur* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1857), 197.

⁵⁸ Diary of tours on the continent of Europe, October 1855-September 1856, Macarthur family papers, A2951, SLNSW.

⁵⁹ William Macarthur to James Macarthur, 28 October 1855, Macarthur family papers, A2968: Macarthur family correspondence, SLNSW.

⁶⁰ Joubert Family Papers, MLMSS 1510, SLNSW, Martha Rutledge, "Joubert, Jules François de Sales (1824-1907)," ed. National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University), accessed 17 October 2019, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/joubert-jules-francois-de-sales-3874/text6169>.

⁶¹ Maro, *Letters on the culture*, x, 27-28.

the best red wines of Hermitage, which were to be compared with his own production.⁶² In addition, he received wine equipment: several glass and iron plugs, a copper filter, a tap for bottles, some tasting and cooperage tools, etc.⁶³ Macarthur was also interested in Burgundy wines, which reputation had increased in Britain since the early nineteenth century. He entered into personal relation with wine négociants C. Marey and Liger-Belair of Nuits, near Dijon, from whom he ordered a selection of Burgundy wines.⁶⁴ The wines from Bordeaux, Burgundy and Hermitage could then be tasted and compared with local Australian wines. William completed his collection with an order from the house Michel Claverie, a garden tools company in Paris, from which he received twelve steel *sécateurs* and twelve *serpettes* in 1860.⁶⁵ This tools had to be used for harvesting at his property of Camden.

All these examples confirm the importance of the French connection for Macarthur and his desire to produce wines similar in quality and taste to the fine wines of France. His impact in importing French wine fashion spread beyond his vineyard at Camden, as he supplied vine stocks and cuttings to colonists in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. His *Letters* also proved very influential among wine pioneers.

William Keene was born in Bath, England, where he studied medicine and geology. In 1827, he moved with his wife Sarah Charles to the Bayonne district in the south-west of France where he was involved in coal and salt mining. There he also planted and cultivated a few acres of vines at the foot of the Pyrenees and learnt the pruning of grapevines and the management of wine in the cellar. He then moved to Bordeaux to become a civil engineer in 1836 and remained until the revolution of 1848 broke out. He finally migrated with his family to New South Wales in 1852 and remained mostly involved in geological works before joining the Hunter River Vineyard Association.⁶⁶ Keene was deeply influenced by his experience in

⁶² Hermitage wines were then regularly blended with Bordeaux wines, even with great growths for bad vintages. It is not ascertained however whether William and James Macarthur attempted to emulate this method at Camden by blending cabernet sauvignon with shiraz.

⁶³ Pierre-François Guestier to William Macarthur, 7 February 1856 and 28 February 1856, Macarthur family papers, A2968: Macarthur family correspondence, SLNSW; Receipt from Barton & Guestier, 6 February 1856, A2969: documents on wine, SLNSW.

⁶⁴ C. Marey & Liger-Belair to William Macarthur, 3 September 1856, Macarthur papers, A2968: Macarthur family correspondence, SLNSW.

⁶⁵ Receipt from Michel Claverie in Paris, 31 December 1860, Macarthur papers, A2969: documents on wine, SLNSW.

⁶⁶ D. F. Branagan and T. G. Vallance, "Keene, William (1798-1872)," ed. National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University), accessed 21 October 2019, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/keene-william-3931/text6183>. Keene, *Addresses*, 3.

southwestern France and promoted the adoption of this wine model into the colony. He described the vines he planted at his new property in the Hunter district as “free and vigorous” and the wine he produced from them as “equal to, if not better than what is drunk by nineteenth-twentieths of the population of France.”⁶⁷ He is also remembered for introducing the use of a French saccharometer in the Hunter district to determine the sugar content in the grape must and for promoting French wine practices based on the harmonious relationship between the environment and the type of vine cultivated.⁶⁸

Overall, from the 1820s to the 1860s, a dozen British colonists directly visited France to collect vine cuttings, skills, know-how and scientific literature and introduce them to the colony of New South Wales (see the list in Appendix 1). This fieldwork occurred in the context of experimentation regarding an activity which was still very marginal: viticulture only involved a small number of farmers and was generally complementary to other agricultural activities, such as the cultivation of cereals and fruit trees and sheep-breeding, even for the most successful winegrowers, like the Macarthurs at Camden or the Wyndhams at Dalwood. As a matter of fact, only wealthy colonists had enough capital to undertake such trials, and winegrowing remained a secondary activity until the 1860s. But the role of these experimenters contributed to bring a central French influence to the colony’s viti-vinicultural practices. Furthermore, the establishment of a network of colonial winegrowers facilitated the diffusion of European knowledge. In the absence of any central organisation, winegrowing pioneers relied on informal and interpersonal exchanges to obtain skills, equipment and cuttings. In France, they used their contacts to obtain introductory letters to French vigneron, wine merchants and botanists. The correspondence among Australian colonists proved essential in maintaining relations and disseminating information about the progress of local viticulture. The distribution of vine cuttings by Busby and Macarthur also enabled the diffusion of French varieties to aspiring winegrowers. This network was then extended to the neighbouring colonies of Victoria and South Australia.

⁶⁷ Keene, *Addresses*, 20.

⁶⁸ This aspect is developed in Chapter 6. See also McIntyre and Germov, *Hunter Wine*, 117-119.

A second wave of transfers by colonists of Victoria and South Australia (1840s–1860s)

The French influence among the Swiss colonists of Victoria

Viticulture in Victoria started later than in New South Wales, as the first European settlement there was established in 1803, that is, fifteen years after the First Fleet reached the bay of Sydney. What became Melbourne was founded only in 1835.⁶⁹ The first vines were certainly planted around 1836. But there is no evidence of any winemaking practices at that time. Viticulture in Victoria owed a great deal to pioneers in New South Wales, and especially to William Macarthur, who had connections with Swiss migrants who established themselves in the southern colony in the wake of his tour in Switzerland in 1816.⁷⁰ Hubert de Castella – a Swiss–French migrant – mentioned Macarthur’s influence on early Victorian winegrowing in *John Bull’s Vineyard*.⁷¹ Swiss emigration was stimulated by political troubles in Switzerland, opposing republican liberals to royalist conservatives, in the 1840s. Their departure to Victoria was influenced – though not officially encouraged – by Phillip Charles La Trobe, who married a Swiss woman, Sophie Montmollin, and became Lieutenant-Governor of Port Phillip (Melbourne) in 1851. Montmollin was a relative of Count Louis de Pourtalès who met Macarthur in Vevey, Switzerland. The extent of La Trobe’s role in the Swiss chain migration to Victoria is not known, but several families from the cantons of Vaud and Neuchâtel did emigrate and establish themselves in the district of Geelong and the upper Yarra (today the Yarra Valley; see location in Appendix 8.2).⁷²

The Swiss connection in the colony led to transfers from France, as most vigneron who immigrated from Switzerland to Victoria in the mid-nineteenth century were French speakers and were acquainted with French viticultural practices, notably from the famous district of Burgundy. David Dunstan rightly argues that the French influence in Victoria relied not only on French immigration and that “for all manner of vine and wine requirements – technology, viticultural techniques, vinestock materials, skilled workers, international approval and the latest scientific knowledge – France was the source.”⁷³ This was confirmed by the constant reference to France as a wine model for Victorian growers. However, other European influences

⁶⁹ Even though the colony only acquired its independence from New South Wales in 1851, this thesis refers to “Victoria’s” winegrowing during the earlier period in the districts of Port Phillip at Geelong and Lillydale in the Yarra Valley, near today Melbourne.

⁷⁰ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 4-5.

⁷¹ Castella, *John Bull’s Vineyard*, 12-13.

⁷² Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 5, 11-12.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 15.

should be mentioned. The French influence was indeed hybridised with Swiss, Spanish and German winegrowing practices.

David Louis Pettavell and Frederick Breguet established a vineyard on their property called Neuchâtel – after the name of their hometown in Switzerland – at Pollock’s Ford in the Geelong district in 1842. They used cuttings of pinot noir and pinot meunier that they had sent for from Dijon, Burgundy.⁷⁴ Still at Geelong, John (formerly Jean) Belperroud developed a hybrid model of Swiss-French viticulture with vines he acquired from Macarthur in New South Wales. Among the varieties he planted, he favoured the white chasselas (a variety from Switzerland) and Miller’s burgundy (the pinot meunier of France) for white wines. He also recommended blending pinot noir for the taste and tinto (grenache) for the colour to make red wines.⁷⁵ Complaints about the colour of the wine made from pinot noir was indeed common at the time. Belperroud claimed his white wine was light and dry “similar to the French Sauterne[sic].”⁷⁶ According to Ebenezer Ward, a journalist from Melbourne, Macarthurs’ vine cuttings were also provided to the Glendarriwill Vineyards of Geelong, including the following French varieties: hermitage (shiraz), mataro (mourvèdre), carignan, pinot meunier, frontignac (muscat blanc), gouais, aucarot and pinot blanc. They were cultivated by two Swiss vigneron, Aimé Chollet and J. F. Perrottet.⁷⁷ Another Swiss from Neuchâtel, Louis Reudin, adopted French-style pruning at his vineyard.⁷⁸ Though French varieties appeared dominant on his estate, the presence of Swiss and German grapes should also be noted.

Some winegrowers in Geelong obtained their cuttings from Busby’s collection. However, the identification of these vines was made difficult by Busby’s misnaming and mislabelling in 1832. For example, the “gros bourgogne” found at Geelong later proved to be similar to the cabernet sauvignon of Bordeaux.⁷⁹ This type of mistake was common at the time and calls into question the reliability of the sources mentioning grape varietal names, as cuttings from Busby’s collection reached several vineyards in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia, where errors may have been reproduced.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 16.

⁷⁵ John Belperroud and David Louis Pettavel, *The Vine: with instructions for its cultivation, for a period of six years, the treatment of the soil, and how to make wine from victorian grapes* (Geelong: Heath and Cordell, 1859), 10.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 8.

⁷⁷ Ebenezer Ward, *The Vineyards of Victoria: as Visited by Ebenezer Ward* (Adelaide: Sullivan's Cove, 1980), 27- 29.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 79.

⁷⁹ Castella, "Early Victorian Winegrowing," 146.

In the 1850s–1860s, an economic boom followed by the gold rush pulled many migrants into Victoria.⁸⁰ Among them, Paul de Castella, a Swiss from Neuchâtel, established himself in the Yarra district, north-east of Melbourne, in 1854. He bought the Yering station from the Ryrie brothers to develop sheep farming and wool production. On the property, Paul also acquired a vineyard of ten acres (four hectares) which was cultivated by another Swiss. Influenced by his family-in-law, especially his brother-in-law William Acland Anderson and his cousin Joseph Anderson Panton, a French-Scottish sea-captain who had sent him several cases of Pommard, Paul decided to develop viticulture and wine production at Yering. Anderson, who supported the initiative, used his contact Crawford Davidson Kerr to obtain vine cuttings and equipment from Barton & Guestier in Bordeaux.⁸¹ In 1859, Anderson brought back presses and vats as well as several thousand cuttings of traditional Bordeaux varieties: “Carbinet Gris, Carbinet Sauvignon, Malbec, Merlot and Verdôt.”⁸² The cuttings had been taken from vines of the celebrated Château Lafite in Médoc. Paul made some wine from the cabernet sauvignon which met with success.⁸³ Vines from the Château Lafite were also believed to have been planted at George Bruhn’s property, Bendigo, central Victoria, by his son Albert thanks to the help of German wine merchant Frederick Christian Klemm, who had travelled through European wine districts in 1865. After a visit to the Champagne district in 1873, Klemm decided to develop champagne-making in Victoria and hoped to be able to produce a sparkling wine as good as the French ones for a lower price. Unfortunately, he died in 1878 before realising this ambition.⁸⁴

Paul’s brother, Hubert de Castella, had been educated in Germany and France. In the latter country he studied architecture before being naturalised French and joining the First

⁸⁰ James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 357.

⁸¹ Castella, “Early Victorian Winegrowing,” 146. Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 22-23. The same Barton & Guestier had provided vine cuttings to William Macarthur at Camden, New South Wales. The company was the result of an alliance between Irish family Barton and French family Guestier, and was particularly well established in the trade of claret wines on the British market, see Paul Butel, *Les dynasties bordelaises. Splendeur, déclin et renouveau* (Paris: Perrin, 2008), 225-233.

⁸² *Australian Vignerons*, 2 February 1891, 179. “Carbinet gris” certainly refers to cabernet franc which was also sometimes known as “carmenet” in Victoria.

⁸³ Hubert de Castella, *Les Squatters australiens* (Paris: Hachette, 1861), 195. Castella, “Early Victorian Winegrowing,” 146. François remembered that the cabernet sauvignon was simply called “sauvignon” by his uncle Paul as he could not pronounce correctly cabernet. This grape variety was also often misspelt “carbinet” in Victoria.

⁸⁴ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 104-105. Klemm travelled through Germany, France and Spain to collect vine cuttings and winemaking skills in 1865, *Bendigo Advertiser*, 3 May 1865, 2; 15 April 1878, 3.

Regiment of the Chasseurs.⁸⁵ He described his attachment to France and its culture in his first book, *Les Squatteurs Australiens*, published in 1861 in Paris.⁸⁶ He returned to Victoria in 1862 and bought a part of the Yering property, which he renamed “St Hubert’s.” There he planted 100 acres of vines in the first year. Having no viticultural experience like his brother, Hubert hired Swiss vigneron Joseph Clément Deschamps.⁸⁷ Hubert originally planted French varieties like pinot noir and syrah. He personally preferred the pinot, as he aimed to emulate the wines he had tasted at Nuits and Chambertin in Burgundy. Encouraged by the awards received at different exhibitions, in 1878 he extended his vineyard to 250 acres and the stone cave to 2,000 square metres.⁸⁸ For white wines, he used a French Mabilie press.⁸⁹ South Australian winegrower Thomas Hardy, visiting St Hubert’s, noted that “the presses are some of the best I have seen, are of the latest additions being from France, of great power, and worked by a peculiar ratchet lever acting on a screw, and cost over £200”.⁹⁰ According to French botanist Pierre Mouillefert, the organisation of St Hubert’s was very similar to the vineyards of Bordeaux.⁹¹ Hubert was indeed deeply influenced by the Bordeaux wine industry. As seen in the previous chapter, he considered claret wines the best for health and attempted to reproduce them at his own property to sell in Victoria.

In a brochure addressed to the *Société Philomatique de Bordeaux*, Hubert de Castella mentioned the obstacles that colonial growers faced in terms of wine-related knowledge:

Pour nous éclairer sur le choix à faire parmi tant de méthodes, nous nous sommes mêmes à lire tous les livres sur le vin, que nous pûmes nous procurer : Chaptal, Pellicot, le comte Odart, d’Armailhac, Guyot, Vergnette, Lamotte, et d’autres encore. Malheureusement, notre manque d’éducation viticole préalable nous empêchait souvent de les comprendre, et notre expérience était trop restreinte pour nous mettre à même de choisir parmi tant d’enseignements divers ce qui convenait à chacun de nous, selon le climat et la nature des cépages.

In order to choose the best methods for practical use, we started to read all the books on wine that we could find: Chaptal, Pellicot, le comte Odart, d’Armailhac, Guyot, Vergnette-Lamotte, and others. Unfortunately, our lack of prior viticultural education often prevented us from understanding them, and our experience was too limited to enable us to choose the

⁸⁵ K. A. R. Horn, "Castella, Hubert de (1825-1907)," ed. National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University), accessed 14 October 2019, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/castella-charles-hubert-de-3178/text4763>.

⁸⁶ Castella, *Les Squatters Australiens*, 7.

⁸⁷ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 23-24.

⁸⁸ Hubert de Castella, *Notes d'un vigneron australien* (Melbourne 1882), 11, 16. This extension was planned in 1874, see Hubert de Castella, "Proposal and estimates regarding St. Hubert’s Vineyard," 29 May 1874, De Castella Family Papers, MS 937, SLV.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁹⁰ *The Garden and the Field* (Adelaide), vol. 6, no. 69, February 1881, 132.

⁹¹ Pierre Mouillefert, *Les vignobles et les vins de France et de l'étranger: Territoires et cépages des pays vignobles avec la description, culture et vinification des principaux crus* (Paris: Maison Rustique, 1891), 501. It is not known what Mouillefert had in mind; he may refer to the space between the rows, the type of pruning and training (trellising) or the varieties cultivated at St Hubert’s.

most suitable practices amongst so many different instructions, according to the climate and the grape varieties.⁹²

De Castella stated in *John Bull's Vineyard* that he owed a great debt to Louis Pasteur's discoveries on the role of natural yeast in the fermentation of wine and participated in the introduction of Pasteur's writings in the colony.⁹³ De Castella's French education naturally guided him towards French authors. But, as other wine boosters realised, most of this literature on viticulture and winemaking at the time focused on French natural conditions and did not suit Australian environment.

Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the French influence on Victorian wine production strongly relied on Swiss immigration and the tendency of the Swiss to use French varieties and methods. Some of them obtained their vine grapes from Macarthur's and Busby's collections; others, like the de Castellans, used their contacts in the wine trade to send for cuttings directly from celebrated districts in France. Victoria's winegrowers' connections with their New South Wales counterparts also contributed to the diffusion of French grape varieties and know-how in different districts of the colony, especially Geelong and the Yarra Valley. This French influence then spread to other districts in the wake of the arrivals of French migrants in the 1850s-1870s, as well as a new generation of British entrepreneurs and investors in the 1870s-1890s.⁹⁴ In parallel, France's viticultural model reached the neighbouring colony of South Australia.

South Australia: a drop of Frenchness in a British- and German-dominated colonial wine industry

European settlements in South Australia started in 1836 near what is today Adelaide. The first colonist to be acquainted with the cultivation of the vine in the area is believed to be Johann Menge, a German geologist and linguist hired by the South Australian Company in 1836. He highlighted the quality of the soil of Kangaroo Island for viticulture, but no trials were attempted there. He was also involved in the settlement of German families in New Silesia – renamed “Barossa Valley” (see location in Appendix 8.3) by Colonel William Light in 1837 – with the

⁹² Cited in Ernest Michel, *A travers l'hémisphère sud: Ou mon voyage autour du monde* (Paris: Librairie Victor Palmé, 1888), 406.

⁹³ Castella, *John Bull's Vineyard*, 28-29, 38, 46, 113-119.

⁹⁴ See Chapter 4 and 7.

hope of developing winegrowing.⁹⁵ The history of South Australian viticulture proved to be closely influenced by German settlers. But transfers from France were soon initiated by British migrants.

The first settler to have planted vines in the colony is known to be John Barton Hack at Chichester Gardens, north of Adelaide in 1837. The next year George Stevenson established his own vineyard in the same district. But Valmai Hankel argues that these first South Australian vines were certainly table grape varieties. Stevenson, however, won a prize at the South Australian Agricultural and Horticultural Show in 1844 for his grape wines, including shiraz, cabernet sauvignon, carignan and verdhelo – that is, three French varieties and one Portuguese. It is not known how he acquired these vines, but the Royal South Australian Almanack stated in 1847 that Stevenson had in his personal vineyard all the varieties of the Sydney Botanic Garden and others from winegrowing countries with no specific indications regarding their origins.⁹⁶ The fact that he was able to give documented lectures on vine-growing as early as 1839⁹⁷ suggests that he was familiar with this type of cultivation prior to settling in South Australia. In 1843, George Stevenson's gardener and nurseryman, young George McEwin, published the South Australian equivalent of Busby's *Manual* in which he used French practices for the selection of soil, the trenching and the selection of grape varieties. He notably described the way to graft cuttings with an "iron instrument [...] made in the form of the blade of a carving knife with a cross handle of wood securely riveted on to it."⁹⁸ But McEwin's work was mostly based on British author Cyrus Redding's book on vine-growing methods from all over the world, first published in 1833,⁹⁹ and did not reveal any preference for the French model.

English wheat farmer and trader John Reynell arrived in Adelaide in 1838 and planted vine grapes at his property, named Reynella, three years later with 500 cuttings obtained from Tasmania. Reynell also made use of his personal observations in Italy and southern France.¹⁰⁰ Despite declaring bankruptcy in 1843 when he made his first wine, he constantly increased the

⁹⁵ D. Van Abbè, "Menge, Johann (1788-1852)," ed. National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University), accessed 11 October 2019, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/menge-johann-2446/text3263>. Hankel, "Viticulture and Wine-Making," 75.

⁹⁶ Hankel, "Viticulture and Wine-Making," 76.

⁹⁷ *South Australian Register*, 14 December 1839, 5.

⁹⁸ McEwin, *South Australian Vigneron*, 14.

⁹⁹ Cyrus Redding, *A History and Description of Modern Wines* (London: Whittaker, Treacher, & Arnot, 1833).

¹⁰⁰ Dirk Van Dissel, "Reynell, John (1809-1873)," ed. National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University), accessed 9 October 2019, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/reynell-john-4469/text7291>.

area of his vine cultivation in the 1840s. He planted four and a half acres with cuttings of shiraz and grenache from Macarthurs' Camden vineyard.¹⁰¹ According to local journalist Ebenezer Ward, who had visited Reynella in 1862, Macarthurs' delivery to Reynell also included samples of verdeilho, carbonet (cabernet sauvignon), malbec, pineau gris and gouais, all but the first of which were varieties from France. Unfortunately, the location of the vineyard proved to be too dry for these sorts of vine. In 1847–1848, Reynell obtained new cuttings from Edward John Peake of Clarendon, who preferred Spanish grapes: pedro ximenes, doradilla, temprana (tempranillo), palomino blanco, and so on.¹⁰²

Reynell, however, did not stop producing light, dry wines on the French model. The presence of cabernet and malbec in his vineyard was confirmed in May 1850 in his journal, where he also mentioned the use of a “Bordeaux fashion” of winemaking at his property of Reynella. A year later he left some comments in French about flaws and diseases and the different methods of treating them. Against the *goût de fût* (cask taste), he recommended the use of olive oil. These notes also include a scale for must density from the most acid to the sweetest. Reynella's cabernet gave a must of 1070–1080, an amount he linked to a “*moût très bon, celui des bons vins de table de la France et de l'Allemagne*” (“very good must like those of the good ordinary wines of France and Germany”).¹⁰³ These manuscript notes in French suggest that he had had experience in France and read French wine books. It is less likely that he took lessons while he was in France, as the teaching of winegrowing methods was not well developed at the time. In 1848, he established another vineyard with cabernet sauvignon, malbec and shiraz vines on a flat soil, with this produce to be blended with Roussillon grapes (grenache, mataro and carignan), frontignac, verdeilho and riesling.¹⁰⁴ In the 1850s, he expanded his wine business by initiating the trade of clarets and burgundies to New Zealand.¹⁰⁵

Henry Evans acquired a great reputation for his wines at Evandale – now a suburb east of Adelaide – where his superintendent John Frederic Wood was experimenting with a trellising method recommended by French expert Jules Guyot. This technique, unlike the traditional staking, was believed to enable larger yields.¹⁰⁶ Evans had obtained Guyot's book *Culture de la vigne* from captain Charles Hervey Bagot. Wood undertook its translation for the local

¹⁰¹ Reynella's papers, Reynell family papers, PRG 29, Series 7: Correspondence and other papers relating to John Reynell's operations at Reynella (1847-1871), SLSA.

¹⁰² Ebenezer Ward, *The Vineyards and Orchards of South Australia* (Adelaide: Sullivan's Cove, 1979), 65.

¹⁰³ John Reynell's journal, Reynell family papers, PRG 29, Series /1/5: Journal, SLSA.

¹⁰⁴ Ward, *Vineyards and Orchards*, 66.

¹⁰⁵ Van Dissel, "Reynell, John".

¹⁰⁶ Ward, *Vineyards and Orchards*, 25.

journal *Farm and Garden* in 1861, arguing that it would be “for the benefit of my brother-colonists, who, like myself, may be anxious to acquire all the information we can relative to vine growing as well as winemaking” and concluded:

Your readers must bear in mind that our climate is as favourable for the growth of the finest wines as the South of France may be, and we only require experience in winemaking to place South Australia in an equal rank with that country.¹⁰⁷

The *Farm and Garden* was designed to inform middle-class farmers on the latest methods and technologies in all types of agricultures. Viticulture represented at the time a promising industry which could be profitable for the colony. According to Ward, Evans credited William Macarthur’s and Alexander Kelly’s works as “invaluable guides, which should be in the hands of every wine-grower.”¹⁰⁸ The circulation of knowledge could thus cross colonial borders thanks to the publications of a handful of wine boosters and shaped a network of exchanges between wine producers. This in turn facilitated the diffusion of French methods and literature on winegrowing to aspiring colonial vigneron not familiar with them.

During the 1850s–1860s, two wealthy colonists played a major role in spreading French wine-related knowledge in South Australia: Samuel Davenport and Alexander Kelly. A native of Oxfordshire in England, Davenport arrived in South Australia with his brother Robert and his wife Margaret née Fraser in 1843. His father was an agent of the South Australian Company and intended to create a township in the colony named Macclesfield on the River Angas.¹⁰⁹ Influenced by his stay in the region of Montpellier in 1839–40, Davenport experimented with southern French–style cultivations on his property at Macclesfield. In a letter to his brother John in October 1843, he mentioned the acquisition of 2,000 vine cuttings from twenty-five different varieties and about 1,500 almonds. He also expected to obtain olive trees from the south of France to complete his agricultural production. “My object is to farm these as circumstances will allow, or at least to make the attempt.”¹¹⁰ Davenport returned to Europe in 1863 after having established his new property at Beaumont (today a suburb of Adelaide). He visited Montpellier and the neighbouring vineyards, where he observed the cultivation of grapevines

¹⁰⁷ *South Australian Register*, 9 September 1861, 3. For Guyot’s original work, see Guyot, *Culture de la vigne*.

¹⁰⁸ Ward, *Vineyards and Orchards*, 27.

¹⁰⁹ Beverley A. Nicks, “Davenport, Sir Samuel (1818-1906),” ed. National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University), accessed 10 October 2019, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/davenport-sir-samuel-3371/text5095>.

¹¹⁰ Letter of Samuel Davenport to John M. Davenport, Esq, Oxford, England, 21 October 1843, Davenport Family Papers, PRG 40/17/3: Correspondence of Samuel Davenport, SLSA.

for the making of brandy.¹¹¹ It is not easy to ascertain whether he brought back cuttings or equipment during this second trip. However, according to his friend Alexander Kelly, he met with Messrs. Durand, wine merchants of Perpignan – the same Durand family that Busby had visited thirty years earlier – and investigated the making and trade of wines from their property of “Masdeu” (Mas Deu), acquired by Justin Durand in 1854. Kelly added that Masdeu wines were becoming increasingly famous on the London market as an unadulterated wine, as opposed to other Roussillon wines.¹¹² Justin Durand had continued the wine business of his father François and, like him, was in contact with international clients.¹¹³ It is not known whether Davenport was a regular client, but the Durands’ Australian connection is confirmed by his being visited by three Australian winegrowers during the nineteenth century: Bussy in 1833, Davenport in 1863 and Thomas Hardy in 1883.

Back in South Australia, Davenport published his first work, entitled *Some New Industries for South Australia: Silkworms, Mulberry, Olives, Tobacco, Etc.* Though winegrowing is barely mentioned in this book, he extensively treated viticulture and winemaking in several successive works. In a manuscript paper written sometime after 1872, he drew on his knowledge of European scientists’ works and quoted English doctor Robert Druitt, German chemist Justus von Liebig and French agronomist Jules Guyot to support daily wine-drinking in the colony. Among other French references, Davenport used Chaptal, ampelographist Alexandre-Pierre Odart, biologist Louis Pasteur and agronomist L. C. Cazalis-Allut. Through their works, Davenport focused on wine diseases and ways to avoid them. Finally, he described the composition of the wines produced in the most famous winegrowing districts of France – Médoc, St Emilion, Sauternes, Champagne, Burgundy, Chablis, Hermitage – along with the number and names of the grape varieties cultivated in each of them, as these are the types of wine he was determined to emulate.¹¹⁴

Scottish medical practitioner Alexander Kelly reached South Australia in 1840, following his brother Thomas. Kelly had been educated in Scotland and France before studying medicine in Edinburgh. He started to practice in Adelaide and bought a property at Morphet

¹¹¹ Samuel Davenport, *Some New Industries for South Australia: Silkworms, Mulberry, Olives, Tobacco, etc* (Melbourne: W. C. Rigby, 1864), 3.

¹¹² Alexander Kelly, *Wine-growing in Australia* (Sydney: The David Ell Press, 1980), 80-84.

¹¹³ Plessis, *Régents et gouverneurs*, 21. The Durand family was also involved in banking in Paris and in politics. François Durand was deputy under the Restoration and his son Justin became a deputy under the Second Empire. The Durands’ wine business was centred on the cross-border Franco-Spanish trade and even reached far distant countries like the United States, India and Australia.

¹¹⁴ Papers on the fermentation of grape juice and on vine and olive cultivation, c.1872-1900, manuscript, PRG 40/20: Papers chiefly on botanical matters, SLSA.

Vale, south of the town that he named Trinity. He returned to Britain to bring his mother back with him. While in Europe, he visited several French wine regions, especially Bordeaux in 1843.¹¹⁵ Back in South Australia, he planted his first vines around 1845 at Trinity. In 1851, he planted eight acres of vines with verdeilho, malbec, gooi folle (possibly gouais or folle blanche, as both were used in western France for the making of brandy), pedro ximenes and pineau gris.¹¹⁶ Ward suggested that Kelly chose these varieties following his reading of William Macarthur's *Letters*, but most of them failed owing to viticultural methods unsuited to local natural conditions. Kelly later, in 1859, visited Macarthur himself at Camden, where he obtained practical advice as well as theoretical expertise through written materials. This trip convinced him to plant Roussillon varieties, and more particularly the Mataro, which met with greater success.¹¹⁷ This experience inspired the writing of his first book, *The Vine in Australia*, published in 1861 in Melbourne.¹¹⁸ Like Macarthur, Kelly drew on his own experience and on a number of French wine experts' literature to write this book and adapted their recommendations to Australian conditions. He notably used the works of French chemists Gay-Lussac and Edme-Jules Maumené.¹¹⁹ The book was such a success that it was reprinted the next year.¹²⁰ By compiling the works of the instigators of the wine industry in New South Wales with the latest publications of the French wine literature – especially those on wine chemistry – and by drawing on his own experience in South Australia, Kelly's publication was instrumental in setting the basis of an Australian oenology addressed to colonial winegrowers.

Kelly dedicated a whole chapter of this book to the selection and description of grape varieties. Unlike other winegrowers and scholars, he denied that a specific type of vine would produce a wine with a completely different character if cultivated in a different environment.¹²¹ Kelly highlighted, however, the slight difference of character that some French varieties acquire when cultivated in the different Australian colonies. The Shepherd's Grape (sémillon) had proved early on to make good wine at several Hunter district properties (Porphyry, Irrawang

¹¹⁵ Kelly, *Wine-growing in Australia*, 27.

¹¹⁶ Valmai A. Hankel, "Kelly, Alexander Charles," ed. National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University), accessed 10 October 2019, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/kelly-alexander-charles-13020/text23541>. See also the biography of Alexander Kelly by Dennis Hall and Valmai Hankel in Kelly, *The Vine in Australia*.

¹¹⁷ Ward, *Vineyards and Orchards*, 66-67.

¹¹⁸ Kelly, *The Vine in Australia*, iii-iv, 4, 31.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 32-33. Kelly confirmed Busby's opinion on the little impact of the soil on wine quality and alcohol content, by using Maumené's work, see Edme-Jules Maumené, *Indications théoriques et pratiques sur le travail des vins: et en particulier sur celui des vins mousseux* (Paris: Librairie de Victor Masson, 1858), 28.

¹²⁰ Hankel, "Kelly, Alexander," *ADB*.

¹²¹ Kelly, *The Vine in Australia*, 173-174.

and Camerallyn) in New South Wales but turned out to be unsuccessful in South Australia.¹²² The black hermitage (syrah/shiraz) was considered by Kelly to be one of the most well-acclimatised varietal grapes in Australia. He stated that this vine was remarkably successful in the wet climate of New South Wales as well as in the Barossa Valley in South Australia but that it thrived poorly in the dry districts of the latter colony. According to him, the cabernet sauvignon bore well in the Hunter but was believed to be unsuited to most South Australian districts. Regarding Roussillon red grapes, Kelly recommended blending them, as they have complementary characteristics.¹²³ He credited Busby for introducing Roussillon vines into Australia along with the methods to adequately cultivate them and quoted a large extract of Busby's *Journal* on the matter.¹²⁴

In 1867, Kelly published a second book, *Wine-Growing in Australia*. In the preface, he explained that one of the aims of this work was to provide his fellow vigneron with the most up-to-date scientific knowledge on winegrowing. However, "it is much to be desired", Kelly writes,

that the best works of the French writers on these topics should be translated in full for the benefit of the wine-growers here; for justice cannot be done to them, or the full import of the meaning of the authors understood in the few extracts from their writings given in a volume of this kind.¹²⁵

In this regard, he credited French migrant Ludovic Marie for the full translation of Jules Guyot's *Culture de la vigne et vinification* in 1865.¹²⁶ He also reported the influence of Maumené's comments among South Australian winegrowers regarding the aeration of the must and its effect in promoting fermentation.¹²⁷ Among other authors of particular interest, Kelly mentioned Alexandre-Pierre Odart, A. d'Armailhacq and Lenoir. On the question of whether or not to ferment with the stalk, he quoted both Henri Machard, *Traité pratique sur les vins*, published in Besançon in 1860 and A. d'Armailhacq, *De la culture des vignes, la vinification et les vins du Médoc*, published in Bordeaux in 1858. Overall, through his two publications, Kelly translated, quoted or commented on aspects of about twenty French wine experts' works.

¹²² Today, the Hunter Valley is still famous for its Semillon wines.

¹²³ Kelly, *The Vine in Australia*, 179-188.

¹²⁴ Kelly, *Wine-growing in Australia*, 75-80.

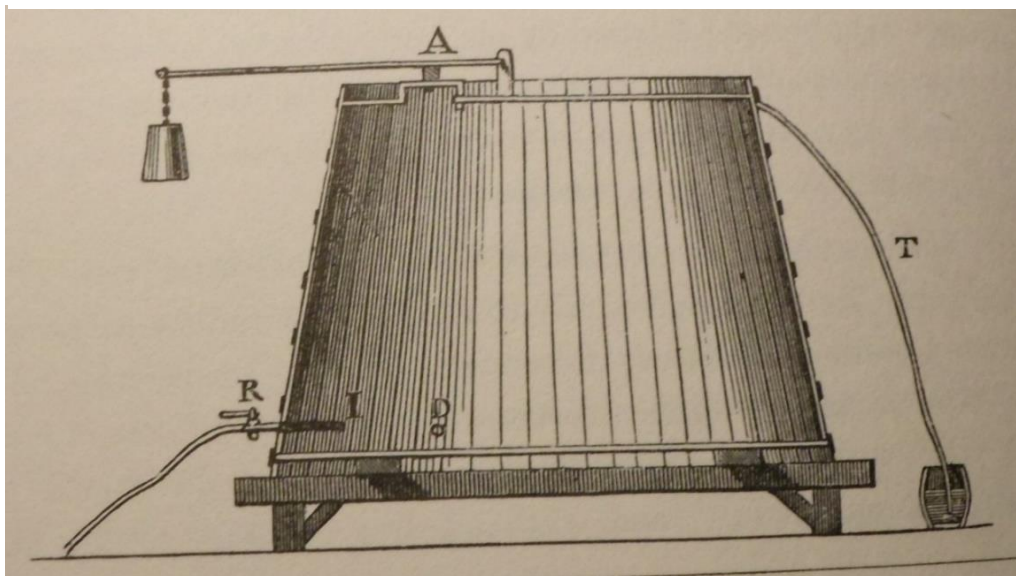
¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, Preface.

¹²⁶ Jules Guyot, *Culture of the Vine and Wine Making*, trans. Ludovic Marie (1865). However, it is worth noting that this work had already been translated by Wood in the early 1860s in a series of articles published in the South Australian journal *Farm and Garden*.

¹²⁷ Kelly, *Wine-growing in Australia*. 171.

Regarding equipment and technologies, Kelly supported the use of French machines and tools by highlighting the usefulness of the *sécateur* used in the Médoc instead of the traditional knife or *serpe*.¹²⁸ He mentioned the process of “Mademoiselle Gervais”, which involved using a closed vat for fermentation, saying that “this vat possessed the great advantage of retaining both the *bouquet* and flavour, and also the alcohol, much of which escapes in open vats along with the carbonic acid gas.”¹²⁹ He added a drawing of this vat in *The Vine in Australia* (Figure 1). This system had been developed by Jean Antoine Gervais in his work *Opuscule sur la Vinification*, published in 1821.¹³⁰ Kelly also invoked and reproduced the drawing of the *Souflet Champenois* from Maumené’s *Travail des Vins* and reported that in New South Wales, Macarthur recommended the use of such a tool for racking the wine.¹³¹ Apparently, Macarthur had used it for twenty years at Camden and had obtained it from Rheingau and Bordeaux.¹³² However, there is no evidence that Kelly used this equipment at Trinity or later at his property of Tintara in what is today McLaren Vale.

Figure 1: Sketch of Mademoiselle Gervais’ vat.



Source: Alexander Kelly, *The Vine in Australia* (Sydney: The David Ell Press, 1980), 133.

The French influence in the colony of Adelaide appears to have been the result of both private individual initiatives by British colonists and of interpersonal exchanges with the colony of pioneers in New South Wales, namely James Busby and William Macarthur. Influential winegrowers such as Reynell, Evans, Davenport and Kelly extended colonial winegrowing

¹²⁸ Kelly, *The Vine in Australia*. 71.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* 133.

¹³⁰ Jean Antoine Gervais, *Opuscule sur la Vinification* (Toulouse: F. Vieusseux, 1821).

¹³¹ Transferring wine from one cask to another one.

¹³² Kelly, *The Vine in Australia*. 166.

through South Australia and built strong relations with their peers in New South Wales and Victoria to enable the diffusion of French wine models. However, the French influence was strongly challenged by German settlers in the Barossa Valley and the rising influence of Spanish grape varieties and techniques among British winegrowers.¹³³

The second wave of wine-related transfers from France began in the 1840s and was initiated by settlers of Victoria and South Australia (Appendix 1). As in the first wave, these settlers were mostly from England and had no personal knowledge of viticulture. Although they benefitted from the experiences of the earliest transfers by New South Wales' colonists, like them, they generally had to import French methods on their own without any government supports. This practice continued throughout the nineteenth century, but wine tours in France came increasingly to be supported or initiated by winegrowers' organisations, colonial governments or agricultural institutions from the 1870s onwards. Overall, Appendix 1 shows that the colonial Australian winegrowers who visited France focused their investigations in the most celebrated regions, including Bordeaux, Burgundy, Champagne and Hermitage. This was the result of their experience as wine drinkers in Britain where clarets, hermitages, burgundies and champagnes were most celebrated for their bouquet and delicacy. Thus, it evidences the fact that Australian wine advocates mostly linked the French model to the production of fine wines.

Conclusion

From the 1810s to the 1860s, in the absence of public involvement, viti-vinicultural transfers from France mostly relied on private initiatives rather than government-supported actions. They were the result of private meetings with French skilled vigneron and agricultural experts. These interpersonal engagements constituted peer-to-peer exchanges occurring across national and imperial boundaries.

The colonists who undertook this process were chiefly wealthy British settlers with capital to invest in a new industry. They realised tours through the famous wine districts of France – especially around Bordeaux, whose wines had been renowned for a long time by British consumers, but also in Burgundy, Champagne and Hermitage, whose wines were increasingly celebrated in Britain and in the British Empire. The transplantation of French wine models relied on the desire to produce high-quality wines. This process involved trial and error

¹³³ On this subject, see further Chapter 6.

as the colonists had to start from scratch, often without the help of skilled vigneron. They used their networks in Europe and in the British Empire to send for stocks, cuttings and equipment. They read and translated French wine authors. Finally, they spread the knowledge they acquired on winegrowing by distributing vine cuttings and consolidating a network of colonial vigneron to share experiences, success and failures.¹³⁴ This process did not rely on the emigration of skilled vigneron from France to Australia, but it still brought a French influence to the development of the Australian wine industry, the production of wine there, its taste, its distribution and its consumption. It thus contributed to the transplantation of French wine models into the antipodean colonies.

Some colonial wine pioneers did manage to send for French vigneron, however. Others came on their own initiative in the hope of finding better living conditions. Their story has often been overshadowed by that of other ethnic groups owing to their relatively small numbers. However, it is worth taking stock of their impact in the colonial Australian wine industry.

¹³⁴ McIntyre has investigated the impact of networking and cooperation in the diffusion of knowledge and innovations in the Hunter Valley wine cluster, see McIntyre, "Historical Networking and Knowledge Sharing: Wine Making in the Hunter." And Julie McIntyre et al., "We Used to Get and Give a Lot of Help: Networking, Cooperation and Knowledge Flow in the Hunter Valley Wine Cluster," *Australian Economic History Review* 53, no. 3 (2013).

Chapter 4

“They are very loth to leave their country”¹: Scarcity of French Labour in the Australian Wine Industry (1830s–1900s)

The Australian wine industry emerged in a labour-scarce economy. Skilled and unskilled workers' services were difficult to secure. French labour was particularly hard to find, although French workers were highly sought after for their viticultural skills. Yet some French vigneron and wine merchants were involved in the development of this sector during the nineteenth century in many different parts of the world: Spain, California, Argentina, Chile, Algeria and Australia. Except in Algeria, however, scholars have generally noticed the scarcity of French migrants involved in foreign wine industries.² In fact, the French influence generally relied on the export of vines, techniques and equipment, as explained in the previous chapter, rather than on expatriated vigneron or chain migration. Australian historians revealed early on a similar situation in the colonial wine industry of the antipodes and the fact that the French were strongly outnumbered by their British, German and Italian counterparts.³

Even though the French were very few in colonial Australia, some of them did make an impact on the wine industry. They were mostly men migrating on their own initiative – though a few French women were also involved. French vigneron were generally hired to manage vineyards and cellars owned by British landowners. But others established their own vineyards, purchasing lands and making wine. It is thus worth questioning the role of these French expatriates in the development of the Australian wine industry, their position and reputation and their situation in relation to other ethnic groups. From the end of the Napoleonic Wars to

¹ Hardy, *Notes on Vineyards*, 96.

² Philippe Roudié, "Bordeaux, un modèle pour la viti-viniculture mondiale?," *Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer* 50, no. 200 (1997): 403-405. Joël Brémond, "Rioja et la Référence à Bordeaux," in *Territoires et Terroirs du Vin du XVIIIe au XXIe Siècles: Approche Internationale d'une Construction Historique*, ed. Olivier Jacquet and Serge Wolikow (Dijon: Editions universitaires de Dijon, 2011). H. Isnard, "La viticulture algérienne: colonisation et décolonisation," *Méditerranée* 23, no. 4 (1975). Léonce Jore, "Le Bordelais Jean-Louis Vignes: Pionnier de la Viticulture en Californie," *Revue Historique de Bordeaux* (1959). Jean-François Bazin, *Paul Masson: Le Français qui mit en bouteilles l'or de Californie* (Saint-Cyr-sur-Loire: Alan Sutton, 2002). Simpson, *Creating Wine*, 197- 204. Guyonne Blanchy, "L'influence française et le rôle des Bordelais dans le développement du vignoble de Mendoza, de la fin du XIXe siècle à nos jours" (Thèse de doctorat, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, 2010).

³ Ludbrook, "Frenchmen Played a Part," 36. Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 14-15. McIntyre and Germov, *Hunter Wine*, 136-157. On the German and Italian emigration to Australia, see Ian Harmstorf and Michael Cigler, *The Germans in Australia* (Melbourne: AE Press, 1985). Jürgen Tampke, *The Germans in Australia* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2006). And Gianfranco Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

the beginning of the goldrushes, colonial Australians wishing to attract winegrowers from France faced immigration regulation and a scarcity of candidates who desired to come. From the 1850s to the 1870s, Victoria received most of the French vigneron present on the continent, originally attracted by the goldrushes. But, then, the phylloxera crisis in the 1880s–1890s offered Australia a new opportunity to send for French wine experts (for a list of the French winegrowers established in Australia during the nineteenth century, see Appendix 2).⁴

Scarcity in New South Wales and South Australia (1830s–1870s)

Demography, distance and immigration restriction

British colonists attempted early on to send for skilled European workers to fill the lack of labour in the antipodean colonies. Convicts and Aboriginal people had already been employed for such tasks on viticultural properties, but they lacked the special skills that wine instigators were looking for.⁵ Regarding winegrowing, the settlers naturally turned their attention to France due to the reputation of French wines in Britain. But the wealthy landowners who could afford such expenses generally met with great difficulties in finding candidates. They were generally more successful with German vigneron. The opinion that French people were unwilling to settle in a foreign country spread in French and British writings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Observers usually mentioned the quality of life in France or the home-loving nature of its people as the main explanations.⁶ But the main reasons are certainly to be found in the demographic situation of France during the nineteenth century.

⁴ A number of the French winegrowers mentioned in this chapter had been detected earlier by Anny Stuer, David Dunstan and Julie McIntyre, see Stuer, *The French in Australia*. Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*. And McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink." However, research in local newspapers and family papers of British winegrowers who hired Frenchmen have provided new names to this list. Local newspapers regularly reported the activities of winegrowers and their country of origin. Yet, it is difficult to estimate the real number of the French vigneron established in Australia during the nineteenth century.

⁵ McIntyre, *First Vintage*, 74. See also Julie McIntyre, Marie Brady, and Jillian Barnes, "'They are among the Best Workers, Learning the Ways of a Vineyard Quickly': Aboriginal People, Drinking, and Labor in the Early Australian Wine Industry," *Global Food History* 5, no. 1-2 (2019). Chelsea Davis' research shows that slave labour was also used in the wine industry of the Cape, see Chelsea Davis, "Fruits of their Labour: Networks of Migration, Knowledge, and Work in the nineteenth-century cape Wine Industry," (Unpublished manuscript, February 2020), Typescript.

⁶ Jens Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress* (Melbourne: Brown, Prior & Co. Pty. Ltd., 1927), 116. Ludovic de Beauvoir, *Voyage autour du monde: Australie, Java, Siam, Canton, Pékin, Yeddo, San Francisco* (Paris: H. Plon, 1869), 324. For more references on the perception of French migration, see Stuer, *The French in Australia*, 17-18.

The French birth rate declined after the French Revolution in comparison with neighbouring European countries like Germany, Italy and Britain. Thus, demographic pressure was less instrumental there in motivating emigration. In total, from 1815 to 1960, about sixty million individuals left Europe. Thirty-eight percent of that number were from the United Kingdom, nineteen percent from Italy, and eleven and a half percent from Germany, whereas France sent only a little more than half a million emigrants, that is, less than one percent of the total.⁷ This difference explains why emigration has long been neglected in France as an object of historical study.⁸ Moreover, the French who did emigrate during the nineteenth century chiefly favoured the neighbouring countries of Europe and North Africa or, further afield, the Americas.⁹ Pierre Guillaume argues, further, that the civil code of plots proprietary favouring divided lands and small proprietors may have contributed to the relative immobility of the rural world in nineteenth-century France and discouraged French emigration. Reports on the hard conditions of life in the New Worlds – in America as well as in Australia – may also have dissuaded potential emigrants.¹⁰ Australia, furthermore, was little known in nineteenth-century France. Popular literature, private publications, public talks and conferences may, however, have encouraged some people to try their luck on the far side of the world.¹¹ Indeed, a few did settle in Australia, but as they tended to scatter through the colonies, marry out of their national community or simply return home after a few years, it is hard to study them as an ethnic group.¹²

Prior to the goldrush, non-British immigration in Australia barely existed. The distance from Europe and immigration restrictions prevented such transfers, and only exceptional authorisation would be granted.¹³ During this period, only a few French migrants reached the

⁷ Marnot, *Les migrations internationales*, 40-47.

⁸ Ibid., 14. Marnot notices that history of migrations only started in France in the 1980s, see for example, Pierre Guillaume, *Individus, familles, nations. Essai d'histoire démographique: XIXe-XXe siècles* (Paris: SEDES, 1985). Gérard Noiriel, *Le creuset français. Histoire de l'immigration (XIXe-XXe)* (Paris: Seuil, 1988).

Moreover, regarding French emigration, Alexis Bergantz points out that this topic has been largely neglected in comparison with immigration to France up to now, see Bergantz, "French Connection," 7.

⁹ Louis Chevalier, "L'émigration française au XIXe siècle," *Etudes d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* (1947): 130-171. Rosa del Carmen Bochaca, "L'émigration française vers le Rio de la Plata par le port de Bordeaux (1830-1914)" (Thèse d'État, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, 1971). Centre de recherches d'histoire nord-américaine, ed. *L'émigration française. Études de cas: Algérie, Canada, Etats-Unis* (Paris: Publication de la Sorbonne, 1985). Annick Foucrier, *Le rêve californien. Migrants français sur la côte Pacifique (XVIIIe-XXe siècles)* (Paris: Belin, 1999). François Weil, "Les Migrants français aux Amériques (XIXe-XXe siècles), Nouvel objet d'histoire," *Annales de Démographie Historique*, no. 1 (2000).

¹⁰ Guillaume, *Individus, familles, nations*, 268-269. However, as Guillaume points it out, this image was a misrepresentation because it overexposed difficulties in host countries in comparison with conditions of life in departure regions. In those areas, habits and traditions underestimated the harshness of everyday life.

¹¹ Bergantz, "French Connection," 104-106.

¹² Barko, "French presence in Sydney," 48. On French migrants in Australia, see also Stuer, *The French in Australia*. Bergantz, "French Connection," 90-111.

¹³ McIntyre, "Adam Smith and Faith," 201-204.

shores of New South Wales, and even fewer became involved in the burgeoning wine production. It is worth mentioning that the first attempt to transfer French techniques to Australia occurred in 1800, when two French prisoners of war were transported as “wine technicians.” On 22 April 1800, the Duke of Portland addressed a letter to the Governor of the colony stating:

As it appears that the soil and climate of N[ew] S[outh] W[ales] are favourable to the culture of the grape, there will go out by the Royal Admiral two Frenchmen, who were prisoners of war here, and who appear to have a perfect knowledge of the cultivation of a vineyard and the whole process of making wine, as you will observe by the within documents received from them on this subject. I trust the employment of these men will enable you in a very short period to cultivate a vineyard for the Crown of such an extent as to allow your producing, on the spot, whatever wine may be wanted on the public account; and this circumstance will, of course, be the means of promoting, on the part of individuals, the cultivation of the vine and the making of wine throughout the settlement at large.¹⁴

However, they eventually proved to be inexperienced in wine-growing or unaccustomed to local natural conditions, and their attempts to make drinkable wine resulted only in failures. Moreover, this event remained isolated and cannot be considered as an established colonial policy.¹⁵ Yet, this idea reappeared in 1825, when the Australian Agricultural Company was created.¹⁶ One of its objectives was

to promote (subordinate to the raising of fine Wool) the cultivation of the Olive, Vine, and such productions as may appear best adapted to the climate and soil; and with this view to send from France, Italy or Germany, some families skilled in the management of Olive Grounds and Vineyards.¹⁷

But restrictive immigration policies prevented colonists from realising such a project. The British colonial government feared that allowing non-British migrants would alter the cultural homogeneity of the colony. Moreover, as stated in the quotation above, the French were not the only population whose viticultural skills were sought after.

Hiring German vinedressers instead of French ones?

Owing to the labour deficiencies created by the end of the convict system in the 1830s, the authorities of New South Wales finally agreed to make the immigration regulation more flexible

¹⁴ Duke of Portland to the Governor of New South Wales, 22 April 1800, Frederick Watson, ed. *Historical Records of Australia*, vol. 2, series 1 (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1914), 493.

¹⁵ McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 73-75.

¹⁶ Australian Agricultural Company series, 78/1/1, NBAC.

¹⁷ Frederick Watson, ed. *Historical Records of Australia*, vol. 9, Series 1 (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1917), 593.

regarding foreign migrants. In 1836, Governor Richard Bourke confirmed the establishment of a bounty scheme for working-class immigration. The Macarthur family expected to use it to send for vinedressers from continental Europe, but London colonial officials were still reluctant to accept non-Britishers to settle in the colony. Eventually, Edward Macarthur – brother of William – managed to secure an extension of the bounty to a “limited number of foreigners.”¹⁸ In 1837, the first assisted migration of skilled vinedressers occurred thanks to the efforts of Edward Macarthur. Facing the impossibility of finding French vigneron and due to the existence of good diplomatic relations between Britain and the German States, Macarthur eventually turned his attention to German vinedressers, a precedent which led to an important chain migration into New South Wales and especially into the Hunter Valley.¹⁹

It appears that only a handful of French vigneron and wine merchants arrived in the late 1830s to early 1840s. George Wyndham would have managed to appoint some French-German vinedressers at Dalwood in the Hunter Valley, as mentioned in a letter received by Margaret Wyndham, George’s wife, in March 1839. In this letter, her correspondent, Jane Livingston from Somerset, England, asked whether the vinedressers from Alsace – a north-eastern region of France at the time – gave satisfaction.²⁰ Unfortunately, there is no more information about who they were or how they influenced winegrowing at Dalwood. It is not clear whether they ever reached New South Wales.

Jean Emile de Bouillon Serisier left France at the age of fourteen and established himself in Sydney in 1838.²¹ He entered the company of Despointes, a French wine merchant recently arrived. They went together to the locality of Dubbo, in the centre-west of New South Wales, about 400 kilometres from Sydney. There they opened a general store and Serisier organised the settlement of the new town.²² In 1873, he sold the general store after he acquired a 4000-acre property named Emulga. He planted forty acres of vines to trial winegrowing. After some setbacks, he managed to produce a good red wine, which was compared with the production of J. T. Fallon, a well-known colonist and winegrower of Albury.²³ Serisier is mostly remembered,

¹⁸ Cited in McIntyre and Germov, *Hunter Wine*, 137-138.

¹⁹ McIntyre, "Adam Smith and Faith," 203-204. See also McIntyre and Germov, *Hunter Wine*, 138.

²⁰ Information given by Don Seton Wilkinson, paper unpublished. Alsace was then a French province, until the German annexation of 1871. It is possible however that these vinedressers spoke a German language.

²¹ Amelin, "Early Settlers in Australia: Jean Emile Bouillon Serisier," *Annuaire français d'Australie* (1972): 12-13. D. I. McDonald, "Serisier, Jean Emile (1824-1880)," ed. National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University), accessed 9 April 2018, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/serisier-jean-emile-4559/text7479>.

²² Stuer, *The French in Australia*, 56-57. Stuer, "French," 474.

²³ McDonald, "Serisier, Jean Emile".

however, for his political and administrative role in the township of Dubbo; his involvement in the wine business faded.

In the 1840s, while a third of the legislature of New South Wales was involved in developing winegrowing, regulations on foreign immigration were made even more flexible. Though this essentially pulled German workers, it is worth noting that, in 1842, a certain M. Bertheau from the département of Yonne in Burgundy became responsible for the management of Sir John Jamieson's vineyard at Regentville near Sydney. He went on to work at Mr. Fisher's near North Richmond.²⁴ But the new legislation mostly helped German families to settle in the Hunter Valley.

The difference between France and Germany regarding migration was highlighted by the Reverend J. D. Lang who, after failing to find French vinedressers inclined to settle in Australia, concluded that this object "can be easily accomplished in the German States on the upper Rhine, where the agricultural population generally are not only accustomed to the cultivation of the vine but strongly disposed to emigration."²⁵ Charles Braché, a native of the Rhineland wine district who had established himself in Victoria, expressed a similar idea in the 1860s. He praised the quality of the German immigrants in Australia, while pointing out that the French made "but indifferent colonists upon any other but French territory."²⁶ He argued that the foreign possessions of France offered all the lucrative inducements they would need and that there was no reason for them to settle in a distant British colony.²⁷ German emigration was at its peak in the middle of the nineteenth century due to political and economic turmoil in the German States. Similar troubles in France did not stimulate emigration to the same extent, and the few candidates for departure tended to choose North Africa or the Americas as their destination.

In the mid-1850s, William Macarthur was still seeking French vigneronns to work on his vineyard and in his cellar at Camden. He asked Bordeaux négociant Pierre-François Guestier to help him with this task, but once again it proved unsuccessful. Guestier's response to Macarthur in 1857 stated:

It has been a matter of regret to me to have been unable to accomplish the commission you gave me for immigrants and the more I see in this country, the less I think it is possible to find eligible parties, if any even of any sort, to go and seek fortune elsewhere. This country

²⁴ Stuer, *The French in Australia*, 63.

²⁵ Reverend J. D. Lang to Sir George Grey 11 March 1837, *HRA* series I, vol. 18, 719-720.

²⁶ Cited in Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 14.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

between its system of public works and drafts for the army from the elite of the population is in want of hands and will certainly for a long time be in the same situation [...].²⁸

Guestier mentioned the French economic and political context to explain the small number of French emigrants. But the economic crisis which struck Europe in the late 1840s did not lead to a higher rate of emigration from France. Also, in the 1850s, except for the *oïdium* attack – a fungal disease of the vine –, the wine industry was prosperous in Bordeaux thanks to a relatively calm period after the turmoil of the Revolution of 1848: wine exports were rising, the Bordeaux Classification of 1855 ensured the local production a good reputation on international markets, and the growing domestic consumption ensured outlets on the domestic market. Moreover, due to the predominance of polyculture at the time, *oïdium* and other vine diseases only partially affected vigneron who could turn to other productions. This situation was certainly not encouraging vigneron to leave and try their luck overseas – and certainly not as far away as Australia – as they could expect to see their conditions improve if they stayed in France. During this period, a newspaper article indicated that a number of French “acquainted with the cultivation of vines ha[d] just been engaged in different regions of France to go to Australia where the cultivation of the vines of Burgundy and Bordeaux has perfectly succeeded.”²⁹ Unfortunately, their tracks disappeared by 1858.³⁰ It is therefore impossible to know where they settled in the colonies.

One of the first French skilled winegrower engaged by a New South Wales company was Philibert Terrier, who claimed to be an experienced vigneron from Burgundy.³¹ In 1855, Terrier was not hired as a mere worker but as a manager of the vineyards and cellars of the Lochinvar Estate in the Hunter Valley, property of the North British Company. In 1859, Lochinvar Estate was bought by John Frederick Doyle, who renamed it “Kaludah.” Terrier must have proved his skills in winegrowing, as Doyle kept him on as manager of the property. They together met with some success in producing wines.³² Terrier remained in charge until 1867, when he decided to leave Kaludah and plant his own vineyard on his property of St Helena in the same district.³³ In 1880, he was producing 700 gallons per acre of wine. When he went back

²⁸ Pierre François Guestier to William Macarthur, 1 September 1857, Macarthur Family Papers, A2936: Sir William Macarthur, correspondence, SLNSW.

²⁹ *The Argus*, 18 March 1858.

³⁰ Stuer, *The French in Australia*, 97.

³¹ *Maitland Mercury*, 9 May 1867.

³² *Maitland Mercury*, 2 May 1867.

³³ E. S. Lauchland, "Homes We Visited - Kaludah House," *The Newcastle and Hunter District Historical Society: Monthly Journal* 4, no. 1 (1949).

to France for a holiday, he promoted Australia's living conditions, praising his new country for "its wealth, its climate, its freedom."³⁴

These few initiatives to send for French vinedressers and skilled vigneron occurred at the beginning of the second economic boom cycle in Australian wine production in the mid-1850s, at a time when colonial winegrowers were looking for recognition by their European peers at international events, notably the Paris exhibition of 1855. Securing European vigneron's service was meant to improve local wine quality as well as its reputation overseas. But these cases of sponsored French immigrants were isolated and organised by a small number of private companies and landowners ready to get involved and take risks in the winegrowing business.

In South Australia, the situation resembled that of New South Wales, and very few French migrants became involved in building this infant wine industry. On the contrary, an important number of German vinedressers arrived in the Barossa valley in the 1840s. Though immigration assistance was reserved for British settlers, English landowner and philanthropist George Fife Angas himself funded the relocation of twenty-eight Lutheran dissident families from Silesia to the Barossa Valley in 1842.³⁵ Yet this was not enough, as evidenced by the fact that British medical practitioner and vigneron Alexander Kelly delivered a lecture in 1847 promoting free emigration to South Australia to provide the colony with labour.³⁶

French migrant Thelisma Aubert arrived at that time and might have helped to develop winegrowing at Salisbury, north of Adelaide. He established his property of "Sans-Souci" in 1847.³⁷ By 1851, it is claimed that, besides cultivating oranges, Aubert had established a hobby vineyard and may have been the first French winegrower in the whole of South Australia.³⁸ It is not known whether Aubert succeeded in making wine, but he eventually became a wine merchant in Adelaide, joining Mr. H. Noltenius & Co., until the dissolution of the company in

³⁴ Henry Bonnard, *La Nouvelle-Galles-du-Sud en 1881* (Bordeaux 1882), 16-17.

³⁵ Julie Tolley, "Wine, Women and so on: Female Labour in the Barossa," in *Germans: Travellers, Settlers and Their descendants in South Australia*, ed. Peter Monteath (Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2011), 238. See also Aeuckens and Bishop, *Vineyard of the Empire*.

³⁶ Notice of lecture, Alexander Kelly paper, PRG 628/1, SLSA.

³⁷ Stuer, *The French in Australia*, 64.

³⁸ Bouvet and Chelsea, "Early French Migration," 87. Valmai Hankel claims that he never found any evidence of Aubert's viticultural activity during his research. Stuer, Bouvet and Roberts used local historian H. L. Lewis's work on Salisbury as their main source.

1880. He passed away in 1881.³⁹ Though there is no evidence of his making wine, the fact that he became a wine merchant suggests that he was at least a little acquainted with this commodity.

Examples like Aubert were exceedingly rare. Some South Australian colonists, like their New South Wales counterparts, were seeking French vigneron. They were motivated both by their Francophilia and by their desire to transfer profitable French agricultural models into the colonies. The economic motivation was indeed instrumental. In *New Industries for South Australia* (1864), Samuel Davenport, from Beaumont, highlighted the necessity and the possibility of sending for skilled workers from France for the purpose of developing key new sectors of production and improving the wealth of the colony:

I feel confident, from recent enquiry on the spot, I could myself, as far as wine-cellar men, mulberry and silkworm labourers, and some others, through French friends, secure their immigration, if but able to tender them employment at our current rates and over a sufficient period.⁴⁰

Yet, the first French winegrowers hired at Davenport's property at Beaumont arrived only in the early 1880s. Only a handful settled in South Australia before that time.

The first experts in the 1870s

Louis Édouard Bourbaud was arguably the first skilled French winegrower officially recruited by the South Australian Government. He was born in 1838 at Cognac, western France, where he gained winegrowing and distillation experience during his childhood. On coming of age, he joined the navy and participated in the Crimean and Franco-Prussian Wars. Thanks to his links with England – he had received two medals from Queen Victoria for his role during the Crimean War – Bourbaud was engaged in 1875 by Mr. Dutton, the then Agent-General for South Australia in London, with the objective of promoting wine production.⁴¹ This hiring shows the growing involvement of the South Australian Government in the winegrowing business, though wheat growing wool production greatly dominated the economy. Bourbaud's first mission was to visit subscribers' vineyards, including those of Thomas Elder at Birksgate, Samuel Davenport at Beaumont, Charles Burney Young at Holmesdale and Thomas Hardy at Tintara,

³⁹ *Evening Journal* (Adelaide), 5 September 1881, 2.

⁴⁰ Davenport, *Some New Industries*, 62.

⁴¹ *Adelaide Observer*, 13 January 1883, 30. See also George Loyau, E., *Notable South Australians; or, Colonists - Past and Present* (Adelaide: Carey, Page & Co., 1885), 23.

to give advice on vine-dressing and winemaking.⁴² One of his first concerns was the pruning practice in the colony. He noticed:

It is lamentable in a country boasting so many vineyards as South Australia to see so many pernicious systems of pruning adopted, and to find how very few men are to be met with capable of pruning at all, so that our vigneron are almost all in want of proper pruners, whilst hardly any are to be procured. If suitable prizes for pruning were offered each year at a match, which could be held at the same time as the ploughing matches, this unfortunate state of things might be remedied.⁴³

Hardy praised Bourbaud's recruitment, considering that South Australian winemakers would learn and improve their practical skills from him. But he also expected Bourbaud to provide scientific and theoretical knowledge. In particular, the Frenchman was asked to elaborate a table for the use of the gravity saccharometer imported by Alexander Kelly.⁴⁴ He was also involved in a passionate debate with Dr. Robert Riddell to ascertain whether wine could be considered a healthy beverage. Bourbaud and Riddell responded to each other in a series of articles published in the *South Australian Register* in late 1875 to early 1876. Following the general opinion in France, Bourbaud argued that wine, as a "natural" product, was fundamentally different than distilled alcohol and could be used as a dietetic beverage, while Riddell, though acknowledging some medicinal virtues, considered its overall effect as unhealthy.⁴⁵ As seen in Chapter 2, Bourbaud was not alone in Australia in believing in the health benefits of wine, and his opinion was shared by a number of British colonists as well who intended to promote temperance through light wine consumption.

Bourbaud was certainly not infallible, as he mistakenly announced the presence of the *phylloxera vastatrix* – a tiny insect originating from North America that attacked the vines – in South Australia in 1879.⁴⁶ This false discovery was quickly corrected afterwards. Actually, phylloxera never reached the colony of South Australia, as discussed in the next chapter. Still, his role in promoting the production of fine wine and sharing scientific knowledge among South Australian vigneron is undeniable. As early as 1876, he established the South Australian United Vineyards Association, although he managed it for only a year. Soon after, he created the Franco–Australian Alimentary Company and joined the South Australian Vinegrowers'

⁴² *The Garden and the Field*, vol. 1, no 4., September 1875.

⁴³ *South Australian Advertiser*, 12 August 1876, p. 6.

⁴⁴ *The Garden and the Field*, vol. 1, no 11, March 1876; vol. 1, no 12, April 1876.

⁴⁵ *South Australian Register*, 28 and 30 December 1875; 4 and 19 January 1876; 2 and 17 February 1876.

⁴⁶ *South Australian Register*, 1 November 1879, 9.

Association, which he managed until his death in 1883.⁴⁷ His passing was felt as a great loss for the local industry, as the *Adelaide Observer* pointed out:

M. Bourbaud was probably the cleverest expert in blending and treating wines that the colony has possessed, and during his seven years residence here he contributed largely and practically to our local viticultural literature. He was a frequent writer to the Press of South Australia, and also published pamphlets on all matters relating to the wine producing interests, and his exertions during his residence here have largely tended to the progress which the industry has made. [...] He has been essentially a hard-worker; but his efforts have been of far greater advantage to the wine-producing prospects of South Australia than to his own, and it is feared that his assiduity hastened his death.⁴⁸

At about the same period there arrived Léonce Frère, who settled with his wife Marthe and his son Georges at Albury, in the Murray district at the border between New South Wales and Victoria. Frère had acquired his experience at Cognac and in Bordeaux.⁴⁹ After a bankruptcy in France, Frère took a position at the Murray Valley Vineyard, John Thomas Fallon's property, in 1875. The next year, Frère's brother Gustave joined him. It seems that the whole family was acquainted with winegrowing practices. Together, they bought a large property composed mainly of sandy soil at Eckersley on the George River. The selection of such poor ground was influenced by the phylloxera threat and the common opinion at the time that the insect did not attack vines grown on sandy soil. Georges, Léonce Frère's son, also selected 1,280 acres of land on the Georges River in 1889. They attempted vine cultivation, but they improperly analysed the nature of the soil and failed in producing a wine of any quality and progressively abandoned the locality.⁵⁰ Léonce also hired Pacific Islanders to work on his vineyard and notably a Kanak, from the French colony of New Caledonia.

In parallel, Léonce had established a vineyard at his property of St Hilaire, in the Albury district, where he planted vine stocks of malbec, cabernet, shiraz and mataro. He then added new grape varieties bought from the neighbouring vineyards: pinot, riesling, verdheilo, aucarat and muscat. His adoption of Médoc viticultural practices (long pruning and trellising) proved satisfactory for a number of these types of vines.⁵¹ Frère had tried to produce champagne at Fallon's property without any success. He pursued his experiments at his own vineyard but

⁴⁷ *Adelaide Observer*, 13 January 1883, 30.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *The Sydney Mail*, 6 November 1886, 956. Léonce Frère was born at Barbézieux in the *département* of Charente, west-central France, see *Le Courrier Australien* (Sydney), 31 December 1909, 4. This is ascertained by the name he gave to his property of Saint Hilaire which refers to the village of the same name neighbouring Barbézieux.

⁵⁰ Allen, Andrew, "Frere's Vineyard on the Georges River," *Dictionary of Sydney*, 2014, http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/freres_vineyard_on_the_georges_river, viewed 23 April 2018.

⁵¹ J. A. Despeissis, "Murray River Vineyards," *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 1, 1890, 238.

again faced several failures: the cellar was deficient and could not maintain an even temperature; the secondary fermentation would not start, and when it did, it was most of the time incomplete. To make matters worse, the bottles often exploded in the cellar.⁵² Yet, contrary to what has been said, it seems that Léonce persevered. In the mid-1880s, his brother Gustave built a new cellar of sun-dried bricks and stored the sparkling wine bottles in the coolest part of the cellar, twelve feet deep, and “succeeded in producing and storing champagne with only a very small percentage of loss.”⁵³ Léonce first used pinot noir to make champagne before discovering that white shiraz (marsanne) proved to be the best variety for the purpose.⁵⁴

In order to sell out more of his products, Léonce changed the name on his label from “L. Frere, St. Hilaire Vineyard, Albury, NSW” to “L. Frere, St. Hilaire.” This may have helped to increase the demand for his wine. The *Sydney Mail* reported: “Whether the alteration in the title had really anything to do with it is a question hard to answer, but Mr. Frere firmly believes it had, on the grounds that his wine, while known as a colonial production, had no honour in its own country.”⁵⁵ The reputation of colonial wines constituted an issue for Australian winegrowers for most of the nineteenth century. But Frère’s Australian champagne finally met with little success and influenced later attempts in Victoria and South Australia.

These few examples show that only a handful of Frenchmen were involved in winegrowing at the time in New South Wales and South Australia. They were generally first attached to one winery as manager and then planted their own vineyards to become independent and produce their own wine. Bourbaud’s case constitutes the first well-documented case of a French wine expert officially hired to improve colonial winegrowing on a larger scale – advising several important winegrowers simultaneously – and attests to the increasing concern for developing this burgeoning industry in South Australia. This strategy was extensively used during the last two decades of the century to facilitate the diffusion of scientific wine knowledge through the whole of Australia.

However, in parallel with the very modest French presence in New South Wales and South Australia until the 1870s, the gold rushes of the 1850s in Victoria led the way to the first

⁵² It is not clear if Frère followed any champagne making teaching before migrating to Australia as his only experiences came from Bordeaux (famous for its light table wines) and Cognac (centre of the production of brandy).

⁵³ *The Sydney Mail*, 6 November 1886, 956.

⁵⁴ J. A. Despeissis, “Murray River Vineyards,” *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 1, 1890, 239.

⁵⁵ *The Sydney Mail*, 6 November 1886, 956.

wave of migrants from France. A noticeable number of them brought their agricultural skills and trialled winegrowing in their new home.

The French in Victoria: Vignerons in the goldfields or gold-diggers in the vineyards? (1850s–1870s)

Australia was little known in France until the mid-nineteenth century, and it would have certainly remained that way if it had not been for the goldrush which started in 1851. Stuer estimates the number of Frenchmen in Australia prior to the goldrush to be around 500 individuals.⁵⁶ Difficulties in France and opportunities to make a quick fortune overseas may have convinced candidates for departure. A guidebook on goldmining in Australia for emigrants was published in 1855. Written by a newly established French digger, it included a French-English lexicon and a map of the goldfields.⁵⁷ In 1871, the number of French had significantly increased but totalled only 2,500 in the whole of the continent.⁵⁸ At the same date, there were a few more than 8,000 French people in California and 116,000 in the whole of the United States.⁵⁹ Despite the goldrush, Australia remained a second choice, and among the French who undertook the long journey to the Antipodes, most of them did it on their own initiative with no public or private assistance.

In the *Revue Viticole*, a French journal specialised in viticulture and oenology, an article described the situation of the Victorian wine industry in the early 1860s and the role of the colonial Government in sending for skilled European winegrowers.⁶⁰ However, this primarily concerned Swiss migrants, though a couple of French vigneronns settled at Lilydale, in the Yarra Valley, among the Swiss community. Pierre Guillerme, who was first hired by Paul de Castella as a cellarman at Yering, planted his own vineyard in the Gruyère district. His property was later bought by his fellow countryman Charles Clerico, a brewer from Marseilles. According to renowned Victorian viticultural expert François de Castella – nephew of Paul de Castella –

⁵⁶ Stuer, "French," 472.

⁵⁷ C. Broot, *Guide des émigrants aux mines d'or en Australie, avec une carte détaillée des principaux terrains aurifères* (Paris: Lacour et Cie, 1855).

⁵⁸ Stuer, "French," 475.

⁵⁹ Foucrier, *Le rêve californien*, 23.

⁶⁰ M. Ramel, "La Vigne en Australie," *Revue viticole: annales de la viticulture et de l'oenologie françaises et étrangères* (1863): 65.

Clerico made there an excellent wine “very light and neutral” in the late nineteenth century. But the vineyard eventually disappeared with the second generation.⁶¹

Most of the French who emigrated to Victoria at the time did so on their own initiative, following the goldrushes. They were from the lower middle class or labour class, and tried their luck in mining by investing the little saving they had. Then, facing failures, some switched to winegrowing and planted vines on their own estates. They could afford purchasing lands as they were cheap in Australia. There was then hope that the economic and demographic boom would increase the demand for commodities hitherto neglected, including wine. Others applied to work at viticultural properties owned by British settlers seeking workers or managers. These Frenchmen were generally very scattered and established themselves in various regions but generally close to gold-digging areas like Bendigo, Great Western (what is today the Grampians region), Goulburn Valley and Rutherglen (see Appendix 8.2 for their locations in comparison with contemporary wine regions). It is argued that this geographic dispersion may reveal their individualistic behaviour.⁶² There were indeed few connections between French colonial vigneron across the colony of Victoria. This could be the result of their small number in general – even though they were more numerous than in New South Wales or South Australia – which made the creation of a coherent national community impossible. Also, it is important not to overestimate their impact in comparison with other colonists, especially the British and the Swiss winegrowers. However, one must note that they participated in pioneering several wine districts of Victoria, initiating the basis of the local wine industry.

Bendigo

In the Bendigo district, in the middle of the goldfield of central Victoria, four Frenchmen undertook to initiate viticulture. Jean-Baptiste Loridan was arguably the first of them. He came from northern France and bought thirty-seven acres of land on the Sheepwash Creek. He secured some vines from the Geelong district and others from a Castlemaine squatter, Robert Ross, and planted them on his land as early as 1854.⁶³ Loridan also cultivated tobacco and, as

⁶¹ François de Castella, "Some Pioneer Lillydale Vignerons," *The Victorian Historical Magazine* 20, no. 2 (1943): 60.

⁶² Stuer, *The French in Australia*, 95-96.

⁶³ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 101.

the *Bendigo Advertiser* indicated, he was considered an initiator of these two promising industries in the district:

The spirit of enterprise exhibited by Mr Loridan is extremely creditable. He has expended a considerable amount of capital and labor on the undertaking, and should it prove successful as appears uncommonly probable he will have opened up two important branches of industry and have conferred an immense benefit on the district.⁶⁴

He later associated himself with a certain Mr Lawson to develop the vineyard. He was unsuccessful, however, as he eventually turned to other activities and became a mining speculator. The property was sold to a German, August Heine in the mid-1860s. The reasons for his failure appear mysterious, as viticulture was growing quickly in the district; from thirty-nine acres in 1859, it reached 489 acres in 1869.⁶⁵ Yet, Loridan may have influenced two of his fellow countrymen before he switched pursuits.

James (Jacques) Bladier, from Southern France, planted six acres of vines at Epsom in the late 1850s.⁶⁶ François de Castella described him as a fancy merchant and very enterprising. At first, Bladier was successful and even planted some additional vines, but then he faced financial troubles and was forced to sell the vineyard.⁶⁷ It is certain that Bladier and Loridan worked together and both advocated the creation of the Victorian Vine-growers Association in the early 1860s. But there is little evidence of their winemaking. Bladier focused on grape production and would only make wine when he had surplus crop unsellable on the market.⁶⁸ This wine was thus most certainly reserved for self-consumption. As a matter of fact, Bladier and Loridan only received prizes for their horticultural and fruit production then.⁶⁹

Jean Théodore Deravin, a commercial traveller and a native of St Bartholomew, in the French West Indies, arrived in Victoria in 1852 following the goldrush. Like many others, he failed as a miner, but he bought a property on the Sheepwash Creek and planted fruit trees and vegetables to supply the miners. He planted his first vines in 1866. He extended his vineyards several times over the next two decades, with the wine-grape varieties he could find in the colony: hermitage (France), chasselas (Switzerland), riesling (Germany), pedro ximenes (Spain) and madeira (Portugal). These various origins may indicate that he was experimenting and had no preference for French sorts. He then renamed his property “Chateau Dore” in 1884.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ *Bendigo Advertiser*, 3 May 1856, 2.

⁶⁵ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 102.

⁶⁶ Stuer, *The French in Australia*, 96.

⁶⁷ F. de Castella, “Early Victorian Winegrowing,” 160.

⁶⁸ *Bendigo Advertiser*, 21 August 1861, 2; 14 March 1863, 2.

⁶⁹ *Bendigo Advertiser*, 14 March 1859, 3.

⁷⁰ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*. 106.

Deravin's connection with Loridan was confirmed later during the outbreak of phylloxera in the Bendigo district in the mid-1890s.⁷¹ But there is no information on his business after that. Like many winegrowers of Victoria, Deravin may have lost his vineyard during the invasion of the insect and turn to other activities.

Finally, the fourth Frenchman to have settled around Bendigo was Félix L'Huillier. According to local journalist Ebenezer Ward, L'Huillier came from Moselle and Burgundy, two north-eastern regions of France known for their wine production, and started to cultivate grapevines at Sheepwash in 1857. He was confident in the eventual success of winegrowing in this district due to the nature of the soil and climate. However, he was opposed to the protectionist policy of the Victorian Government in the 1860s preventing further trade with the neighbouring colonies. The limits of the local market remained an obstacle for most early winegrowers in Victoria. When he was asked why no more French vigneron emigrated to this colony, L'Huillier replied: "They did not know enough of the country; they did not, and perhaps would not, believe what it was, if they did, more would come out, but it would be very difficult to convince them. Many had written home to their friends in vain."⁷² This problem of knowledge about the opportunities in Australia was obviously worsened by the distance between these colonies and Europe, but L'Huillier's account confirm that some attempts were realised to form a chain migration and a French vigneron's network in Australia, not only by British winegrowers, but also by exiled French vigneron themselves. There is no written evidence of his connections with the other French vigneron of the locality, but the proximity of his vineyard leaves no doubt about his having some sorts of relations with them. However, the fact that these four Frenchmen came from different regions indicates that they did not emigrate following a chain migration. It is likely that they operate only on a small-scale business as they never reached a wide colonial trade. There is also no evidence of unions between their families such as occurred among the French at Great Western in western Victoria.

Great Western

Viticulture was developed in the district of Great Western from the late 1850s on, notably by three families from France, who established one of the few (and small) French networks in colonial Australia. The pioneer of the locality was Louis Metzger, a vigneron from Alsace,

⁷¹ *Bendigo Advertiser*, 10 February 1897, 3.

⁷² Ward, *Vineyards of Victoria*, 55.

north-east France, who bought some lands at Congongella Creek in 1858 and established the “Bellevue Vineyard” there the next year. Like many instigators, Metzger faced difficulties which hampered the development of his wine production: preparation of the land, fencing in, ploughing, planting. He had also to deal with ravages caused by native birds as well as local children who regularly robbed his grapes.⁷³ Despite such setbacks, Metzger did not give up – quite the contrary. As he obtained some success in producing a good palatable wine, he constantly added vines and eventually passed down his property to his son. In the early 1890s, Bellevue was extended to 200 acres, including twenty-eight under vines and fifteen under fruit trees. As a complement to the vineyard, a large cellar had been built, as well as a storeroom of hardwood with double walls to maintain a low and even temperature for the aging process.⁷⁴ Metzger cultivated several different grape varieties, notably the sylvaner, imported from his native country of Alsace. François de Castella stated that he had never seen this type of grape anywhere else before in Victoria,⁷⁵ which would indicate that Metzger was the first to introduce it in the colony.

During the colonial era – and up to the recent present – the wine industry was dominated largely by men, and the role of women tended to be neglected. In fact, females were in general considered unable to manage businesses on their own and were not allowed to join agricultural organisations and schools.⁷⁶ However, it is now acknowledged that some women participated in developing winegrowing in colonial Australia, either as vinedressers in family businesses or as managers.⁷⁷ In his article entitled “Frenchmen played a part in pioneering Australian wines,” Australian journalist John Ludbrook acknowledges that French women also participated in this history.⁷⁸ The Frenchmen who started winegrowing activities were often recognised as the main actors, but their wives, sisters or daughters were also, to some extent, involved. Anne-Marie Blampied directly participated in developing winegrowing in the district of Great Western with his younger brother Emile. From the French region of Lorraine, the Blampieds had heard about the fabulous story of the goldrush in Australia.⁷⁹ They secretly left France in 1852 and reached Melbourne the next year on an English ship. From there they headed to Beechworth, where they

⁷³ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 119.

⁷⁴ *The Stawell Times and Wimmera Advertiser*, 4 October 1889, “The Viticultural Industry;” 15 April 1891, “The Coming Industry.”

⁷⁵ *Journal of the Board of Viticulture for Victoria*, 10 March 1892, 78.

⁷⁶ Davis, “From European Roots”.

⁷⁷ See McIntyre, “Mary Penfold”.

⁷⁸ Ludbrook, “Frenchmen Played a Part,” 30.

⁷⁹ Dunstan mentions “Bourthecourt” in the département of “Marthe,” but this department does not exist. It might be a misspelling in Dunstan’s source. It is more likely referring to Burthecourt-aux-Chênes in the département of Meurthe-et-Moselle, which is in Lorraine, north-east France. See Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 119.

met other French miners. Anne-Marie Blampied married Jean-Pierre Trouette, a French migrant who had already travelled through South America, where he lived for three years.⁸⁰ A partnership was founded between the Trouettes and Blampieds to supply goldminers. Then they moved to Great Western, a small town located between two goldmining centres, Ararat and Stawell. As gold became scarcer and scarcer, they realised the necessity of turning to another activity.

Being acquainted with winegrowing in his native country of Gers, southwestern France, Jean-Pierre Trouette quickly noticed the suitability of the soil and climate at Great Western. He was able to provide his wife and brother-in-law all the knowledge they needed to start such an enterprise. Together, they planted half an acre of vines in 1863 with cuttings procured from Geelong. They selected and bought a property from another Frenchman, Mr. Durand, and called it "St. Peter's."⁸¹ Four years later, they were growing 50,000 vines and 2,000 fruit trees. Emile Blampied strengthened this small French community by marrying, in 1873, Louise Metzger, daughter of Louis Metzger, whose family was established near Stawell.⁸² In 1877, the Trouettes and Blampieds won first prize for the best collection of red and white wines at the National Show held at Stawell.⁸³ They were quickly showered with acknowledgment, and their wine became known as one of the best in the colony.

Visiting St. Peter's in the early 1880s, Hubert de Castella praised the organisation of the Trouettes-Blampieds' vineyard as well as their cellars in his book *Notes d'un Vigneron Australien*.⁸⁴ The vines grew mostly on a hill, on a poor soil, but others were planted in the plain with good ground. Jean-Pierre Trouette explained to de Castella that even though the vines on the flat were much more productive (producing seventy hectolitres per hectare, whereas the vines on the hill produced only twenty-eight hectolitres per hectare) he intended to plant more vines on the slope. The reason was that his clientele highly preferred the wine grown from this part of the estate.⁸⁵ The wine produced from the hill was thus more expensive and reserved for wealthy customers. De Castella also enjoyed a supper with fifty guests at St. Peter's and noticed the multicultural influence of the meal: "To the English profusion of meat was added the good French cooking of vegetables," while "the best wine of the *vignoble* was abundantly

⁸⁰ Castella, *Notes d'un vigneron*. 41.

⁸¹ *Ararat Advertiser*, 2 July 1867, 3. Castella, "Early Victorian Winegrowing."

⁸² *The Ararat Advertiser*, 16 July 1914, 3. Great Western & Trouette Family, from M. F. Trouette's Scrapbook, "A", 1-2, typescript, SLV.

⁸³ *The Ballarat Star*, 18 October 1877, 3.

⁸⁴ Castella, *Notes d'un vigneron*. 40-49.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 43-44.

supplied.”⁸⁶ Jean-Pierre and Anne-Marie Trouette had two children, Nicholas and Marie, both involved in the family business. Nicholas undertook a trip to France to study winemaking and was expected to take over the vineyard after his father.

Unfortunately, the Trouette family faced several tragedies in the late nineteenth century. Jean-Pierre died in 1885, aged fifty-two, from lung disease. Even more dramatic was the death of his son Nicholas the next year. He was only twenty-six when he and John Coby, his co-worker, suffocated while trying to clean out a wine vat. His sister Marie, who was also involved in the family business, attempted to save them, but in vain.⁸⁷ Then, a succession of bad seasons forced Anne-Marie and Marie to sell the property to another family who had no interest in winegrowing. The Blampieds, who owned one-third of St. Peter’s, decided to move to Nhill, north-west Victoria. Thus ended the French adventure of Great Western. Yet, the Metzgers, Trouettes and Blampieds had been quickly joined by other colonists, in particular the Best brothers who planted some vines at Great Western in the mid-1860s.⁸⁸

Other French winegrowers were isolated in the goldfields. Between Great Western and Bendigo, the district of Dunolly became famous for its shiraz wine. Francis (François) Mellon was one of its pioneers. Born in southern France, he planted an eclectic collection of grape varieties: hermitage, pousart, esparto (mataro), pineau, muscats, riesling, chasselas and verdeilho. Unlike most of the wine instigators in Australia, he favoured the production of blended wine, mixing different varieties.⁸⁹ This could be the result of his importing southern French traditional winemaking practices of blending. There is little information about his wine production after the 1860s. In the 1880s, he travelled to France and brought back different plants to Australia in order to develop perfumery.⁹⁰ From that period on, local newspapers referred only to Mellon’s fruit production and perfume factory. Yet, he won a gold medal at the Bordeaux International Wine Exhibition in 1882 and joined the Victorian Board of Viticulture

⁸⁶ Castella, *John Bull's Vineyard*, 77.

⁸⁷ *The Age* (Melbourne), 3 March 1886, 5. *The Australasian* (Melbourne), 6 March 1886, 31. The newspapers reported slightly different versions of the event but, it appears that Nicholas Trouette and John Coby died trying to save their co-worker, Thompson, only seventeen years old, who was cleaning the vat. Marie Trouette also attempted to save them with other workmen but unsuccessfully.

⁸⁸ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 121.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁹⁰ Lettre de François Mellon au consul de Melbourne, 30 novembre 1886 et 10 janvier 1887, 428PO/1/11 : Correspondance générale, 1892, CADN.

when it was created in 1888 alongside Émile Blampied and other important winegrowers of the colony.⁹¹

Near Ballarat, central Victoria, a hundred kilometres west of Melbourne, Charles Fleischauer, a former army officer, planted a four-acre vineyard at Dead Horse Gully around 1858. He experimented with numerous varieties: chasselas, sweetwater, godis, pineau blanc, gros vert, grand rosé, clostre, hermitage, black hamburg, black prince, esparto (mataro) and white and black muscats.⁹² But Fleischauer favoured clostre and hermitage (shiraz) for winemaking. A nursery was also established to supply local viticulturists. The local newspaper, the *Ballarat Star*, praised the picturesque building of his property as well as his ability to convert “an apparently barren locality into a flourishing garden.”⁹³ While Fleischauer managed to provide a resort for the people of Ballarat, his wine met with little success as the district’s inhabitants seemed very little inclined to drink it. Ward visited his vineyard in 1864 and found the wine not palatable enough in comparison with South Australian wines.⁹⁴ The next year, the thirty-four-acre property of freehold land, including eleven acres under vines and fourteen acres planted with fruit trees, was eventually sold to the Ballarat United Vineyard Company.⁹⁵

Unlike at Bendigo or Great Western, winegrowing did not flourish at Dunolly or Ballarat after Mellon’s and Fleischauer’s trials. In the end, French winegrowers in Victoria met with difficulties maintaining a profitable output on their properties. A lack of capital to improve their techniques of production and a lack of demand were the chief causes of their failures. The colonial taste was largely in favour of spirits like rum and brandy, as well as beer and fortified wine. The French who settled in Victoria were not acquainted with this type of production and often abandoned alcohol-making. This was also true in northern Victoria.

Rutherglen

Bordeaux migrant Camille Réau arrived in Victoria in 1854. Attracted by the goldrush, he came to Beechworth. He then became owner of the Empire Hotel, Wahgunyah, near Rutherglen,

⁹¹ *Bordeaux International Wine Exhibition 1882. Report of the Commissioners for the Colony of Victoria*, (Melbourne: John Ferries, Government Printer, 1883), 16-17. Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 165.

⁹² “godis” refers to gouais and “clostre” may be an alternative name for black cluster which could be pinot noir or abouriou, both from Burgundy.

⁹³ *The Ballarat Star*, 1 May 1861, 2.

⁹⁴ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 64.

⁹⁵ *The Ballarat Star*, 5 January 1865, 2.

central north Victoria. This is where he established his first vineyard “The Tuileries” in 1866.⁹⁶ He planted it mainly with shiraz, cabernet sauvignon and riesling. By 1884, thirty-six acres of vines were secured. He obtained some prizes, notably at the Bordeaux International Exhibition in 1882 for a white wine. Réau endeavoured to make some improvements at the Tuileries in the 1880s with a new still, an extensive system of irrigation and a modern cellar to replace the former one that had been destroyed in a fire. The new one was all in iron with a lot of space for manufacturing and storage. But, at the same time, he was attached to old practices, especially regarding crushing grapes by foot. He did not trust crushing by machinery as, in his opinion, it would crush stones as well and give a bitter taste.⁹⁷

Despite some successes in the early 1880s, Réau decided to dispose of his vineyard and establish a second one, still near Wahgunyah, which he called “Médoc.” The reason for this choice is not clear, but Réau was known to be impatient. Eventually, he was forced to sell his Médoc property too and settled at Barnawartha, where he planted a third vineyard, called “Bordeaux.” He remained there for about twenty years, until his death in 1912. His vine-growing and winemaking capacities were recognised in the Rutherglen district. He was also involved in the development of the local winegrowing community as the President of the Rutherglen Vine-Growers’ Association. According to the local newspaper, *The Corowa Free Press*, he proved a very worthy citizen and was respected by everyone.⁹⁸ He was also connected to another Frenchman in the district, Léon Leroy, a cooper who provided him with casks and vats. Réau finally abandoned foot-crushing for a Robertson wine press in 1887.⁹⁹ Leroy was established at Rutherglen but was declared insolvent in 1879. His son Victor was more successful and became a cooper by trade in the same area, furnishing local vigneronns like James Scott at St Leonards with the latest crusher made by Mabile et Cie.¹⁰⁰ French equipment spread extensively in the Rutherglen district thanks to Leroy’s trade business.

⁹⁶ The name “Tuileries” referred to the royal palace in Paris which was destroyed during the Commune in 1871.

⁹⁷ *The Corowa Free Press*, 9 June 1876, 3; 7 March 1884, 3; 20 March 1885, 3; 1 November 1912, 2.

⁹⁸ *The Corowa Free Press*, 1 November 1912, 2.

⁹⁹ Lettre de Alexandre Jules Claudin au consul de Melbourne, 29 août 1887, 428PO/1/11 : Correspondance générale, 1892, CADN.

¹⁰⁰ Lloyd, *Rutherglen*, 150.

Goulburn Valley

South of Rutherglen, in the Goulburn Valley, two Frenchmen successively invigorated viticulture and winemaking at Tahbilk. Ludovic Marie, another gold-digger who switched to winegrowing, appeared to be a colourful character, adventurous and with a big personality. Born in Burgundy,¹⁰¹ he left France in the early 1850s – possibly due to his political opposition to Napoléon III – and reached Victoria with the intention of starting a business in Melbourne. He then journeyed to the goldfields and opened a hotel and a store at Whroo, in the Goulburn Valley, central Victoria, 150 kilometres north of Melbourne. He eventually took a position as manager at the neighbouring “Tabilk run”, bought by Hugh Glass in 1859. He experimented with vines for table grapes and wine grapes there.¹⁰² In 1860, Marie created the Goulburn Vineyard Proprietary Company (GVPC) alongside R. H. Horne, an English businessman whom he met at Whroo.¹⁰³ Horne secured other backers, including the brothers John and Thomas Bear, and the GVPC finally acquired the Tabilk run with Marie as manager. The latter undertook to clear the land and prepare the soil to grow a vineyard. After a year, sixty-five acres of vines were planted. The second year, the holding reached 200 acres. Two dozen men were employed for this purpose, mostly Frenchmen and Italians.¹⁰⁴

The judges of *The Argus* “gold cup” competition expressed some concerns. They denounced inexperience and haste in the organisation of the vineyard, especially regarding the mixing of grapes. But, as Dunstan points out, Marie’s character may have affected the judges’ resentment.¹⁰⁵ Marie was known to have a tenacious character and became embroiled in a dispute with other winegrowers from the Swiss community. In 1860, he had made harsh public comments about the publications of two Swiss vigneron on viticulture.¹⁰⁶ Their countryman, Charles Tetaz of Prince Albert Vineyard, vehemently reacted in a letter stating that “the manager [of Tahbilk] is a Frenchman and he’ll probably make the whole company go bust because he’s better at shooting off his mouth than doing a proper job of work.”¹⁰⁷ Franco-Swiss rivalries in the sector may have worsened the situation. But Marie was indeed a little unstable

¹⁰¹ However, Dunstan’s research has established that his death certificate indicates Bordeaux as his birthplace.

¹⁰² Enid Moodie Heddle and Frank Doherty, *Chateau Tahbilk: Story of a Vineyard 1860-1985* (Melbourne: Lothian Publishing Company Pty Ltd, 1985), 14-15.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 27-30.

¹⁰⁵ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 45.

¹⁰⁶ Marie published his comments in 1860: Ludovic Marie, *Notes and comments on the two prize essays on the vine recently published by the Geelong and Western District Agricultural and Horticultural Society* (Melbourne: W. Fairfax and Co., Printers, 1860).

¹⁰⁷ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 45.

and left the GVPC as early as his second year at Tahbilk. He did not give up viticulture though, as he joined a rival company in the area, the Goulburn Valley Vineyard Company (GVVC), certainly with some resentment.

Marie was also involved in colonial wine literature. He read William Macarthur's *Letters* and agreed with his opinion that acquiring experience in European vineyards would facilitate the success of colonial viticulture.¹⁰⁸ In 1865, Marie published a translation of Guyot's seminal work *Culture de la Vigne et Vinification*.¹⁰⁹ This was to influence several colonial winegrowers, including Alexander Kelly in South Australia. Marie was then active at Chateau Dookie, northern Victoria, established by businessman John Curtain in 1885. But Marie once again fell out with his associate and became embroiled in a legal conflict with Curtain in 1887.¹¹⁰

After a period of instability, John Pinney Bear in 1877 engaged a second French winemaker at Tahbilk: François Coueslant. He was a native of Brittany in France who had served during the Franco-Prussian war and then settled in Victoria with his Scottish wife. It is not known where he gained his winegrowing experience, but he established a first vineyard at Wormangel soon after his arrival. When he was appointed at Tahbilk, his task was made difficult by the various practices applied in the vineyards by previous managers and current vinedressers. German, Swiss and French vigneronns had each brought their own methods of cultivating a vineyard.¹¹¹ But Coueslant proved more stable than Marie and made a significant impact on winegrowing at Tahbilk from 1877 to 1887.

Unlike Camille Réau, Coueslant was a progressive grower and always favoured modern practices in order to improve the production both in terms of quantity and quality. In his response to Joseph Knight of Kialba in 1882, in the Melbourne newspaper *Leader*, he explained: "I am always ready to try new experiments because it is the only way to make progress. So I am always willing to help others to do the same."¹¹² One of his main concerns was to apply labour-saving methods and decrease the production cost. Coueslant was notorious in Victoria for his decision to increase the space between two rows of vines. He started by experimenting with spacing on a limited part of the vineyard at Tahbilk. From the original four-foot-by-four-foot plantation, he removed every second row of vines. Thus, the cost of working was reduced

¹⁰⁸ *The Argus*, 12 May 1860, 5.

¹⁰⁹ Guyot, *Culture of the vine*.

¹¹⁰ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 169-170.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 91.

¹¹² *Leader* (Melbourne), 29 April 1882, p. 6.

by half owing to the use of plough and horse labour. This strategy was particularly suited to the economic situation of Australia where land was cheap and labour expensive – the exact contrary to that of Europe. He then combined wider row planting with the open system of pruning, increasing the yield by nearly half.¹¹³

This labour-saving orientation was also to be found in the cellar. Coueslant initially employed a French stem separator but later opted for a colonial equivalent. “The French machine is a good one, but it is intended to be worked by hand, and would not stand the strain of being driven at a high speed by the engine.”¹¹⁴ This evolution highlights the adaptation of the French wine model to Australian conditions: from a labour-driven model to a technology-driven model. Coueslant also innovated by creating self-acting shunting points for the tramway and a traveling grape-tub to carry the crushed grapes from the press to the vats. The winepresses were colonial-made on the French model, notably a Robinson and Sons’ press made upon the model of Mabile et Cie.¹¹⁵ The reproduction of French equipment in the colony allowed the avoidance of costly imports and participated in the improvement of colonial wine technologies. Coueslant directed the building of the pagoda-like lookout tower, which became the iconic image of the winery (Figure 2).¹¹⁶ However, the main historians of Tahbilk, Enid Moodie Heddle and Frank Doherty, have not been able to ascertain whether he was responsible for the new name “Château Tahbilk” adopted from 1879 and which clearly suggests Bordeaux’s influence.¹¹⁷ Unfortunately, the Bear family papers do not mention the origin of this renaming, but it is very likely that Coueslant was indeed responsible, as he was hired only two years before it occurred.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ *The Australasian*, 27 March 1886, 11.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 91-92.

¹¹⁷ Heddle and Doherty, *Chateau Tahbilk*, 32.

Figure 2: The tower of the Tahbilk Winery, Goulburn Valley, Victoria



Source: Photograph by Mikaël Pierre, January 2017.

Coueslant also took up the position of manager at Messrs. Chaffey Bros' vineyard at Mildura (north-western Victoria) and contributed to the diffusion of winegrowing knowledge by regularly writing in the local newspaper *The Mildura Cultivator*. He published two works that were highly praised: *Disease of the Vine, and How to Cure it* in 1876, and *Where, When and How to Plant the Vine* in 1883.¹¹⁸ He was particularly interested in irrigation and would have experimented with it at Tahbilk in the early 1880s if it had not been for Bear's refusal.¹¹⁹ This disagreement put an end to their partnership and prompted him to leave for America to

¹¹⁸ François Coueslant, *Disease of the Vine, or Oidium Tuckeri and its Remedy* (Melbourne: Samuel Mullen, 1876). François Coueslant, *Where, When, and How to Plant the Vine* (Mooroopna, Victoria: West Brothers, Printers and Publishers, Goulburn Valley Yeoman Office, 1883).

¹¹⁹ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 92.

participate in an irrigation project in Tucson, Arizona, from 1887 to 1891.¹²⁰ On his way back, he observed irrigation practices in Californian vineyards and realised that this method was not cost-effective in summer but could be applied in winter and early spring if the season was particularly dry. Back in Victoria, he started to experiment with irrigation at Mildura, where the climate is subject to regular drought.¹²¹ Unfortunately, he died in 1892 before his undertakings could give any results.

Ultimately, Coueslant constituted an exception among the French winegrowers present in Victoria at the time as he demonstrated high qualifications in viticulture and winemaking. Before him, most of Frenchmen and women involved in Victoria's wine industry had been pulled to Australia by the gold rush and only undertook winegrowing as a secondary activity. They were generally from the labouring class, semi-skilled vigneron who had gained experience in their home regions where viticulture was a traditional activity. They had just enough capital to buy land – which was cheap in Australia – and cultivate grapes and produce wine on a small scale. But due to a lack of investment to improve their production and facing market failures, they generally never reached a commercial level and sold their vineyards after a few years, or a generation at best. As a result, they did not found a sustainable winegrowing activity like their British counterparts. The latter sometimes hired them for their experience to manage the vineyards and cellars of established wine properties, but they generally sought more highly skilled experts to import advanced management, techniques and scientific knowledge and improve their wine production in both quantity and quality. The 1870s saw the arrival of French migrants – like Bourbaud in South Australia, Frère in New South Wales and Coueslant in Victoria – who better suited this profile and initiated the arrival in the late nineteenth century of a new “wave” of French migrants consisting of wine experts.

The age of wine experts: New arrivals during the phylloxera crisis (1880s–1900s)

During the last two decades of the century, a new generation of French vigneron and winemakers reached the Antipodes. Some took up positions in prestigious wineries in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. The main difference from the previous arrivals is that most of these newcomers intended prior to leaving France to secure positions in the wine

¹²⁰ Ibid., 155.

¹²¹ *The Mildura Cultivator*, 7 October 1891, 3.

industry. It was not a second choice as it was for many gold-diggers in Victoria. They were from the middle class, educated and highly skilled, thanks to their experience in French wineries. Furthermore, in Europe, the phylloxera crisis had discouraged many winegrowers from replanting new vines. As a result, some decided to try their luck in the New Worlds.

Attracting French wine experts in the context of globalisation: International migrations and domestic obstacles

In the late nineteenth century, Australia was by no means the first destination for French migrants. In 1891, French immigrants amounted to only 4,261.¹²² By that same date, about 250,000 French had already settled in Algeria.¹²³ On the southern shore of the Mediterranean Sea, this colony directly administered by France represented a perfect destination for French migrants. During the phylloxera crisis, the French Government assisted in the relocation of vigneronns to Algeria. Around 10,000 of them – mostly from southern France – accepted the offer.¹²⁴ And for those ready to undertake a longer trip, Argentina and California still looked more attractive than Australia. In 1890, 17,104 French settlers landed in Buenos Ayres.¹²⁵ In total, 90,000–100,000 French migrants settled in Argentina from the 1880s to the 1910s, while around 12,000 French were established in California by the end of the nineteenth century.¹²⁶ Furthermore, the Argentinean Government officially encouraged the migration of southern Europeans, including French, in order to develop the domestic wine industry. Propaganda pamphlets were distributed in France to attract vigneronns affected by the phylloxera crisis. Thus, this voluntarist policy, regarding the supports of winegrowing, attracted the immigration of French vigneronns and wine merchants who contributed greatly to developing viticulture in the district of Mendoza.¹²⁷

The situation was noticeably different in Australia. Although German migrants were eventually accepted both in New South Wales and South Australia, Southern Europeans were

¹²² Aldrich, *The French Presence*, 199.

¹²³ This number is an estimation. Dominique Maison, "La population de l'Algérie," *Population* 28, no. 6 (1973): 1082.

¹²⁴ Phillips, *French Wine*, 169-170.

¹²⁵ John W. Bear, *The Coming Industry of Victoria: Viticulture* (Melbourne: Melville, Mullen and Slade, 1894), 29.

¹²⁶ Foucrier, *Le rêve californien*, 23.

¹²⁷ Guyonne Blanchy, *Le Vignoble Argentin de Mendoza et l'Influence Française (XIXe-XXIe Siècle)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2014), 31-33.

not always welcome and were still considered too different from the British colonial base.¹²⁸ The French in particular had to suffer the bad image spread by the convict colony of New Caledonia.¹²⁹ Joseph Moreau, a vigneron who worked at Chateau Dookie in 1893, was looking for a new job when he was accused of being an escaped convict because he had lived in New Caledonia for a while and could not speak English. He asked the French consul for a note confirming his status as a free migrant.¹³⁰ In other sectors, migrants were disappointed by their working conditions or wages. The wool-buying community, however, constituted the most successful group, owing to the rapidly growing trade with France. Animosity against France and the French community in the British world generally rose during isolated events like the Fashoda crisis, the Boer War, the uncertainty linked to the status of the New Hebrides and the Dreyfus Affair.¹³¹ But these tensions did not last in the long run.

French people were generally warmly welcomed in the wine industry. Moreover, colonial Australian officials and politicians started to acknowledge the necessity of a stronger involvement in the wine industry in the last quarter of the century.¹³² The New South Wales Government entrusted Henry Bonnard with the task of promoting the opportunities offered by the colony in the wine business. He thus used his time in France, as representative of the colony's winegrowers for the Bordeaux International Exhibition of 1882, to seek potential emigrants:

I have received and interviewed many gentlemen of means and special knowledge with respect to viticulture, and I have also corresponded with many others at a distance, and numbers of these have taken in serious consideration whether they should not at a near future time elect to emigrate to Australia with the young members of their families and their capital, to endeavour regaining at the antipodes in their own special industry, that which has been taken from them in Europe, by the invasion of the *Phylloxera vastatrix*.

I have also been in contact with large numbers of wine-growers, vine-dressers, and coopers, and strongly endeavoured to induce them to come over to Australia, and I found many quite willing to come out; but in both classes of people, there is an energetic objection on the part of certain portion of the families to their leaving the country, for a land little better than unknown, and so far distant from Europe. There is also lingering hope that the *Phylloxera* may yet disappear, and that French vineyards will be restored to their old value, or so reconstituted as to make up for it.¹³³

¹²⁸ D. O'Connor, *No Need to be Afraid: Italian Settlers in South Australia Between 1839 and the Second World War* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1996), 44-45.

¹²⁹ See Bergantz, "French Connection," 55-90.

¹³⁰ Joseph Moreau to the French consul of Melbourne, 26 March 1893, 29 May 1894, 428PO/1/12, Correspondance avec les autorités locales (1854-1893), Correspondance générale (1893), CADN.

¹³¹ Bergantz, "French Connection," 107-110, 116-119.

¹³² About the governmental involvement in Victoria, see Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 37-38, 158-160, 164-174. In New South Wales, see McIntyre, "Adam Smith and Faith," 201-210. It will be further discussed in the next chapter.

¹³³ Bonnard, *Report of the Executive*, 98.

As in New South Wales, the phylloxera crisis first appeared as an opportunity in Victoria to engage French winegrowers hit by this plague and offer them a new chance in the Antipodes. Victoria seemed more successful than New South Wales in this objective and remained the first destination for French vigneron in Australia. This was made easier thanks to the presence of the French consulate general in Melbourne, as the correspondence tends to indicate.¹³⁴ The fact that the area under vines in the 1880s–1890s rose much quicker in Victoria than in New South Wales also contributed to the attractiveness of the former to French viticulturists.¹³⁵ In addition, the Board of Agriculture for Victoria agreed in 1888 on the question of introducing southern European skilled vigneron into the colony.¹³⁶ The role of private initiatives from influential colonists like John W. Bear, Hans Irvine and Louis Lawrence Smith in cooperation with the Government was essential. Bear, owner of Chateau Tahbilk in the Goulburn Valley, published a book in 1894 promoting the wine industry in Victoria and listing the obstacles preventing its development. One of those difficulties was the lack of skilled labour. Thus, he believed that European winemakers should be hired to teach local growers. “I would encourage,” he stated,

the immigration of a limited number of practical vinegrowers from the south of Europe, and also introduce a few practical cellarmen from Lisbon, Cadiz, and Bordeaux, who can teach us how to make real ‘types’ of wine, having a special character, which can only be imparted to the wine at certain intervals or periods, either during its fermentation, or in the manner of its after-treatment.¹³⁷

He noticed however that French winegrowers were emigrating to Algeria and South America “where they have established new vineyards almost as valuable and extensive as those destroyed in their own country.”¹³⁸ He was concerned by the competition represented by the growing vineyards of California, Chile and Argentina:

In these countries the progress of the industry has during the last 20 years been infinitely greater than in our own colonies. To a certain extent this may, no doubt, be accounted for by the fact that they are inhabited by people of the Latin races, and that the increase in their population is chiefly derived from the viticultural races of Southern Europe, whose national beverage is wine, who have carried with them, and find congenial occupation in the natural conditions by which they are surrounded.¹³⁹

¹³⁴ See series 428PO/1, Correspondance avec les autorités locales (1854-1893), CADN.

¹³⁵ Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia, Containing Authoritative Statistics for the Period 1901-08, and Corrected Statistics for the Period 1788 to 1900*, vol. 2 (1909). From a little less than 5,000 acres in 1880 in both colonies, the area under vines in New South Wales reached 8,000 acres in 1890, but 20,000 acres in Victoria. This difference was even stronger in 1900 when the vineyards of Victoria amounted to 30,000 acres while those of New South Wales did not increase.

¹³⁶ *Journal of the Board of Agriculture for Victoria*, 31 August 1888.

¹³⁷ Bear, *The Coming Industry*, 19.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

Yet, the main reason for this progress would have been

the intelligence of the proprietors of some of the more important vineyards around Santiago, Mendoza, and Buenos Ayres, who, refusing to rely on local or self-taught experience, have adopted the most modern methods of vine culture, and have introduced from France and other parts of Europe men skilled in the art of wine-making and maturing, together with the most modern appliances and utensils in use in those countries. The result of this leavening is apparent in the trade that of late years has been opened up between South America and France which promises to increase in importance.¹⁴⁰

To Bear, the fact that French winemakers and cellarman had been engaged at high salaries in the most important vineyards of South America was another reason for colonial Australians to do the same. Not only to improve local wine quality, but also to allow Australian wineries to compete efficiently against South American and Californian producers. In this sense, the globalisation of the late nineteenth century shaped an international labour market for qualified viticulturists and winemakers.

In France, various opinions emerged about the situation of French immigration in Australia. Some migrants reported back in their homelands their experiences in the antipodean country.¹⁴¹ In response, a few vigneron contacted the French consul of Melbourne in the 1890s requesting details about the possibilities offered by these distant colonies for French winegrowers. One was Louis Blanchet, a vigneron of the Gard, south of France.¹⁴² Another was Joseph Isoard, from Vaucluse, who was looking for a position of vineyard manager offering a fair wage, as he had heard that French vigneron were highly regarded in Australia.¹⁴³ In 1891, a certain Victor Crémieu, graduate of the *École nationale d'agriculture* of Montpellier, was looking for a position as cellar manager or director of laboratory in a large winery.¹⁴⁴ It is not known, however, what became of these migrating candidates or whether they did eventually arrive in Australia.

In the early twentieth century, Paul Maistre, vice-consul in Melbourne, warned the French Minister of Foreign Affairs about disillusioned French vinedressers established in this colony:

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 29-30.

¹⁴¹ Stuer, *The French in Australia*, 97.

¹⁴² Lettre de Louis Blanchet au consul de Melbourne, 26 septembre 1890, 428PO/1/9: Correspondance générale (1890), CADN. Blanchet had already spent two years in Chile as a winegrower but was forced to leave by the revolution that breakout in this country.

¹⁴³ Lettre de Josph Isoard au consul de Melbourne, 19 juillet 1893, 428PO/1/12: Correspondance générale (1893), CADN.

¹⁴⁴ Lettre de Victor Crémieu au consul de Melbourne, 1er novembre 1891, 428PO/1/10: Correspondance générale (1891), CADN.

These workers, misled by erroneous information, come here in hopes of making their fortune or, at least, rapidly creating an independent situation, whereas in reality a different fate awaits them. Completely ignorant of the language, the habits, and the customs of the population, and consequently obliged to accept any offers, in general, they are intentionally exploited until the day when their Australian employers, having amply profited from their special knowledge and their experienced labour, dismiss them.¹⁴⁵

This was certainly an overstatement. Some partnerships were indeed characterised by conflict. A vigneron named Joseph Moreau reported a bad experience, stating, “this country is unbearable; I came to the most important vineyard (at Morris’) to find a job and he had the audacity to offer me a five shilling-pay a week, it is unbelievable.”¹⁴⁶ The relation between Hans Irvine and champagne-maker Charles Pierlot was also, at times, conflictual (see further). However, these were isolated cases. No evidence supports the existence of an intentional and regular exploitation. It is worth mentioning that Maistre partly based his warning on the fact that Australian productions would pose a threat to France:

Au double point humanitaire et national nous avons donc, je ne saurais trop le répéter, un très sérieux intérêt à prévenir une immigration même restreinte, de nos viticulteurs dans cette Australie qui se réjouissait si fort, il y a une quinzaine d’années, de la destruction de nos vignobles par le phylloxéra et dont les vins viennent déjà en concurrence directe avec les nôtres.

From a humanitarian and national point of view, I insist on thinking we should prevent the emigration, even limited, of our winegrowers to this Australia which was delighted, fifteen years ago, with the devastation of our vineyards by the phylloxera, and whose wines already compete directly with ours.¹⁴⁷

Thus, preventing such migration would provide a means of limiting the transfers of viticultural and winemaking know-how. This reaction intervened in a post-phylloxera context of overproduction of wine in the 1900s in France, and increasing international competition on the wine markets. Protectionist ideas were thus rising with the aim in mind of protecting national agricultures and industries. However, the colony of Victoria managed to send for a number of French winegrowers prior to this period.

Victoria: Champagne makers and cellarmen

The colony of Victoria experienced a booming wine production in the 1880s, aided by a protectionist tariff. Wine producers and exporters of the colony were all the more motivated to

¹⁴⁵ Cited and translated in Aldrich, *The French Presence*, 200.

¹⁴⁶ Lettre de Joseph Moreau au consul de Melbourne, 10 août 1893, 428PO/1/12: Correspondance générale (1893), CADN.

¹⁴⁷ Lettre de Paul Maistre, vice-consul de Melbourne, au Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, 11 décembre 1905, Ministère du Commerce, Missions commerciales, XIXe siècle, F/12/7122: Melbourne, ANF.

enhance their production, as the exhibition mania offered opportunities to make a mark internationally.¹⁴⁸ This invigorated the demand for skilled managers able to provide high levels of know-how in the sector, notably in the production of champagne, increasingly in demand in Europe.

After Marie and Coueslant, the Bear family maintained their tradition of securing French winegrowers' services. As soon as he arrived in the colony in 1890, Henri Fortin, a migrant from Loire-Atlantique, north-west France, took up his new position at Tahbilk. It is very likely that the Bears were looking for a new expert capable of replacing Coueslant, who had left a few years earlier. However, Fortin was to stay there for only about two years prior to being engaged at T. Darveniza's nearby Excelsior Vineyard, Mooroopna.¹⁴⁹ Fortin took an active role there, improving wine quality as well as promoting a new organisation of the sector. In one of his letters to the French consul of Melbourne, he asked for a French cooper available for making one hundred casks a week.¹⁵⁰ Cask-making remained a constant problem in the wine business, as the colony lacked skilled labour in this sector and native woods were unsuited to the production of wine casks. Thus, winegrowers had to rely on imported casks or expatriated coopers who used imported wood.

In 1897, Fortin established a new winery alongside Darveniza, the Goulburn Valley Wine and Distillery Company Ltd (GVWDC), with a capital of £10,000 and three acres of land close to Excelsior, increasing their fermentation, distillation and cellarage capacities.¹⁵¹ In the *Leader*, Fortin reported his recommendations for the wine industry of Victoria and determined what were, in his opinion, the three main improvements to be applied: controlling the fermentation; focusing on two kind of wines (one red, one white) in each region; and selecting grape varieties according to the soil and climate. He also recommended the establishment of "fermenting houses, with all latest appliances and skill required" and the importation of French refrigerating plants to keep the must at a temperature below eighty degrees Fahrenheit during the fermentation:

The best result will be obtained, I think, by placing districts' wines on the markets, which blend could be easily repeated year after year, as it would not be very difficult for the wineries

¹⁴⁸ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 147-149.

¹⁴⁹ Lettre de Henri Fortin au consul de Melbourne, 7 et 11 juillet 1890, 16 mars 1893, 428PO/1/12: correspondance générale (1893), CADN.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 16 mars 1893.

¹⁵¹ *The Argus*, 8 July 1897, 6.

to simply instruct growers after a few years as to which wines were the most appreciated by local or foreign consumers, and therefore make it their interest to grow accordingly.¹⁵²

It is not known where in France he gained his experience, but his view on the way to improve the wine business evokes the Bordeaux model of blended wines and even quality controlled by *négociants-éleveurs*. As a matter of fact, the transfers of viti-vinicultural skills and technologies concerned mostly renowned wine regions as Bordeaux, Burgundy, and increasingly Champagne, which sparkling wines became the symbol of refinement and celebration in high societies of Europe and North America. This trend naturally reached Australia from the 1870s-1880s on.

Despite some attempts prior to the 1880s, local sparkling wine production had never reached a commercial level. During a visit to France in 1871-1872, Irish entrepreneur J. T. Fallon, engaged Frère in the hope of developing different styles of wines at Albury, southern New South Wales.¹⁵³ One of his objectives was to produce colonial sparkling wines. Some accounts also indicate that the Blampieds and Trouettes at Great Western and Hubert de Castella in the Yarra Valley experimented with the production of this type of wine in the 1870s.¹⁵⁴ But they all met with little success in this particular business.

Victoria's medical practitioner Louis Lawrence Smith hired Auguste d'Argent, a French-born winemaker claiming over forty years of experience "in the first house of Champagne."¹⁵⁵ D'Argent arrived in Victoria in 1877 with the aim of developing the sparkling wine production as he would have done in America. His project was received with little enthusiasm. But Smith was one of the few to recognise the potential of this new industry. D'Argent was very confident and assured him he would be able to make a wine similar in taste and quality to those produced in the Champagne district of France.¹⁵⁶ When he was undertaking a tour in Europe in 1882, he visited the main Champagne houses and not only convinced local producers that Australia was able to make a good sparkling wine but also engaged two skilled workers who accompanied him to Victoria and selected the latest equipment to be transferred

¹⁵² *Leader*, 17 September 1898, 10.

¹⁵³ W. P. Driscoll, "Fallon, James Thomas (1823-1886)," ed. National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian national University), accessed 8 October 2019, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fallon-james-thomas-3496/text5365>.

¹⁵⁴ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 131-132, 138.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 133.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

to the colony.¹⁵⁷ He was also in favour of a liberal use of the name “champagne” as a generic indication of the wine style rather than a geographical indication of origin. Yet, Smith chose not to call his wine after the celebrated French district and preferred French-derived terms and hybrid names referring to wine styles like “Creme de Bouzy.”¹⁵⁸ D’Argent addressed his method to Smith in a letter written on 26 August 1881. He advised the use of “pinow, riesling and chasselas,” to be blended in equal proportions.¹⁵⁹ This may sound odd for champagne-making, as only chardonnay, pinot meunier and pinot noir were used for that purpose. Eventually, he enabled his employer Smith to achieve recognition at international exhibitions. Unfortunately, he died in 1884 at the age of fifty-seven.¹⁶⁰

D’Argent’s experience might have influenced Smith’s competitors in Victoria. Melbourne entrepreneur Hans Irvine acquired in 1888 Great Western’s vineyards, cellars and winery. Well-aware of the potential market for the sparkling wines both on the domestic market and on overseas markets, he hired two years later Charles Pierlot, a French champagne expert who was visiting Australia seeking a good position in an important winery. Born near Reims, Pierlot had gained experience at the famous Champagne companies of Pommery and Moët & Chandon. He left France for Victoria in 1886 and visited St Hubert’s Vineyard in the Yarra Valley upon his arrival. It is not known what pushed him to leave France, as phylloxera had not yet appeared in the champagne vineyard and the industry was growing. In any case, his situation in Victoria was quickly established as in 1895 he married Katherine Salinger, the daughter of a Great Western winegrower, and was naturalised two years later, confirming his permanent settlement in Australia.¹⁶¹

Pierlot was for over twenty years responsible for the sparkling wine production at Great Western on behalf of Hans Irvine. In the first year, 2,000 bottles of “champagne” were produced. The following years, Irvine and Pierlot added additional vine plantings with pineau meunier, pineau blanc (chardonnay) and pineau noir, the three traditional varieties in use for the making of champagne wine. Irvine and Pierlot called their new wine “Glory of Australia,” which was another name for pinot meunier.¹⁶² Pierlot continuously tried to improve his sparkling winemaking. He demonstrated high knowledge in chemistry and ordered a pamphlet

¹⁵⁷ *The Age*, 30 November 1882, 6; 2 May 1883, 6.

¹⁵⁸ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 133.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 133-134.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 135.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 139. Victoria, Australia, Index to Naturalization Certificates, 1851-1928 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015, <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/60711/>.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

from the *Service des levures* of the Institut Pasteur describing the use of pure yeasts selected for champagne-making.¹⁶³ He also ordered a French book, *Articles de cave, Appareils & Matériel pour la manutention des vins en cercles & mousseux*, written by J. Weinmann from the Institut Oenologique de Champagne, which influenced Irvine's importation of French equipment.¹⁶⁴ This attention to winemaking led Irvine to become the most famous sparkling winemaker in Victoria and arguably in the whole of Australia.

David Dunstan mentions, however, the existence of a conflictual relationship between Irvine and Pierlot, both being "strong-willed men with high standards."¹⁶⁵ Pierlot even left Great Western on two occasions. The first was in 1895, when he accepted a position at Messrs. Allwork and Norton's Wooroora vineyard at Riverton, South Australia. A reporter from the *Chronicle* (Adelaide) stated that Pierlot's champagne made at Wooroora was "the finest colonial sparkling wine we have had in South Australia."¹⁶⁶ French-born Léon Mazure, then winegrower at Auldana, perhaps expressing a national solidarity, praised Pierlot's skill and the improvement he brought to the South Australian sparkling wine industry. The second time, Pierlot left to manage Darveniza's cellar in Melbourne. His grievance against Irvine was certainly not serious, however, since he came back each time to resume his former position.¹⁶⁷

Irvine always made every effort to hire skilled European winemakers to manage Great Western. In 1892, Swiss-French J. T. Grellet arrived to take care of the vineyard while Pierlot remained in charge of the laboratory and cellars.¹⁶⁸ Then, French-born Louis Drouet, who claimed experience in a great champagne house, replaced Pierlot in 1895.¹⁶⁹ According to Stuer's research, three other Frenchmen were hired after Pierlot left the second time.¹⁷⁰ They certainly did not satisfy Irvine, as he rehired Pierlot each time. Irvine also employed Italian-born Romeo Bragato as well as young Leo Buring, who was of German descent and who later studied winegrowing in France. Pierlot's experience at Great Western and Wooroora also shows that mobility existed for European winegrowers between Victoria and South Australia.

¹⁶³ The pamphlet, entitled *L'emploi des levures pures sélectionnées en Champagne*, was addressed to Pierlot and was found in Hans Irvine, Papers and Business records, 1880-1947, MS 12738, 1564/1, SLV.

¹⁶⁴ Hans Irvine, Papers and Business records, 1880-1947, MS 12738, 1566/11, SLV.

¹⁶⁵ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 141.

¹⁶⁶ *Chronicle*, 4 April 1896, 41.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *The Ararat Advertiser*, 26 July 1892.

¹⁶⁹ Lettre de Louis Drouet au consul de Melbourne, 13 mai 1895, 428PO/1/11: Correspondence générale (1892), CADN.

¹⁷⁰ Stuer, *The French in Australia*, 122.

Davenport's French network in South Australia

In South Australia, the wine industry was thriving in the 1880s in comparison with Victoria and New South Wales. The reason for this was, first, that the colony of Adelaide had avoided the phylloxera plague and its costly effects for winegrowers and, second, that its population – constituted of a large middle class and an important German community – was generally much more accustomed to wine-drinking. The idea of recruiting European experts was persistent in the late nineteenth century to support the progress of this modest but rapidly growing industry, for supplying the domestic market (across all the colonies of Australia) and the international markets overseas. According to Samuel Davenport, it was one of the most efficient means of transferring knowledge and skills.¹⁷¹ Yet the problem remained the same: finding candidates.

English migrant Thomas Hardy started viticulture and winegrowing three years only after his arrival in the colony. His ambition in the wine industry never slowed down after that and, around 1876, he bought Tintara Vineyard, south-east of Adelaide, in what is today McLaren Vale, from Alexander Kelly. He then attempted to hire some skilled winemakers while he was visiting France in 1883. Near Perpignan, in Roussillon, he met Justin Durand – certainly under the guidance of Samuel Davenport, who had met him twenty years earlier. Durand was a wine merchant and vineyard proprietor, who told him that some local vigneron hit by phylloxera might be ready to emigrate to Australia. However, he admitted that generally they were very much against leaving their country.¹⁷² A few days later, he arrived at Cette (Sète) in Hérault, where he called on the British consul who, like Durand before him, informed Hardy that “there would be great difficulty in getting good men, as they earn five francs a day, and foremen in cellars much more than that, and they are very loth to leave their country.”¹⁷³

Yet, a few years earlier, Hardy had managed to employ Joseph Hippolyte Foureur, a native of the Marne in Champagne, to make Australian sparkling wine. He had gained winemaking experience at the famous house Moët & Chandon at Épernay for twelve years prior to taking over a position at Hardy's property, Bankside vineyard. Foureur only stayed for one season before becoming a foreman of aerated water manufactures at Glenelg and Melbourne,

¹⁷¹ *Australian Vigneron*, 1 July 1890, vol. 1, 39. Davenport compared it to the skilled silkworm rearers introduced in France at the time of Henri IV in the late sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries.

¹⁷² Hardy, *Notes on Vineyards*, 91.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 96. This last remark was later used by Danish-born public servant and author Jens Lyng, who emigrated to Victoria in 1891, in his work on the migrants in Australia published in 1927, see Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia*, 116.

which encouraged Hardy to seek a new cellar manager in France.¹⁷⁴ But Foureur did not stop winegrowing. He continued to experiment with sparkling winemaking during his spare time at his property of Brompton Park, acquired upon his arrival in South Australia. With this aim in mind, he built a cellar adjoining his dwelling, twenty-five feet deep, which could maintain a cool temperature of a maximum of fifteen degrees Celsius in summer. Foureur worked in different wineries during this time and gained several prizes at international and colonial exhibitions: an “honorable mention” at the 1882 Bordeaux Exhibition for a two-year-old champagne made from grapes grown at Angaston; a gold medal at the Melbourne Exhibition of 1886 and a silver medal at the Paris Exhibition of 1889 for a sparkling wine made at Château Tanunda in the Barossa Valley.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, Foureur expressed his belief in the eventual success of the South Australian sparkling wine industry and encouraged colonists to seize the opportunity:

Yes, I have great faith in South Australia as a wine-producing country, and am thoroughly convinced that the present is an opportune time to undertake the manufacture of champagne here. [...] Success would be sure to follow a conducted business. A good opening is before us, as I understand the price of champagne is being raised in Europe in consequence of the ravages of phylloxera. The supply of this beverage consequently will fall off, and we should now seize the golden opportunity of establishing the industry in South Australia. We have grapes that are suitable, and our climate is adapted for the production of first-class champagne. [...] To summarise my remarks, I say it would be suicidal for our wealthy men to let the opportunity slip of establishing a payable industry of a permanent character in South Australia that not only would benefit investors, but give employment to others and prove a source of wealth to the colony. We have the grapes and the skill; what is wanted is capital, and we should not miss our opportunity.¹⁷⁶

However, despite his enthusiasm and energy, it appears that Foureur had little impact in this colony. This was the case even though he was considered one of the best producers of this type of wine in Australia and in direct competition against Hans Irvine in Victoria. The fact remains that he was isolated in this branch of the industry in his own colony.¹⁷⁷ In the 1900s, no sparkling wine would win awards at local wine shows in South Australia, and Foureur was only mentioned as a cider producer.¹⁷⁸ He may have lacked support and capital to extend his business. Or he simply mismanaged his company due to an insufficient demand for this type of wine.

¹⁷⁴ *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), 29 December 1890, 6. *The Pleasant Creek News and Stawell Chronicle*, 22 December 1891. *Chronicle*, 30 May 1935, 60.

¹⁷⁵ *The Advertiser*, 29 December 1890, 6.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ *The Australasian*, 23 April 1892 (the article misspelt Foureur as “Fourrier”); see also *Chronicle*, 24 August 1892.

¹⁷⁸ *The Advertiser*, 22 October 1902; 27 August 1904; 5 September 1906.

In the mid-1880s, three other French vigneron came to this colony and established themselves near Adelaide at Davenport's Beaumont vineyard. Davenport had already secured the services of Bourboud in the late 1870s. But the death of the latter in 1883 pushed the former to seek replacement. Joseph Charles Gelly, from Hérault, in the south of France, a region then devastated by phylloxera, left his country and arrived in Adelaide in June 1884, accompanied by his mother, four sisters and one brother, all acquainted with vine-growing except the mother, who was a cook. His fellow countryman from Hérault Pierre Mazouan travelled on the same boat.¹⁷⁹ Both Gelly and Mazouan were hired at Beaumont as managers. Mazouan then married Joseph's sister, Marie "Andréa" Gelly.¹⁸⁰ Anny Stuer points out that it was one of the very few (and very small) chain migrations between France and Australia. In this case, two people travelling with their families, coming from the same region and settling in the same area in their host country.¹⁸¹ Later, Edmond Mazure, a vigneron from Burgundy, joined them. After a disappointing expedition in New Ireland, Mazure was waiting for a passage to France when he accepted a position at Beaumont on Gelly's advice.¹⁸² However, he stayed there for only eighteen months. Like Mazouan, he married one of Gelly's sister, Philomine Henriette, in 1885, strengthening the French winegrowers' community established in the area.¹⁸³ Gelly and Mazure shortly became two of the most influential wine experts in the late nineteenth-century South Australian wine industry. After Beaumont, Gelly was hired in 1892 at Château Tanunda in the Barossa Valley, an imposing winery created two years earlier by G. F. Cleland, William Jacob and Samuel and Margaret Davenport to centralise the region's wine production and supply Europe, then hit by phylloxera.

Gelly was involved in the improvement of the local wine sector through his membership in the South Australian Vinegrowers' Association. He gave a paper on the problem caused by phylloxera in Australia during a meeting held by the association in 1889.¹⁸⁴ His observations

¹⁷⁹ *The Express and Telegraph* (Adelaide), 14 June 1884, 2.

¹⁸⁰ Bouvet and Chelsea, "Early French Migration," 88.

¹⁸¹ Stuer, *The French in Australia*, 118.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 119. According to Stuer's work, Gelly and Mazure were friend before leaving France and would have come together to Australia. However, Merrily Hallsworth as well as Bouvet and Roberts indicate that Mazure came first in southern Pacific on Marquis de Ray's expedition to New Ireland in 1880. See Merrily Hallsworth, "Mazure, Léon Edmond (1860-1939)," ed. National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University), accessed 10 April 2018, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mazure-leon-edmond-13090/text23681>. And Bouvet and Chelsea, "Early French Migration," 88-89. A confusion might have occurred between Mazure and Mazouan.

¹⁸³ Ancestry.com. *Australia, Marriage Index, 1788-1950* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/1780/>.

¹⁸⁴ *Adelaide Observer*, 13 July 1889, 12.

on the matter were all the more important because he had directly experienced the effects of the plague in his home country of Hérault, one of the first viticultural districts in Europe to be hit – and totally devastated – by the tiny American insect. He also wrote several articles in the *Adelaide Observer* presenting the situation of the industry in South Australia and the way it could be improved. In his article published on 20 November 1886, he gives a sound idea of his view on the subject:

[...] first of all we must avoid our past mistakes, and not make claret with Grenache, and port with Shiraz and Carbinet, as is practised. What is required is to select the districts suitable to the making of the wine required. To make our clarets as palatable and as delicate as those of Bordeaux we must select the South and South-East. There we will make grand wines. We will not there have our grapes burnt, and instead of a slimy taste we will have fineness and delicacy.¹⁸⁵

Gelly was particularly concerned by local winegrowers' habits of producing all kinds of wine on their properties instead of focusing on a few specific types suited to the climate and soil – instead, that is, of adopting a terroir-based perspective on wine production. He finally expressed the necessity of organising an association of head cellarmen who could help one another by sharing their difficulties and experiences in local winemaking.¹⁸⁶ He was thus in accordance with an increasingly common opinion among colonial winegrowers of the time on the maturity of the Australian wine industry and the necessity of emancipation from European models, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Mazure went to Holmesdale, Charles Burney Young's vineyard at Kanmantoo, south-east of Adelaide.¹⁸⁷ He took over the position of another Frenchman, Bourbaud, who had been the manager until his death in 1883.¹⁸⁸ The property was planted with shiraz, mataro, grenache and cabernet and mostly produced dry red wines. He was successful in making a palatable wine as Harry Young (son of Charles) received the first prize at the Melbourne Exhibition of 1888.¹⁸⁹ Mazure then started a partnership with M. Lehuic to manage Auldana Vineyards at Magill, today a suburb east of Adelaide, while maintaining contact with Harry and Edward Burney Young.¹⁹⁰ In their advertisement, Mazure and Lehuic claimed that their "St Henri Claret" was "the nearest approach to French claret yet produced in South Australia,"¹⁹¹ though the climate

¹⁸⁵ *Adelaide Observer*, 20 November 1886, 11.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ Hallsworth, "Mazure, Léon Edmond".

¹⁸⁸ Hallsworth, *The Valiant Vignerons*, 65.

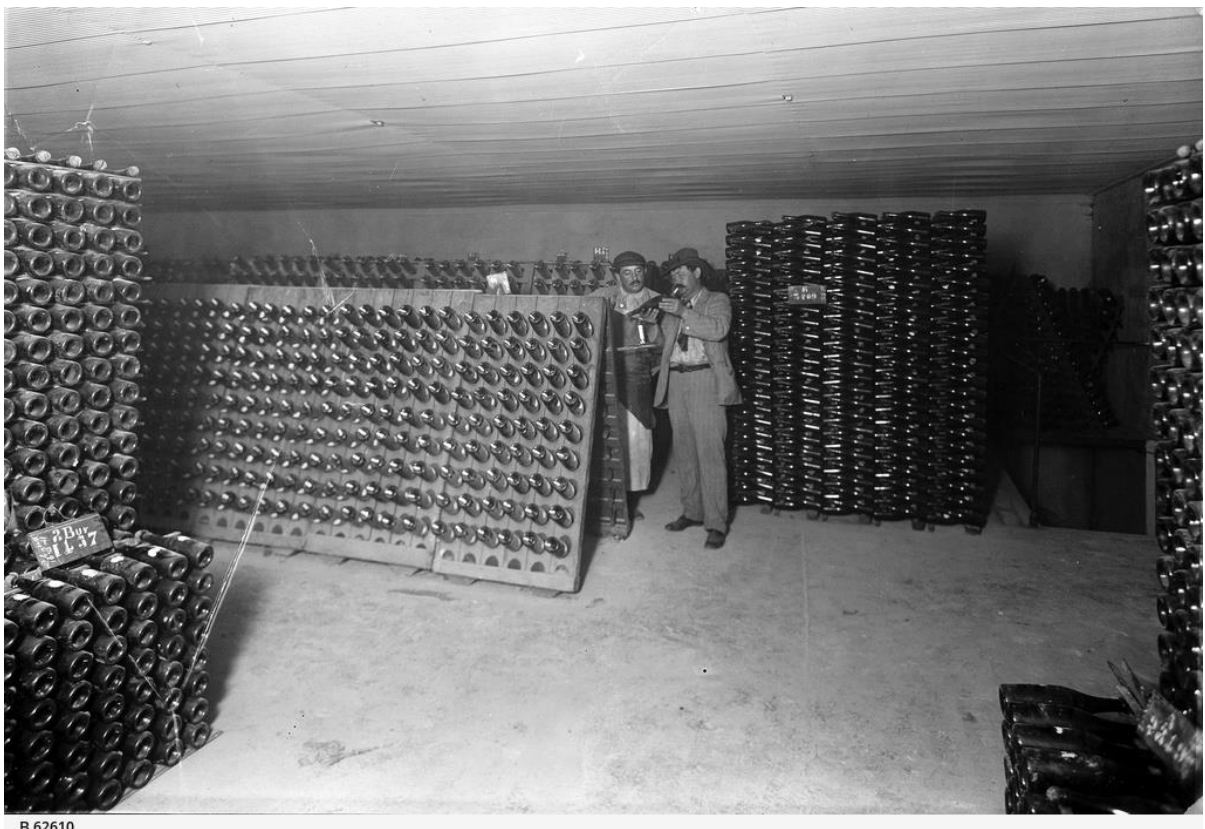
¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 66.

¹⁹¹ *South Australian Register*, 2 November 1889, 3.

there was much more similar to the north of Africa than Bordeaux. Mazure overcame this obstacle by practising early vintages, before the grapes contained too much sugar. The partnership with Lehuic ended shortly after, and the property was sold. But Mazure remained the manager of Auldana under the new proprietors until 1912.¹⁹² He was in favour of modernising the cellar and introduced a refrigeration unit to control the temperature of the must during fermentation. He also imported cultured yeasts for winemaking from France, notably from the Château Latour in Bordeaux. Other yeasts enabled him to perfect the technique of making sparkling red burgundy,¹⁹³ an original type of wine still produced in Australia.

Figure 3: Edward Bernier (left) and Edmond Mazure (right) in the champagne cellar at Auldana Vineyards, Magill, South Australia, c. 1912



B 62610

Source: Auldana Collection, SLSA, <https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+62610>

As Mazure's biograph Merrily Hallsworth points out, he had a great influence in the South Australian wine industry. After a visit to France in 1900, Mazure claimed that Australian winemakers were as skilled as their French counterparts but that the vineyards were better cultivated in France and that this was mostly due to the availability of cheaper labour. During

¹⁹² *The Express and Telegraph*, 32 December 1889, 1.

¹⁹³ Hallsworth, *The Valiant Vigneron*, 79-80.

his last two years at Auldana, he was joined by two other French-born winemakers, M. Duray and Edward (Édouard) Emile Bernier, a champagne expert formerly established at Great Western.¹⁹⁴ A photograph (Figure 4, Bernier in the centre) of Auldana Vineyards shows Bernier bottling champagne with modern equipment certainly imported by Mazure to improve sparkling winemaking. Mazure was also an indefatigable innovator and patented a number of his inventions: a corking machine (1894), improvements in winemaking (1897), a method for clarifying champagnes and other sparkling wines (1907) and a method for transporting grapes (1908).¹⁹⁵ He then decided to establish his own winery, La Pérouse Cellars,¹⁹⁶ to be more independent. Unfortunately, like many other Frenchmen, his company did not last over the long term.

The involvement of a handful of Frenchmen in the South Australian wine industry in the late nineteenth-century turned out to be instrumental in consolidating the reputation of French wine technicians in important companies. The Government-supported relocation of Bourbaud in the 1870s was followed by the engagement of Foureur, Gelly and Mazure at famous winegrowing properties such as Beaumont, Tanunda, Holmesdale and Auldana. In these well-established wineries, hiring highly skilled experts became a common strategy by which to secure the import of scientific and technological knowledge developed in Europe.

¹⁹⁴ Victoria, Australia, Rate Books, 1885-1963, Ancestry.com. *Victoria, Australia, Rate Books, 1855-1963* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: 2015, <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/60706/>.

¹⁹⁵ Hallsworth, *The Valiant Vigneron*, 244.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 85-86.

Figure 4: Photograph of men bottling champagne at Auldana Vineyards, c. 1912



B 62609

Source: Auldana Collection, SLSA, <https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+62609>

Conclusion

The story of the Frenchmen and women in the colonial Australian wine industry is partly a history of absence or missed opportunities. Despite local colonists' endeavours, only a few French actually settled in Australia to develop viticulture and winemaking. This research establishes the presence of about fifty of them scattered through the colonies throughout the nineteenth century, but their real number might have been higher, especially among the virtually anonymous small-scale vigneronns of Victoria. Yet, they ended up having some sort of impact in the sector, first in Victoria, where the impulsive immigration of gold seekers outweighed attempts of sponsored recruitment of French professionals. After failing to make their fortunes in the goldfields, these Frenchmen and women decided to turn their attention to viticulture and pioneered winegrowing. They did so in several districts that are still known today for their wine production: Great Western (Grampians), Goulburn Valley, Rutherglen and Bendigo. Like other pioneers, they faced local difficulties: securing good land; selecting the varieties and practices best suited to local natural conditions; and, most of all, finding an outlet, which was far from being secured in the 1850s–1870s. They generally obtained their knowledge of vine-growing as a traditional practice in their home regions in France and attempted to reproduce this agricultural model of small property in Australia. They often had limited capital to invest in their businesses and developed other types of productions to avoid high risk. They generally met with difficulty in reaching a commercial level of wine production. Some died prematurely; others turned to new activities after bankruptcy.

In the last two decades of the century, new arrivals were pushed out of France by the phylloxera crisis there and pulled toward Australia by a reinvigorated demand for highly skilled wine technicians during a period of economic boom in the 1880s. They participated in improving viticultural and winemaking practices, developing new types of wine (like Australian sparkling wines) and organising winegrowers' associations. As discussed in the next chapter, they also took up positions at agricultural institutions, becoming professors, lecturers or government viticultural experts. In the end, the French who joined the colonial Australian wine enterprise during this period were less numerous than those who had arrived earlier, but they were distinguishable in being highly qualified, experienced and renowned in the colonial wine industry. Their reputation and know-how allowed them to work in several of the most well-established wine properties of Victoria and South Australia.

Finally, all these cases confirm that the French who became involved in winegrowing in colonial Australia usually came on their own (alone or sometimes with their families) rather

than following a private or government-supported chain migration. Except the cases of Great Western and Beaumont, where French families gathered and united, there is no evidence of any attempt to establish a community on an ethnic basis. Because French migrants were mostly men, they necessarily married women from other national groups.¹⁹⁷ They tended to join wineries created by British-Australian colonists, and when they created their own vineyards, they failed in the long term. For the colonial Australians in need of winegrowing skills, the scarceness of French immigration was a continuous problem throughout the whole century. Despite private initiatives and Government involvement in the last quarter of the century, the French in Australia remained rare, and those who were involved in the wine-producing sector were not always successful. Furthermore, although French wines and winegrowing models were highly regarded, other European winemakers were sought after as well – except for the making of champagne wines which was the preserve of French winemakers. Perhaps Macarthur would have preferred to secure the services of Frenchmen rather than Germans. The Bear family and Irvine in Victoria, as well as Davenport in South Australia, revealed on several occasions that they too especially appreciated skilled workers from that nation. Overall, regarding the production of dry light wines, the French had strong competition from German, Swiss and Italian vigneroni.¹⁹⁸ This shaped the Australian model of winegrowing organisation, with British owners employing non-British managers from wine-producing countries in continental Europe.

¹⁹⁷ Aldrich, *The French Presence*, 200. However, French individualistic behaviour has been highlighted up to the turn of the twenty-first century, see Marie-Paule Leroux, *La grenouille dans le billabong. Une française en Tasmanie* (Cholet: Editions Pays et Terroirs, 2004), 175.

¹⁹⁸ About the Germans, see McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 148-156. See also Chapter 5 in McIntyre and Germov, *Hunter Wine*. On the Swiss, see Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 10-15. Italian wine experts arrived in the late nineteenth century while viti-vinicultural institutions were developing in Italy.

Chapter 5

Filling the Gap: Formalisation of the Transfers from the 1870s to the 1900s

While viti-vinicultural transfers from France were mostly initiated by individuals (British or French) from the 1820s to the 1860s, in the last quarter of the century, they became increasingly formal and were instigated by organisations and institutions such as governments, schools, associations, societies, journals, etc. This trend was stimulated by an economic boom in Australia, the growing involvement of colonial governments in the wine sector and the rise of international scientific exchanges during the process of globalisation.

The circulation of scientific knowledge and institutional transfers tended to be neglected until the 1960s, during which decade several articles were published to analyse the diffusion of “modern science” through non-European countries.¹ Recently, transnational research has highlighted the circulation of agricultural sciences and technical progress in Europe and America.² In Europe, the nineteenth century was marked by the emergence of a wide network of exchanges between agronomists and the shaping of national agricultural teaching. In France, agricultural teaching started modestly in the 1820s with the *ferme exemplaire* (model farm) established by Mathieu de Dombasle at Roville. It was inspired by similar experiments made earlier in Germany and Switzerland.³ The first Écoles d’agriculture were created in the 1840s, and the schools were reorganised several times throughout the century.⁴ Viticultural institutions

¹ I. Bernard Cohen, "The New World as a Source of Science for Europe," in *Actes du IXe Congrès international d'histoire des sciences* (Barcelona: Hermann, 1959). Donald H. Fleming, "Science in Australia, Canada, and the United States: Some Comparative Remarks," in *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of the History of Science, Ithaca, NY, 1962* (Paris: Hermann, 1964). George Basalla, "The Spread of Western Science," *Science* 156(1967).

² Regarding the role of the elites in diffusing agricultural progress in Europe and America, see Nadine Vivier, ed. *Élites et progrès agricoles, XVIe-XXe siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009). About transnational transfers of farming knowledge and the shaping of an Italian agricultural model, see Andrea Maria Locatelli and Paolo Tedeschi, "Les milieux agronomiques européens et la formation d'un modèle agricole italien au XIXe siècle," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* 130, no. 2 (2019). Locatelli and Tedeschi point out that the international network of European agronomists played a major role in modernising rural Italian farming production from the mid-nineteenth century. On agricultural teaching in nineteenth century France, see Fabien Knittel, "Mathieu de Dombasle (1777-1843): un agronome, acteur majeur de l'enseignement agricole en France," in *Espaces de l'enseignement scientifiques et technique: acteurs, savoirs, institutions, XVIIe-XXe siècles*, ed. Société française d'histoire des sciences et des techniques, Renaud d'Enfert, and Virginie Fonteneau (Paris: Hermann, 2011).

³ See Fabien Knittel, "L'Europe agronomique de C. J. A. Mathieu de Dombasle," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 57, no. 1 (2010). The model farm of Roville which had a great influence on agricultural teaching in France, owed a lot to the English model and other European institutions like the Institute of Moeglin in Prussia or the Swiss school of Hofwyl.

⁴ Thérèse Charmasson et al., *L'enseignement agricole: 150 ans d'histoire* (Dijon: Educagri, 1999), 20-49.

developed in the 1860s, notably to support vigneron against vine diseases. In Italy, this type of institution appeared from the 1870s on to train qualified wine technicians and improve the sector to better compete with France and gain market shares abroad.⁵

Influenced by North American and European developments, the colonies of Australia established their own agricultural societies from the 1820s. But colonial agricultural teaching was developed only from the 1880s. Studying the rapid technical change in early colonial Australian agriculture, Geoff Raby analyses the introduction and diffusion of technical and institutional agricultural innovations. However, as his scope ends in 1860, Raby does not study government involvement in the wine production sector or viticultural institutions which were developed afterward.⁶ A couple of works look specifically at the development of wine shows in Australia. J. W. Reddin describes the role of agricultural societies and wine shows in shaping the South Australian wine industry and improving viticultural practices.⁷ R. Dunphy and L. Lockshin go further in demonstrating the impact of the “Australian wine show system,” which facilitated the diffusion of skills and knowledge and ultimately improved wine quality, commerce (intercolonial and international) and the wine culture itself in Australia.⁸

Regarding the links between France and the New Worlds, Franco-Argentinian connections have been highlighted through the role of French agronomist Miguel Aymé Pouget, member of the Société d’Horticulture de Paris, who was called upon in 1853 by the President of Argentina to become the director of the first agronomic school of the country, the Quinta Normal. He was assisted by French vigneron René Lefèvre, who was also established in Mendoza and had helped to develop viticulture in Chile.⁹ From the middle of the century, thanks to the reputation of its fine wines and the development of its viticultural institutions, France became a model of winegrowing expertise for other countries. Institutional transfers and academic exchanges between France and Australia on the subject of wine are mentioned in Geoffrey Bishop’s book on Australian winemaking, and more especially on the connections between the Roseworthy Agricultural College and the École nationale d’Agriculture of

⁵ Luciano Maffi, Paolo Tedeschi, and Manuel Vaquero Pineiro, "A New Wine for the International Market: Italian Public Institutions' Initiatives to Support the Oenological Sector (1870-1910)," (Unpublished manuscript, January 2020), typescript

⁶ Geoff Raby, *Making Rural Australia: an Economic History of Technical and Institutional Creativity, 1788-1860* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996).

⁷ J. W. Reddin, *Teamwork: Some Early History Concerning the South Australian Wine Industry and the Royal Agricultural and Horticultural Society of South Australia* (Adelaide: Hyde Park Press, 1996).

⁸ R. Dunphy and L. Lockshin, "A History of the Australian Wine Show System," *Journal of Wine Research* 9, no. 2 (1998).

⁹ Blanchy, *Le Vignoble Argentin*, 26-27.

Montpellier.¹⁰ Among the eight different processes identified by Valmai Hankel as constituting the French influence on Australian winemaking, institutional transfers are barely skimmed over.¹¹ Government involvement and wine institutions are analysed in David Dunstan's and Julie McIntyre's works on the development of the Australian wine industry, in Victoria and in New South Wales, respectively. Both show a relatively limited involvement of the Government during the first half of the century. However, from the 1860s–1870s, an economic and demographic boom, as well as the stimulation of the wine industry by land reforms in New South Wales and government-sponsored initiatives in Victoria,¹² set the basis for formal exchanges in viti-vinicultural matters with France.

The formalisation of these transfers involves a convergence of skills and knowledge filling the gap between Australia and Europe in the advancement of winegrowing. In her study of technological transfers from England to France in the eighteenth century, Liliane Hilaire-Pérez argues that the transmissions were more important and were facilitated when the technologic gap was closer between England and France.¹³ Expressing a similar idea about colonial Australia, Raby claims that the economic sector is increasingly attentive to providing knowledge and know-how in specific fields when the “stock of technical and scientific knowledge accumulates, and with rising investment in education, training and research.”¹⁴ This pattern seems to fit the process of French–Australian wine transmissions in the nineteenth century. The introduction and diffusion of technics and science were increasingly significant with the improving of viticulture and winemaking practices in the Australian colonies and with the development of agricultural institutions in both countries. But it could be explained, too, by the development of new methods of transport and communication (steamship, railways, telegraph, improvement in printing techniques) enabling easier and faster mobility between continents. The booming economy and demography in Australia in the 1870s–1880s¹⁵ were instrumental in multiplying the supply and demand of knowledge through the colonies as the number of new businesses and agricultural properties rose. In this context, this formal network of private and public actors had to remedy market deficiencies by diffusing scientific and technical knowledge.

¹⁰ Bishop, *Australian Winemaking*, 64-72.

¹¹ Hankel, "French Authority," 88.

¹² McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 201. Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 47.

¹³ Hilaire-Pérez, "Transferts technologiques."

¹⁴ Raby, *Making Rural Australia*, 11.

¹⁵ James Belich talks about the third boom of the Melbourne economy from 1871 to 1891 which radiated on all the Australasian world, Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, 357.

Viticultural institutions developed in the wake of other agricultural institutions in Australia and established links with similar organisations in Europe and North America, providing trainee winegrowers with information essential for the production and the distribution of colonial wines. International exhibitions and wine shows also influenced government policies in promoting colonial wine in Europe.¹⁶ By the 1860s, the Victorian Government had initiated a policy favouring wine consumption in the colony.¹⁷ In the last quarter of the century, a conjunction of private and public efforts allowed the creation of specialised journals and institutions – especially in South Australia – to teach and spread both theoretical and practical knowledge. Finally, the breakout of the phylloxera crisis created new necessities for international exchanges in order to fight the plague.

Early creations in the 1840s–1860s: The Hunter River Vineyard Association

Even though the circulation of knowledge still, in the middle of the nineteenth century, relied on informal interpersonal exchanges, a few initiatives attempted to build on collective organisations. In Australia, the first agricultural societies were established in Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales in 1822. Their mission was to improve agricultural practices and the circulation of skills through the organisation of lectures, shows, exhibitions, field trials and experiments. They also supported the publication of the latest information in journals, newspapers and books. Their connections with overseas agricultural organisations allowed them to shape transnational and trans-imperial networks of scientific exchange via correspondence and the translation of foreign-language publications.¹⁸ This effort proved essential regarding the importation of French wine science.

In May 1847, the Hunter River Vineyard Association (HRVA), the first-formed winegrowers' association in New South Wales, was founded following a dispute among the members of the Royal Agricultural Society of New South Wales (RASNSW). While some members questioned the benefits of viticulture from economic and moral standpoints, others, like schoolmaster Henry Carmichael and manufacturer James King – both wine producers in the Hunter River district –, were fervent wine advocates. Carmichael even claimed that wine was more beneficial to the colony than wheat farming and sheep breeding. The HRVA was the

¹⁶ McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 185.

¹⁷ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 47-48.

¹⁸ Raby, *Making Rural Australia*, 118.

first organisation of its kind, with King as its first president. It illustrated the dynamism of the district regarding the promotion of wine production, despite a context of economic depression since 1840 and the persistent lack of outlets for wine commodities. As McIntyre put it, winegrowing was seen by the members of the HRVA as a means of reviving the colonial economy by civilising uncultivated lands and developing an export rescue sector.¹⁹ The members were well-to-do colonists determined to make winegrowing one of the most important and profitable industries of New South Wales. They expected to reach this goal by improving the quality of Hunter wines in order to place them advantageously on the colonial market and abroad. Like the RASNSW, the HRVA organised shows to taste and compare regional products, and debates to exchange ideas and information; connections were also made with overseas experts to import knowledge and skills.²⁰ The local newspaper *Maitland Mercury*, created in 1843, regularly relayed the progress of this undertaking.

The HRVA invigorated transnational transfers, as settlers were eager to transplant European cultivation models to their new homeland. It proved to be a local expression of the networks of internationally interconnected agronomists. Colonial elites travelled extensively in different parts of the world; they imported scientific knowledge to the colonies and participated in its diffusion. Surveyor Thomas Mitchell, member of the HRVA, brought back his notes on his experience in Spain. The introduction of German vinedressers was repeatedly discussed during the meetings of the association. Comparisons were made during annual tastings between colonial and European wines. However, France did not seem to represent a special source of knowledge at the time for the members of the HRVA. The German influence was more significant, owing to the introduction of several families of vigneron from the Rhine region and thanks to the correspondence between James King and famous German chemist Dr Justus Liebig.²¹

The French influence on the HRVA grew when Philibert Terrier, a Frenchman from Burgundy, joined the association. He described viticultural practices both German and French during the annual meeting in 1857. He shared his knowledge of the wine trade in France and market opportunities in Europe, as well as comments on colonial wine quality and ways to improve it.²² At the annual meeting of 1861, it was reported that benefits were to be expected

¹⁹ McIntyre and Germov, *Hunter Wine*, 102-106.

²⁰ Brian H. Fletcher, *The Grand Parade: A History of the Royal Agricultural Society of New South Wales* (Paddington, NSW: Royal Agricultural Society of New South Wales, 1988), 41.

²¹ *Historical Summary of the Proceedings and Reports of the Hunter River Vineyard Association, from its Origination to the First Annual Meeting in the Year 1853*, (Sydney: W. R. Piddington, 1854).

²² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 May 1857, 3. The article misspelt Terrier's name as "Ferrier".

from the newly adopted French practice of training vines on galvanised iron wires, which had been experimented with success at several properties in the area, including William Macarthur's vineyard at Camden.²³ In 1867, Terrier and William Keene discussed the introduction and the use of a saccharometer and how they could make its measurements correspond with those of French chemist Cadet de Vaux's instrument.²⁴ This tool was already in use at Dalwood by John Wyndham, but Keene rationalised and spread its utilisation through the HRVA.²⁵

Keene also promoted the southwestern French model of winegrowing, as he found the climate most similar to that of New South Wales and its wine a valuable commodity for the colony. When emulating this type of wine at his own property in the Hunter district, Keene argued: "It is a healthy beverage, provoking a wholesome appetite for food, and cheering the heart without intoxicating. Nothing can be more encouraging to the cultivation of such tastes than the labours of this Association, and I believe that we are working a great national benefit."²⁶ Additionally, as president of the HRVA, he encouraged the reading of Guyot's *Culture of the Vine and Wine Making*, translated from the French by Ludovic Marie in 1865. "This work will, I have no doubt, become popular, for it contains a great amount of interesting original matter, and advocates the maintenance of the purity of wine against all attempts at manufacturing imitations."²⁷

Transplanting the French model also involved the organisation of the wine sector. At the 1872 meeting, the discussion turned to the common problem of poor-quality wines forced upon the market:

Mr Doyle said that the only step that could be taken would be to form a large company, to buy up the wines of the small growers and mature them. They could not otherwise be checked in the practice of selling them; they expected a sale as soon as they were grown, like the growers of wheat and corn; and the only remedy would be to establish companies as they did in France, and as they were now doing in Victoria, to purchase from the small growers, and keep their wines until they were in a condition for the general market.²⁸

The above description seems to refer to the model of wine trade then practised in Burgundy and Bordeaux, and controlled by the *négociants-éleveurs* who purchase the wines from the producers, blend them, and mature them in their cellars before selling them on the market. The Doyle family had worked with Burgundy vigneron Terrier at Kaludah for several years and

²³ *Maitland Mercury*, 18 May 1861, 6.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 9 May 1867, 4. A saccharometer measures the mass of sugar in the must

²⁵ McIntyre and Germov, *Hunter Wine*, 117.

²⁶ Keene, *Addresses*, 3, 20-21.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 11 May 1872, 6.

demonstrated some acquaintance with this French model of wine production, which they attempted to transplant to the Hunter district.

Although the HRVA initiated the import of knowledge and practices from France through the role of particular individuals like Terrier, Doyle and Keene, it did not develop direct institutional connections with this country. But in the last quarter of the century, viticultural associations, journals and agricultural schools strengthened scientific and academic exchanges with Europe.

Growth of institutional exchanges from the 1870s to the 1900s

In the late nineteenth century, it became clear that the industry could not survive without the governments' involvement. J. Bladier, a French-born viticulturist at Bendigo, Victoria, sent a letter to the editor of *The Vignerone* – the journal of the Australian Wine Association of Victoria – on 25 January 1886 in which he described the requirements for a successful colonial wine sector:

[...] the prosperity of that industry is due in great measure to the fostering care of the various governments, who cause returns to be made and published, nurseries established of all the known varieties, schools erected for purposes of viticulture, subsidising vitical[sic] institutes in various wine districts, and sending professors through the country with instructions to report and teach at the same time; and no wonder then that viticulture is so advanced and so prosperous in France as compared with Spain, Italy, and other wine producing countries. France owns one half of the vineyards of the world, and has no rival for the excellence of its wines.²⁹

Although this statement may contain some French-biased appreciation, it underlines one of the main concerns of Australian wine advocates in the 1880s–1890s regarding government involvement, viticultural teaching and knowledge sharing. This was expected to be achieved through journals, associations, agricultural schools and all other means able to spread wine techniques and sciences.

New South Wales

During the colonial era, New South Wales seemed to have neglected viticultural and oenological institutions in comparison with Victoria and South Australia. This could be

²⁹ *The Vignerone*, A Monthly Journal of the Australian Wine Association of Victoria, February 1886, vol. 1, no. 1, 12.

explained by the fact that vineyards in New South Wales grew more slowly. In contrast, vine cultivation in the two southern colonies was booming. In 1880–1881, the surface area under vines was practically even in the three colonies, amounting to 4500–5000 acres. However, twenty years later, while New South Wales had seen an increase of 76% of its vineyards (reaching 8,441 acres), it had increased by 365% (to more than 20,000 acres) in South Australia, and by 515% (to more than 30,000 acres) in Victoria. As such, the wine industry in New South Wales remained a marginal sector overwhelmed by other productions like wheat and wool.³⁰

In 1890, the first issue of the *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales* (AGNSW) mentioned that one of the main objectives of this newly established journal was to provide reliable information on the latest advancements in agriculture in foreign countries as well as in other British colonies, to the benefits of New South Wales farmers.

The experience of all countries famous for their advancement in Agriculture points to the value of publishing in the form of bulletins, any information of interest to the agricultural classes. This is very extensively done in America, France, Germany, Italy, Canada, the Cape of Good Hope, and Victoria.³¹

Sydney Smith, the Minister of Mines and Agriculture for the colony, stated in his preface to the first issue that progress could only be achieved thanks to “the systematic education of the lads who are to settle on the soil.” He added:

There must be instituted a scheme of education that will fit our boys for the intelligent occupation of the soil, they should receive the best possible scientific and practical training, to enable them to hold their own in the march of progress and to add to the material wealth of the Colony. In the United States, France, and Germany, this branch of agricultural work has been greatly developed, and admittedly to the benefit of those concerned.³²

Smith contacted the French consul in Sydney in order to obtain information about the functioning of agricultural schools in France, particularly regarding admission requirements for foreign students, tuition fees, period of study, syllabuses, and so on, in order to send Australian students there to complete their agricultural education.³³ However, unlike South Australia and Victoria, the colony of New South Wales did not establish an agricultural school providing local teaching on viticulture and winemaking. The creation of such an institution – possibly at Albury or in the Hunter Valley – was discussed but never achieved. Viticulture was not considered a priority for the colonial administration, and the winegrowers’ lobby had not the

³⁰ McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 234-235.

³¹ *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, 1890, vol. 1, 1.

³² *Ibid.*, vol., 1, no. 1, ii-iii.

³³ Lettre de J. Rigoreau, consul de Sydney à M. Hanotaux, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, 6 octobre 1896, correspondance consulaire et commerciale, Sydney, Tome 6 (1878-1890), CADLC.

same power as in the 1850s. However, the diffusion of viticultural knowledge was not completely neglected in New South Wales.

The Department of Agriculture, created in 1890, paid much attention to horticulture and viticulture and hired Franco–British expert Jean Adrian Despeissis. He proved to be one of the most proficient contributors to the *AGNSW*, publishing regular articles on the most advanced vine-growing methods practised in Europe as well as their adaptations to Australian conditions. Despeissis was born in 1860 on the island of Mauritius in a French sugar-planter family. He studied at the Royal Agricultural College in England and gained theoretical winegrowing knowledge at the Institut National Agronomique and Institut Pasteur in Paris. He studied the biological chemistry of winemaking, including the role of the yeast fungi and oxygen during fermentation. He then gained practical experience at W. & A. Gilbey’s vineyard in Médoc and other wine properties near Montpellier.³⁴ He visited the Médoc and Sauternes districts in August 1889 in the midst of the phylloxera crisis prior to moving to Sydney the next year to take up his new position at the Department of Agriculture.³⁵

Despeissis advocated the use of *bouillie bordelaise* and *eau céleste* against “Black Spot”³⁶ and sulphur against oïdium. He also recommended in his works and through the *AGNSW* the introduction of the Vermorel’s knapsack sprayer and the Vermorel’s “Torpedo” sulphurer and powder distributor to treat the vines against oïdium, mildew and other fungoid diseases.³⁷ Regarding the aging process, he favoured “the method of racking [*souirage*] by means of a pump,” as it was, in his opinion,

the more rapid involving the employment of less hand labour. It is much used, especially in the more modern and best equipped cellars of the south of France, where wines are generally like in Australia, stored in large sized casks, and the wine sucked through and forced to any of the others by means of a hand pump. This method is often adopted as the wine is thus exposed to the action of the air.³⁸

³⁴ P. E. Maskell, "Despeissis, Jean Marie Adrian (1860-1927)," vol. 8, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1981), accessed 21 November 2019, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/despeissis-jean-marie-adrian-5964/text10177>. J. A. Despeissis, *The Handbook of Horticulture and Viticulture of Western Australia* (Perth, Western Australia: Bureau of Agriculture, 1895), 190-192. J. A. Despeissis, "Sulphur: A Cure for Oidium," *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales* 1, no. 1 (1890): 257-259.

³⁵ J. A. Despeissis, "Phylloxera," in *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, 2 (May 1891), 260.

³⁶ "Black spot" refers to "Black-rot," a cryptogamic disease similar to the mildew which attacks the grapes of the vine.

³⁷ Vermorel was a French engineering business active from 1850 to 1965.

³⁸ J. A. Despeissis, "Treatment of Wine in the Cellar (Racking the Wine)," *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales* 3, no. 7 (1890): 36.

The *AGNSW* also held articles written by foreign writers like Italian-born Michele Blunno – Despeissis’ successor at the Department of Agriculture from 1896 – on summer pruning, or French botanist Pierre Mouillefert on alcohol process and preservation of wine grapes. Both included information on the works of French experts like Guyot, Vergnette-Lamotte, Cazeau-Cazalet and Viala.³⁹ Despite these efforts, the weakness of the New South Wales wine industry did not speak in favour of establishing a complete viticultural institution, and, as a result, it limited the possibilities of academic exchanges with France.

Victoria

In the 1880s, Victoria was developing formal diffusion of winegrowing knowledge thanks to an economic boom and the thriving of viticulture. The Victorian Vinegrowers’ Association (VVA) was created in 1883. During its first meeting in June, the founders established that “the objects of the association are the mutual interchange of information and the promotion of the winegrowing interest.”⁴⁰ One of its members was François de Castella who had been initiated to winegrowing by his father Hubert de Castella in the Yarra valley. Aged only sixteen, he had moved to Europe in 1883 and studied natural sciences at Lausanne, Switzerland; he then went to the Montpellier agricultural school and completed his training at some of the most famous *grands crus* in Médoc to observe and study the vintage. He returned to Victoria in 1886, where he took over his father’s property of St Hubert’s but was forced to sell it in 1890.⁴¹ That same year, de Castella was appointed junior viticulturalist to the Department of Agriculture for Victoria under the supervision of Italian-born Romeo Bragato, but only for two years, as this position was to be abolished as early as 1892.⁴² During this short period, he published a *Handbook on Viticulture*, “a manual which shall be of practical service to the vine-growers of Victoria.”⁴³ He deplored the lack of English books on wine sciences and, with this work, he undertook the task of summarising and translating French publications on this matter:

³⁹ Michele Blunno, "Summer-Pruning of the Vine," *ibid.* 8, no. 11 (1897): 801. Pierre Mouillefert, "The Keeping of Grapes," *ibid.* 3, no. 7: 648-649.

⁴⁰ *The Age*, 13 June 1883, 6.

⁴¹ *Adelaide Observer*, 18 February 1893, 11. Hardy, *Notes on Vineyards*, 107-110. David Dunstan, "de Castella, François Robert (1867-1953)," ed. National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University), accessed 9 January 2018, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/de-castella-francois-robert-9939/text17603>.

⁴² *Weekly Times* (Melbourne), 3 October 1936, 26.

⁴³ François de Castella, *Handbook on Viticulture for Victoria* (Melbourne: Robt. S. Brain, Government Printer, 1891), vi.

Many excellent works have been written on Viticulture, but they are mostly in French or some other foreign tongue, the few English ones which exist being either out of print or only treating of the culture of vines under glass, as practised in England.

The constant demand for some elementary work, in which beginners may learn something of practical Viticulture, has led to the elaboration of this little handbook, which it is hoped may be of service to those requiring information on the subject.⁴⁴

Among the main experts' works he drew on was Gustave Foëx's *Cours complet de viticulture*. Foëx was a professor at Montpellier and taught the young de Castella viticulture while he studied there in the mid-1880s.⁴⁵ De Castella notably used Foëx's work to argue in favour of irrigation, as its opponents affirmed it was not used in France. On the contrary, de Castella claimed that Foëx mentioned its use in the south of that country and recommended it to produce ordinary wines.⁴⁶

The Board of Agriculture for Victoria was created in 1856, in connection with the Government, with the aim of introducing new techniques and inventions in farming, mining and breeding. It also aimed to support any enterprising colonist whose actions would benefit the country. One of the roles of the Board was to appoint paid travelling agents to visit Britain, Continental Europe and the United States "or any other part of the globe from which we should be likely to obtain useful products or add to our stock of domesticated animals."⁴⁷ In 1882, Victoria's Government supported colonial exhibitors at the Bordeaux universal exhibition. After the event, the representatives of the colony were asked to visit viticultural schools in France, Germany, Austria and Italy, in order to create such institutions back home. A second objective involved gathering practical knowledge on the cultivation of the vine and the making of wine in different districts and reporting them to the Government.⁴⁸ In 1888, a Board of Viticulture was created on the initiative of J. L. Dow, Minister of Agriculture, whose desire was to establish "a central association of wine growers from all parts of the country encouraging co-operation and the sharing of expertise."⁴⁹ Dow's motivations relied on the improvement of production as well as the increase of consumption. By helping the wine industry, the Administration would also change drinking habits to shape a more temperate colony. The Board

⁴⁴ Ibid., xi.

⁴⁵ Foëx was Director of the *École nationale d'agriculture* of Montpellier from 1881 to 1897 and Professor of viticulture between 1870 and 1896.

⁴⁶ Castella, *Handbook on Viticulture*, 19.

⁴⁷ *Empire* (Sydney), 11 August 1856, 3.

⁴⁸ *Bordeaux International Wine Exhibition 1882*, 8-9.

⁴⁹ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 164.

was then confirmed as a governmental institution managing the viticultural experts.⁵⁰ The Board brought together representatives of all the wine regions of Victoria, including Paul de Castella of Yering, French-born Emile Blampied of Great Western and Francis Mellon of Dunolly, as well as two experts: Romeo Bragato and François de Castella. This institution aimed to facilitate communication between private winegrowers and the colonial authorities to improve the organisation of the sector.

Mellon suggested that the Minister of Agriculture should establish a plant nursery on the model of the Garden of Luxembourg in Paris and the Botanic Garden of Montpellier, “where instructions in everything regarding the production, and what is to be done with the grape, is given by experts who had charge of the nurseries.”⁵¹ His objective was to cultivate and distribute the vines most adapted to the colony’s environment. For this purpose, he proposed the Agricultural College of Dookie as most suited.

In the early 1890s, the new Minister of Agriculture and President of the Board, George Graham, sent Hans Irvine on a trip to Europe to investigate the opportunities for the Australian wine trade and the means of improving it. With that aim in mind, Irvine met with several important French wine négociants, notably Messrs. Barkhausen & Groining of Bordeaux, whom Irvine described as being “most hospitable” and who

promptly volunteered to conduct me over the most celebrated portions of the Medoc districts. For nearly a fortnight they were unremitting in their generous efforts to make me conversant with the extent of and manner in which the important industry is conducted. I am much beholden to them for a great deal of useful information.⁵²

In Champagne, Irvine visited celebrated cellars in the company of F. Rittscher, négociant of Reims. Finally, Irvine headed south to collect information on the agricultural school of Montpellier, as well as on the vineyards and cellars of the region.⁵³ He took great interest in the history of the development of agricultural teaching in France in Montpellier, and he was impressed by the quality of viticultural teaching:

The course of viticulture is remarkably comprehensive, embracing, as it does, the study of the anatomy of the vine – flowers, leaves, seeds, and stock. Special attention is devoted to the characteristics of the seeds, &c., of the various species of the vine, and pupils are expected to know the names of the vines mostly cultivated by their seed. [...] as the school is largely

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 165.

⁵¹ *Journal of the Board of Viticulture for Victoria*, 14 June 1888, 19.

⁵² Hans Irvine, *Report on the Australian Wine Trade. Compiled at the request of the Hon. The Minister of agriculture, Victoria* (Melbourne: Robt. S. Brain, Government printer, undated), 4. In Hans William Henry Irvine, *Papers and business records, 1880-1947*, MS 12738, 3524/3, SLV.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

patronised, it may be readily understood that French vigneron are in a much better position than we are in this country in being able to obtain thoroughly competent men.⁵⁴

After this trip, he argued in favour of establishing a viticultural school on the model of Montpellier, France or Conegliano, Italy.⁵⁵ These two schools, along with Geisenheim in Germany, were the most renowned institutions teaching viticultural sciences in Europe at the time and influenced institutions in the New Worlds.

European viticultural teaching also influenced London-based Australian wine importer Walter W. Pownall, who encouraged colonial growers to visit France and Germany, not only the wine districts and wineries but also the Government Schools of Viticulture.⁵⁶ This idea was also advocated by the Australian Wine Association that was formed in Melbourne in 1886. Its monthly publication *The Vigneron* was to become one of the most influential journals on viticulture and winemaking in the whole of Australia, though, as David Dunstan points out, it originally promoted the interests of the Victorian industry only. One of its members, L. L. Smith, was in favour of sending young winegrowers overseas:

He [Smith] would also like to make a personal suggestion to the council, and that was in favour of the sons of colonial vigneron, young men who had gained a knowledge of wine producing as practised here, being sent to France and other European wine making countries, where they might learn the way in which the business was managed. These young men could then come back and disseminate the knowledge they had gained.⁵⁷

But like the Board of Viticulture, the Australian Wine Association admitted that it was not enough and that a school of viticulture had to be created to welcome trainee viticulturists in the colony. The model, however, was not necessarily French. In an article published in the *Vigneron* in 1886, it was suggested:

We should make instruction in the theory and practice of viticulture and wine-making not merely an integral, but a leading feature in the educational system to be adopted in our Agricultural Colleges; or, as I should prefer to see, we might advantageously establish an Enological School, on a separate basis, such as exists in Italy, Austria – I believe – and probably elsewhere.⁵⁸

As a result, G. B. Federli and Romeo Bragato, two Italian wine experts, were appointed to instruct vine-growers in Rutherglen, northern Victoria, in 1889.⁵⁹ Yet Bragato not only brought Italian expertise with him. In order to equip the wine cellar in connexion with the School of

⁵⁴ Hans Irvine, *The Australian Wine Trade* (Victorian Department, 1893), 17-18.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

⁵⁶ *Journal of the Board of Viticulture for Victoria*, 5 August 1889, 120.

⁵⁷ *The Vigneron*, February 1886, vol. 1, no. 1, 8.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, March 1886, vol. 1, no. 2, 17.

⁵⁹ *Journal of the Board*, 5 August 1889, 73-75.

Viticulture, he sent for a series of apparatuses, notably French ones made by Gay-Lussac, Baumé, Salleron, and others.⁶⁰ This constitutes evidence that the transnational circulation of science and technologies played a part in the shaping of agricultural and viticultural institutions in Europe and the New Worlds. It also calls into question the concept of national models in reference to agricultural knowledge and practices, as skills and technologies were shared across borders, cross-fertilising different models on different scales.

The Board and the Rutherglen School of Viticulture also favoured the transfer and spread of knowledge on the treatment of vine diseases. The *Journal of the Board* reprinted several articles from US and French journals on that matter, especially about the treatment of Black-rot with the Bordeaux mixture.⁶¹ But the most successful Australian viti-vinicultural institution appeared to have been established in the colony of South Australia, somewhere north of Adelaide.

South Australia and the Roseworthy–Montpellier connection

In South Australia, private and public interests met to support the farming sector. The first concept for the creation of an Agricultural College occurred in the early 1880s.⁶² But earlier, the colony was formalising sharing of knowledge and scientific advancement through the creation of a journal, *The Garden and The Field*, in 1875 on the initiative of the South Australian Agricultural and Horticultural Society (SAAHS). The journal was originally set up to stimulate farming practices and develop labour-saving methods through mechanisation, given that the colony regularly experienced shortages of skilled workers.⁶³ It focused on horticulture, but some articles on viticultural matters were contributed by French expert Édouard Bourbaud as early as 1875. Bourbaud had been appointed by the South Australian Government to teach and spread viticultural and winemaking practices through the colony.⁶⁴

In parallel with the publication of *The Garden and the Field*, a commission on Agricultural Education was set up in July 1875 by the Colonial Government. One of its main recommendations was to create an experimental farm near Adelaide. In 1879, German-born

⁶⁰ Ibid., 18 October 1888, 57-58.

⁶¹ Ibid., 113-114. In another example, a translation from the *Moniteur viticole* suggested to treat mildew with solutions of copper.

⁶² Bishop, *Australian Winemaking*, 32.

⁶³ *The Garden and the Field*, notes on microfilm reels, SLSA.

⁶⁴ See Chapter 4.

Martin Peter Friedrich Basedow went further in advocating the establishment of a College of Agriculture in connection with the University of Adelaide. Two years later, John D. Custance was appointed as Professor of Agriculture and recommended the purchase of a property near Roseworthy, north of Adelaide. The College eventually welcomed its first students in February 1885. In the early years, the institution focused its academic training and farm practice on broadacre farming.⁶⁵

Viticulture became, early on, a matter of concern at Roseworthy. In the early 1880s, South Australian winegrowers still felt they were underperforming in comparison with their counterparts in New South Wales and Victoria. Their modest results at international exhibitions, especially in Paris in 1878⁶⁶ and Bordeaux in 1882, may have impressed upon them the necessity of improving South Australian wine practices and taste. This change was all the more necessary as per capita consumption of wine was higher in South Australia than in the other Australian colonies. The improvement of the local wine industry may have been influenced by the need to meet the demand in terms of quantity and quality and avoid imports. The South Australian Vinegrowers' Association (SAVA) applied to the colony's Government to establish a thorough viticultural teaching programme to train the next generation of winegrowers. According to Geoffrey Bishop, the Roseworthy College provided lessons and lectures on vine cultivation from its inception, and the first vine grapes were planted as early as 1885. Two years later, the College's vineyard was planted with mainly Spanish and French varieties, including quick's seedling, chasselas, sauvignon, mataro, malaga, muscat of Alexandria, doradillo, riesling, grenades (grenache), aramon, carignane and cabernet sauvignon.⁶⁷ These first vine grapes were planted and raised by Thomas Hardy of Bankside Vineyard.⁶⁸ Hardy was deeply involved in improving Australian winegrowing and had visited Europe with his son Robert in 1883 to collect the latest expertise in several wine districts.⁶⁹ In his first report addressed to the representatives of the district of Roseworthy on 29 June 1885, Professor Custance thanked Hardy for giving lectures on vine-dressing.⁷⁰ In 1892, Hardy

⁶⁵ *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 7 February 1885, 9. "Custance, John Daniel (1842-1923)," ed. National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University), accessed 20 January 2018, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/custance-john-daniel-3305/text5033>.

⁶⁶ Récompenses classe 75, boissons fermentées, Exposition de Paris, 1878, Ministère du Commerce, Missions commerciales, XIXe siècle, Série F/12, 3461, ANF.

⁶⁷ Bishop, *Australian Winemaking*, 33-37.

⁶⁸ *Adelaide Observer*, 3 July 1886, 15.

⁶⁹ Hardy, *Notes on Vineyards*, 90-121.

⁷⁰ *Adelaide Observer*, 4 July 1885, 15.

established a nursery at the botanic garden of the college to serve as an educational vineyard for the students.⁷¹

The position of Professor of Agriculture at Roseworthy was taken up by William Lowrie in 1888. Under his management, the Agricultural Bureau of South Australia (ABSA) and the SAVA pressed the Government to appoint an expert to advise local growers intending to cultivate vine grapes and make wine.⁷² The Government agreed and tasked the Bureau to find a sustainable appointee. Once again South Australia turned to France in the hope of finding such a candidate. Samuel Davenport and Joseph Charles Gelly – both members of the ABSA and the SAVA – started their research by contacting the *École nationale d'Agriculture* of Montpellier, from which Gelly had graduated prior to emigrating to Australia.

In the 1870s–1880s, agricultural teaching was developing in France. The French Third Republic undertook to reorganise and pursue the development of agricultural institutions – officially started in 1848⁷³ – in order to modernise a national agricultural sector deeply affected by foreign competition during the period of free trade initiated in 1860. The agricultural school of Montpellier was first created near Lyons as model farm by Césaire Nivière in 1842. It became a regional school of agriculture in 1848 and was finally transferred to Montpellier in Hérault, southern France, in 1869. It obtained the status of a national school in 1876. The institution aimed to centralise and diffuse agricultural science on Mediterranean cultivations and quickly specialised in viticulture.⁷⁴ This was due to the importance of wine production in the French economy but also to the increasing concern over the phylloxera threat in the Midi.

Gelly, being a native of Hérault (district of Montpellier), considered it to be “the touchstone of French viticulture,” and the “College justly the most renowned in the field.”⁷⁵ Indeed, Montpellier had gained a strong reputation for its role in fighting phylloxera and other

⁷¹ *The Hardy Tradition: Tracing the Growth and Development of a Great Wine-Making Family through its First Hundred Years*, (Adelaide: Thomas Hardy & Sons Ltd, 1953), 31.

⁷² Arthur James Perkins and Jeff Daniels, *The Personal Letterbooks of Professor A. J. Perkins, Government Viticulturist in South Australia, 1890-1901* (Roseworthy, S.A.: Roseworthy Agricultural College, 1982), xvii-xviii.

⁷³ Michel Boulet, Anne-Marie Lelorrain, and Nadine Vivier, *1848, le printemps de l'enseignement agricole* (Dijon: Educagri éditions, 1998).

⁷⁴ Jean-Paul Legros, "De l'École régionale d'agriculture de Montpellier à Montpellier-SupAgro et Agropolis," *Pour* 1, no. 200 (2009). Charmasson et al., *L'enseignement agricole*, 23, 40.

⁷⁵ Letter from Charles Gelly to Gustave Foëx, 7 July 1890, Perkins and Daniels, *The Personal Letterbooks*, xviii. See also Arthur James Perkins papers, PRG 496, Series 2: Letterbooks, chiefly as Government Viticulturist (1890-1901), SLSA.

viticultural matters. Gelly wrote a letter on 7 July 1890 to Foëx, Director of the École, in which he presented the motivations and objectives of the ABSA:

Would you be able to recommend one of your students to come to the Colony in the post of professor of viticulture? He must be a competent man – an ordinary hand would not do. His work will be to teach the farmers of the country the culture of the vine in general, and to give lectures in the grapegrowing districts. Inform us of the salary he would require. He would receive all travelling costs associated with his work. There is splendid field open for a young and capable man.⁷⁶

In response, Foëx recommended Arthur James Perkins, one of his former students, who was established in Tunisia where he was working as a viticultural manager.

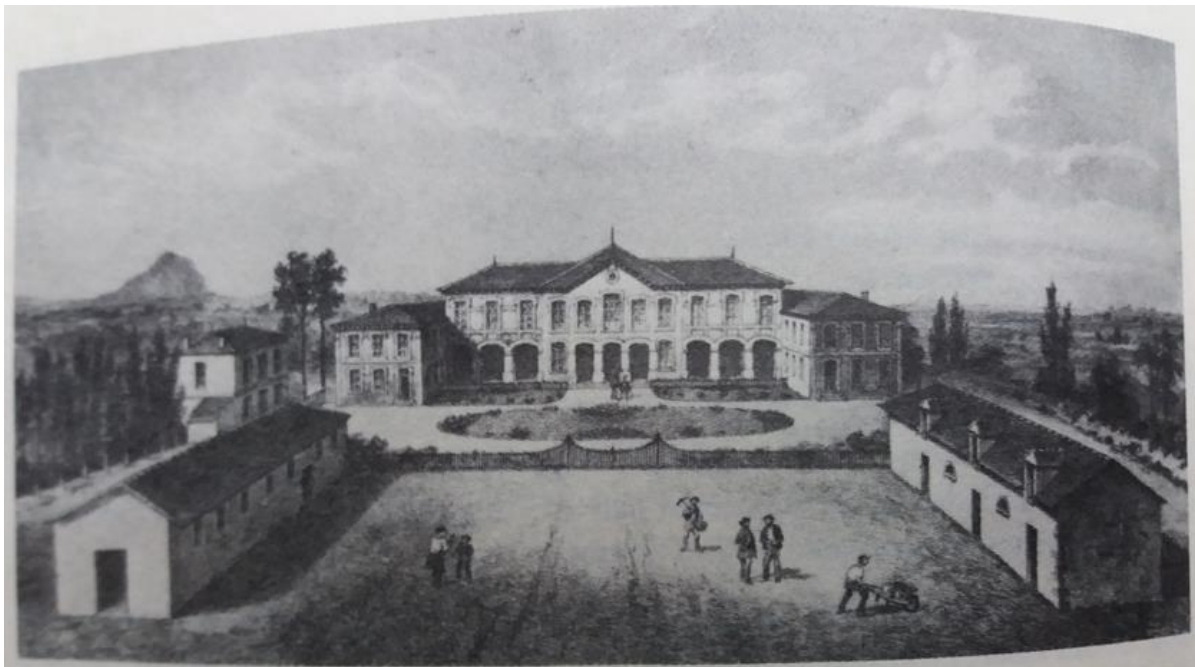
Arthur James Perkins: A trans-imperial path

Perkins' influence on Australian winemaking and French–Australian transmissions is worth detailing as it illustrates French-British trans-imperial academic exchanges. Perkins was born in Egypt in 1871 to an English family. He was educated in Tunisia and in England. From 1887 to 1890, he studied at and gained a diploma from the École nationale d'Agriculture at Montpellier (Figure 5). He then worked for two years running properties in Tunisia, which had become a French protectorate in May 1881. He was fluent in English and French. But also in Arabic, a language he learnt while appointed in Tunisia, and was acquainted with Italian. For the position of government viticulturist, Perkins was in competition with John Kelly – Alexander Kelly's son – who intended to study at the Montpellier school. However, William Patrick Auld, Samuel Davenport and several other members of the SAVA considered Perkins a better choice as he had already finished his training and had gained experience in North Africa, a country whose climate was considered very similar to that of South Australia. Thus, he could immediately take up his position. On the other hand, it was believed that Kelly would need at least four or five years in France to become acquainted with all the required knowledge and skills on viticultural matters.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Ibid. Letter originally written in French, translated by Jeff Daniels.

⁷⁷ *South Australian Chronicle*, 28 November 1891, 14.

Figure 5: Lithograph of École nationale d'Agriculture of Montpellier, France, 1880



Source: Lithograph by Isidore-Laurent Deroy, printed by Lemerancier et Cie, Paris. Reproduced in Perkins, Arthur James, and Jeff Daniels. *The Personal Letterbooks of Professor A. J. Perkins, Government Viticulturist in South Australia, 1890-1901*. Roseworthy, S.A.: Roseworthy Agricultural College, 1982, 4.

The negotiation regarding Perkins' appointment lasted almost two years, mostly because of the distance and the slowness of communication between Australia and Tunisia. In a letter to his former landlady at Montpellier, Perkins replied: "As for the 'Australian professorship,' I am still in correspondence with the Australian Board of Agriculture on the subject. So far nothing is decided: it takes so long to get an answer from the Antipodes."⁷⁸ But Perkins also mentioned a government change in South Australia, some concerns on account of his young age – he was only nineteen years old when he was first contacted by Gelly in 1890 – and the vagaries of the postal system.⁷⁹ Despite all these obstacles, he eventually took up his new position in 1892.⁸⁰

Perkins taught viticulture, winemaking, and fruit culture at Roseworthy (Figure 6). His appointment strengthened Franco–Australian viticultural collaboration. Prior to moving to South Australia, he gathered information, equipment, books, vine seeds and cuttings to be brought with him to his new home. With this aim in mind, he contacted his former teachers

⁷⁸ Letter from Arthur J. Perkins to Miss Twitght, 29 May 1891, Perkins and Daniels, *The Personal Letterbooks*, xix. See also, Arthur James Perkins papers, PRG 496, Series 2: Letterbooks, chiefly as Government Viticulturist (1890-1901), SLSA.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Agreement for appointment as Government Viticulturist 1892, Arthur James Perkins papers, PRG 496, Series 8, SLSA.

Foëx and Pierre Viala at Montpellier as well as M. P. Richter, a nurseryman of that same city.⁸¹ The fact that he was asked by the South Australian Government to bring back seeds of the three main Mediterranean plants (wheat, olive tree and vine) bears out the importance of these cultivations to local settlers and their civilisational project, as demonstrated in McIntyre and Dunstan's work.⁸² Wine, like wheat and olives, was expected to civilise the country and its people. But in appointing Perkins, South Australian officials and winegrowers also expected him to import French expertise into the colony to benefit from vine and wine sciences which were being developed in France.

Figure 6: Photograph of the Roseworthy Agricultural College, South Australia, c.1895



Source: R. H. Ball (photographer), Album Collection, SLSA,
<https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+57371/20>

Perkins transmitted his own knowledge acquired at Montpellier and in Tunisia. But he also introduced many French wine experts' writings. A letter from Perkins written in May 1892 was followed by a list of books he ordered from French bookshops. This list notably included the following:

- Viala and Ferrouillat, *Manuel pratique pour traitement des maladies de la vigne*;
- Viala, *Tableau pour greffage de la vigne*;

⁸¹ Letter from Arthur J. Perkins to Pierre Viala, 5 May 1892, Letter 16 May 1892 to G. Foëx. Letter 23 May 1892 to M. P. Richter, Perkins and Daniels, *The Personal Letterbooks*, 55, 61, 65.

⁸² Dunstan and McIntyre, "Wine, olives, silk."

- Ravaz, *Les vignes américaines. Adaptation, culture, greffage, pépinières*;
- Foëx, *Carnet de notes ampélographiques* and *Manuel pratique pour la reconstitution des vignobles méridionaux*;
- Marès, *Manuel pour le soufrage des vignes malades*, and *Description des cépages principaux de la région méditerranéenne*;
- Salleron, *Notice sur les instruments de precision*.⁸³

In September, he ordered nineteen more books – seventeen French and two Italian – and subscribed to four French agricultural journals.⁸⁴ Such orders became regular during the subsequent months. Perkins also published a book on vine-pruning in 1895 addressed to unskilled vignerons. Noting the lack of English-language books on that critical matter – like de Castella in Victoria before him – he introduced and translated French works to fill the gap, notably for his 1895 publication on vine-pruning:

It merely embodies the principles and teaching, which I had privilege to receive, under the able tuition of Messieurs G. Foëx and P. Viala, of the Montpellier Agricultural College, and which I see daily verified in my own work. Should the perusal of these pages prove but half as useful to some of its readers as the teaching of my masters has proved to me, I shall not have regretted the hours of night-work they have cost me.⁸⁵

In this way, Perkins participated in spreading French viticultural science and advanced practices – notably Guyot’s pruning – through the Australian colonies to an audience who could not read French. Perkins was also aware of the practical techniques utilised in France’s wineries. In an article entitled “Wine-making for beginners,” he included a sketch of a French elevator used to introduce the grapes or the must by the top opening of the vat (Figure 7). It is not certain whether any South Australian winery used this model, but *The Garden and the Field*, which published the sketch, was widely distributed across the colony.

⁸³ Letter from Arthur J. Perkins to M. Camille Coulet, 16 May 1892, Perkins and Daniels, *The Personal Letterbooks*, 58-59.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 89-90. This list included Viala, *Maladies de la Vigne*; Guyot, *Etude des vignobles de France* and Pasteur, *Études sur la bière*. The two Italian books highlight the progress of Italian viticultural and oenological science in the late nineteenth century.

⁸⁵ Arthur James Perkins, *Vine-Pruning: Its Theory and Practice* (Adelaide: Vardon and Pritchard, 1895), Preface.

Figure 7: Vertical cross-section of Ferrouillat and Charvet's elevator

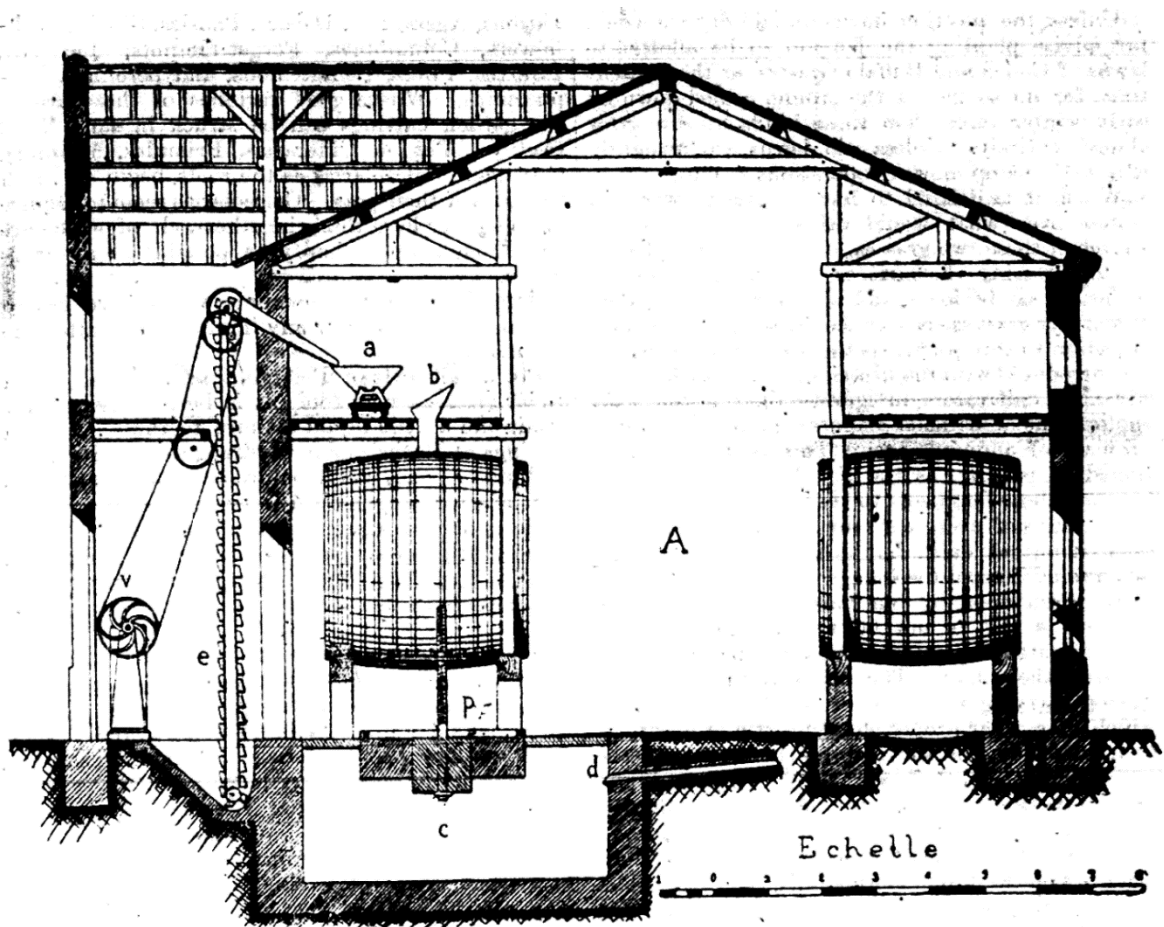


FIG. 3.—VERTICAL ELEVATOR IN FLAT COUNTRY—SECTION (Feronillat et Charvet, Les Celliers).

Source: Reproduction in *The Garden and the Field*, vol. 21, May 1896, 285.

In the reverse direction, Perkins' appointment developed French interests in Australia. Foëx expressed his desire to be provided with seeds of Australian plants, especially Eucalyptus. And, in a letter to Viala, Perkins offered him to give any information about viticulture in Australia.⁸⁶ This may constitute one of the few examples of transfers from Australia to France regarding viticultural practices during the nineteenth century, and it may evidence the catching-up of a New World country with Europe. Unfortunately, there is no material indicating that these transfers became a common practice at this stage. French interests first appeared as mere curiosity. However, as discussed later in this chapter, the phylloxera crisis noticeably increased academic exchanges and, more particularly, the transfers of knowledge and experiences from Australia to France.

⁸⁶ Letter 16 May 1892, Perkins and Daniels, *The Personal Letterbooks*.

Perkins was responsible for modernising Australian oenology. He ordered cultivated yeasts from French establishments and discussed their use with M. Rietsch, Professor of Bacteriology at the School of Medicine in Marseilles and L. Roos, Director of the Oenological Station of Hérault.⁸⁷ He also ordered and introduced oenological apparatuses, mostly from France, including: *Aéromètre de Baumé*, *Glucomètre du Dr Guyot*, *Densimètre de Gay-Lussac*, *Alambic*, *Ebulliomètre et Vino-colorimètre de J. Salleron*.⁸⁸ Another order of apparatuses was made on 31 October 1892 and included Cadet de Vaux's Glucometer, Gay-Lussac's Densimeter and Salleron's Still and Ebullimeter.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that Perkins' influence involved direct contacts with private winegrowers, with whom he developed a significant correspondence. He regularly visited vineyards and wineries to give advice, especially to Davenport, Hardy, and Mazure in South Australia, but also to Irvine in the neighbouring colony of Victoria.⁸⁹ Perkins' influence crossed colonial borders at a time when similar viticultural institutions were not yet established in the other Australian colonies.

From Roseworthy, Perkins managed to formally create a comprehensive and complementary network of exchanges, both academic and professional, between France and Australia (Diagram 1), and especially South Australia, that only partially existed before him. Similar attempts occurred in New South Wales with Despeissis and in Victoria with de Castella and later Raymond Dubois, as discussed further in this chapter, but they generally lacked the full support of their respective colonial governments to achieve them. As a result, Roseworthy became the centre of wine science in Australia and the main connection with France's research and teaching institutions from the 1890s on. Bernhard and Alfred Basedow as well as Leo Buring, three South Australian students of German descent at Roseworthy, spent some time at Montpellier and in other French wine districts in the 1890s to complete their studies and training before taking up important positions back in South Australia as viticultural or winemaker experts.⁹⁰ After the establishment of the Australian Federation in 1901, Australian apprentice

⁸⁷ Letters from Arthur J. Perkins to unknown, 5 September 1892; to M. Rietsch, 19 March 1893, *ibid.*, 83.

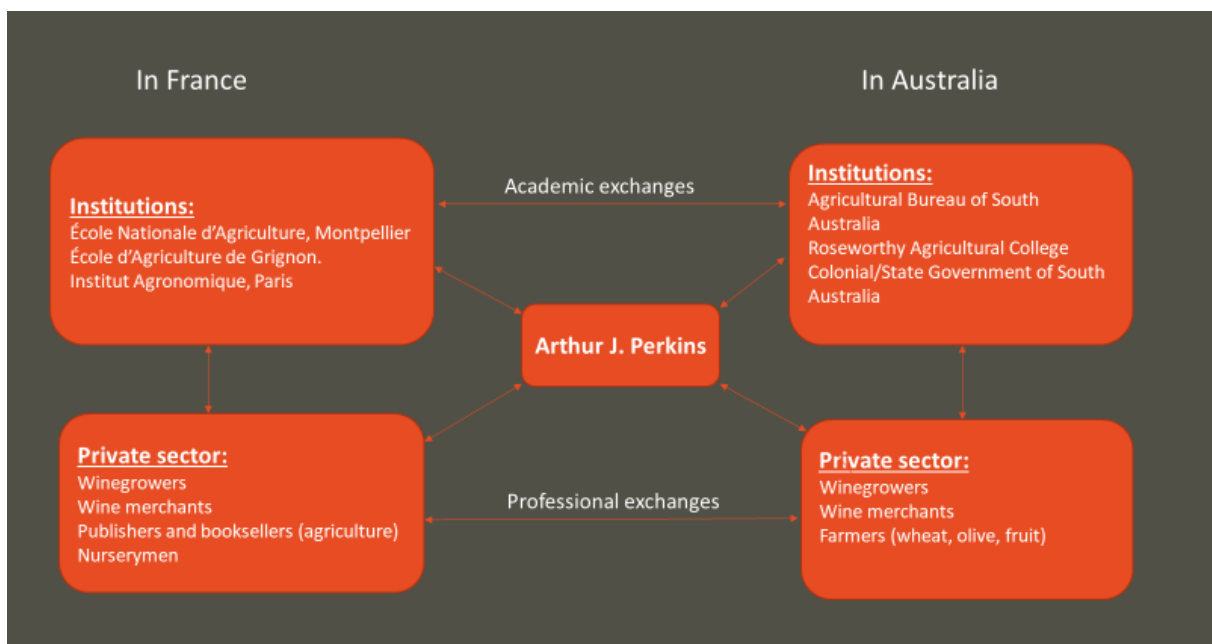
⁸⁸ Letter from Arthur J. Perkins to Prof. William Lowrie, 11 September 1892, *ibid.*, 93-96.

⁸⁹ Letters from Arthur J. Perkins to Edmond Mazure, 3 November 1892; to Hans Irvine, 5 November 1892; to Samuel Davenport, 8 November 1892, *ibid.*, 127-130.

⁹⁰ Regarding the Basedow brothers, see Basedow, *The Basedow Story*, 85-92. On Buring, see Leo Buring Limited records, BRG 248/1, SLSA, and Jean V. Moyle, "Buring, Hermann Paul Leopold (Leo) (1876-1961)," ed. National centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University), accessed 13 November 2018, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/buring-hermann-paul-leopold-leo-3333/text4631>.

vignerons at Roseworthy commonly finished their studies and practical training at the Montpellier Agricultural School.⁹¹ In 1910, Perkins renewed interpersonal exchanges by undertaking a trip to Europe with his family and visited several vineyards and wineries in the south of France. He also stopped at Montpellier to meet with his former professor, Louis Ravaz.⁹² But the increase in transfers in the 1880s–1890s was also the result of the outbreak of a terrible ecological crisis: phylloxera. The devastation caused by this plague made exchanges of viticultural knowledge with France even more critical.

Diagram 1: Arthur J. Perkins’ Franco–Australian network, 1890s–1900s



The Phylloxera crisis: A driving force for institutional and scientific exchanges

A global threat

The phylloxera is a tiny insect – of the aphid type – native to North America which attacks and kills the vine by the root. The first signs of the plague were spotted in 1863 in the département of Gard in the South of France. It was then officially identified and named by Jules-Emile

⁹¹ From 1912 to 1931, Bishop enumerates eleven Roseworthy students who moved to Montpellier to take viticultural and winemaking lessons. See Bishop, *Australian Winemaking*, 64-72.

⁹² Perkins, *Agriculture in Other Lands*, 56-57. See also Arthur James Perkins papers, PRG 496, Series 6: Photograph albums of visit to Europe, North Africa and Asia Minor and photographs of Roseworthy Agricultural College (1910-1911), SLSA.

Planchon in 1868. From there, the insect advanced irrepressibly through French vineyards, reaching the Champagne district – the last one to be affected – in the 1890s.⁹³ But France was not alone in being infested. As early as 1863, signs of the insect were spotted in a glasshouse near London. Phylloxera was identified in Switzerland near Geneva in 1871, the same year as it was discovered in Portugal and Turkey. Its presence was confirmed in 1872 in Austria and two years later in Germany. It spread in southern Europe, from 1877 in Spain and from 1879 in Italy. The Balkans were reached in the 1880s, Serbia in 1880, Romania and Bulgaria in 1884. Outside Europe, phylloxera contaminated the Middle East and Central Asia from the 1890s–1900s. Australia was first reached around 1877, South Africa in 1880 and New Zealand in 1890.⁹⁴ The scale of the crisis was the result of increasing interconnections on a global level in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, if globalisation accelerated and worsened the effects of the phylloxera devastation, it should also facilitate its resolution thanks to increasing information exchanges between growers and scientists internationally.⁹⁵ During this crisis, which impacted viticulture in almost all the viticultural areas of the world, experts from many countries and colonies shared their knowledge and experiences through correspondences, journals and agricultural schools to counter the devastation. These exchanges were sometimes sponsored by private individuals but more often by collective and public institutions.

Before the insect was officially identified in Australia, colonial representatives started to investigate the practical treatments against it. As early as May 1872, the phylloxera phenomenon was reported in the New South Wales newspaper *Albury Banner*. Two years later, South Australian winegrower David Randall warned Henry Parkes, chief secretary of New South Wales, of the threat that the insect represented and the necessity of prohibiting vine importation from any other part of the world.⁹⁶ In a letter of 9 February 1876, Dr. Hooker, Under-Secretary of State, while visiting the Royal Gardens at Kew in England, suggested transferring a report of the Académie Française to Baron Ferdinand von Mueller, Government Botanist in Melbourne. This report included valuable information on the ravages of phylloxera and practical instructions to treat it. Hooker explained: “Although I am not aware that this terrible pest has been introduced into any British vine-growing colony, it is highly important,

⁹³ Lachiver, *Vins, vignes et vigneronns*, 412-413. Gilbert Garrier, *Le phylloxéra. Une guerre de trente ans 1870-1900* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1989), 25-36.

⁹⁴ Garrier, *Le phylloxéra*, 25-41. See also George Ordish, *The Great Wine Blight* (London: Dent, 1972), 168-177. For a more recent study on the phylloxera and its impact on the world wine industry, see George Gale, *Dying on the Vine: How Phylloxera Transformed Wine*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

⁹⁵ Chelsea Davis also highlights this phenomenon in her recent publication, Davis, "From European Roots". See the last section entitled "Environmental reforms in a time of crisis, 1870s-1900."

⁹⁶ McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 275.

in view of such contingency, to be provided with a method of combating it.”⁹⁷ The letter published in *The Argus* was followed by the translation of the report entitled “Practical Instruction as to the Means to be Employed in Combatting the Phylloxera, and Especially during the Winter.”⁹⁸ The first official identification of the insect in Australia occurred at Geelong in 1877,⁹⁹ though some signs suggested its presence a few years earlier.¹⁰⁰

French newspapers and wine experts were interested in the Australian situation. Planchon contacted his colleague von Mueller in Melbourne in the hope of obtaining more details about the presence of the insect on that continent. He received a letter from von Mueller in 1879 stating:

Vos opuscules sur le phylloxera, ont pour nous d'autant plus d'intérêt, que ce maudit parasite a envahi depuis 3 ans notre territoire. Il me semble néanmoins, que l'arrachage et le brûlis des ceps malades dans les districts de Geelong et de Sandhurst auraient empêché cette peste de se répandre et l'on se prend à espérer que le mal sera complètement extirpé du pays.

We particularly praised your pamphlets on phylloxera as this damned parasite has infested our territory for three years now. It appears however that uprooting and burning the diseased vines in the districts of Geelong and Sandhurst would have prevented this plague from spreading and one could hope that it would be enough to cure it in all the country.¹⁰¹

Planchon commented that while he doubted von Mueller’s optimism, he approved the treatment applied in the districts contaminated. Future confirmed Planchon’s concerns, but his exchange with his Victorian counterpart constitutes a first attempt to share knowledge and experiences between France and Australia to deal with the devastating insect. Unfortunately, scientists and vignerons in both countries were not immediately convinced that uprooting – Planchon’s recommended method – was the best solution.

The scale of the devastation eventually alarmed professionals worldwide. At the international conference on phylloxera in Bordeaux in October 1881, representatives of the United States, the Cape colony and Australia attended the event.¹⁰² One participant stated:

L’Australie, le Cap, Malte, etc., préoccupent aujourd’hui le gouvernement anglais, et, bien qu’on accuse l’Angleterre d’avoir possédé l’insecte avant le continent européen, elle le connaît si peu qu’elle demande elle-même des renseignements à la France.

⁹⁷ *The Argus*, 8 May 1876, 6.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Jancis Robinson, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Wine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 521- 522.

¹⁰⁰ *The Argus*, 24 December 1877, 7.

¹⁰¹ Planchon published the letter in the journal he had launched in 1877 to report the latest discoveries on the use of American vine stock to fight the phylloxera, Jules-Émile Planchon, "Le phylloxera en Australie," *La vigne américaine: sa culture, son avenir en Europe* (1879): 214-215. The journal was issued until 1910.

¹⁰² A. Lalande, "Discours de M. A. Lalande," in *Compte rendu général du congrès international phylloxérique de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux: Feret et fils éd., 1882), 164.

The British government is now worried about Australia, the Cape, Malt, etc., and though England is accused for having the insect before it reached the continent, it knows so little about it that it needs information from France.¹⁰³

The insect having reached Australia ten years after it reached France, local winegrowers could reap the benefits of French experiences, struggles and failures.¹⁰⁴ It was during this conference that the solution which consisting in grafting French grapes on to American rootstock was finally confirmed as the best method to deal with the parasite.¹⁰⁵ This practice had been tested since the early 1870s thanks to Planchon's and Alexis Millardet's research. Planchon went on a study trip to North America to find and bring back vine varieties and experiment with grafting. He published his results in 1875, under the title of *Les vignes américaines, leur culture, leur résistance au phylloxéra et leur avenir en Europe* (American vine grapes, their cultivation, their resistance against phylloxera and their future in Europe).¹⁰⁶ This book greatly influenced viticulturists both in France and in Australia. As for Millardet, he provided a list of resistant vine species while appointed at the Faculté des Sciences in Bordeaux. His experiments were reported in local Australian newspapers as early as 1879.¹⁰⁷ But it took several years before this treatment was widely accepted. For small-scale vigneron in France, rooting out their vines and replanting them represented a cost they could not afford. Furthermore, chemists in general strongly opposed botanists' recommendations and preferred their own solutions.¹⁰⁸ In Australia, such drastic treatment applied in an industry already weakened by the lack of outlets would mean the end of colonial winegrowing, as it was easier to start over in another activity.

But for both countries, the crisis was an opportunity to strengthen their academic and scientific links. Before grafting was recognised as the best treatment against phylloxera, France began to pay more attention to Australian viticultural progress, as it was becoming critical to

¹⁰³ M. Laliman, "De la résistance de certaines vignes exotiques basée sur la prétendue origine américaine du Vastatrix," *ibid.* (Féret et fils éd.), 345.

¹⁰⁴ Gale also argues that France's experience during the phylloxera crisis helped the newly-established wine industry of Argentina, South Africa and Australia, see Gale, *Dying on the Vine: How Phylloxera Transformed Wine*. Chapter 6.

¹⁰⁵ Phillips, *French Wine*, 166.

¹⁰⁶ Garrier, *Le phylloxéra*, 106. Original publication: Jules-Émile Planchon, *Les vignes américaines: leur culture, leur résistance au phylloxéra et leur avenir en Europe* (Montpellier: C. Coulet, Libraire-Éditeur, 1875).

Planchon's discoveries mostly resulted from his close cooperation with American entomologist C. V. Riley, see Yves Carton et al., "Une coopération exemplaire entre entomologistes français et américains pendant la crise du phylloxéra en France (1868-1895)," *Annales de la Société Entomologique de France* 43, no. 1 (2007). On the different methods of grafting and hybridisation with American vines, see Alain Huetz de Lemps, "La vigne américaine au secours de l'Europe," *Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer* 45, no. 179-180 (1992).

¹⁰⁷ *Geelong Advertiser*, 11 September 1879, 3. *The Maitland Mercury*, 16 September 1879, 3. These articles drew on Alexis Millardet, *Histoire des principales variétés et espèces de vignes d'origine américaine qui résistent au phylloxéra* (Paris: G. Masson, 1885).

¹⁰⁸ Garrier, *Le phylloxéra*, 107.

find a solution against the plague. As early as 1879, an agent for the Melbourne exhibition of 1880 was tasked by the French Government with investigating the effects of the phylloxera detected in the district of Geelong three years earlier.¹⁰⁹ From 1887, the Minister of Agriculture and the Minister of Foreign Affairs for France addressed several circulars to the consuls established everywhere that grapevines were cultivated, and especially where phylloxera had been spotted, in the hope they could send back all the information they have about its progress in their respective districts, the actions employed against it and their results.¹¹⁰ The French consul in Melbourne received proposals from Australian chemists and agriculturists who claimed to have found a cure for phylloxera. In 1892, the consul sent a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs about a certain Mr. Lind, established at Surrey Hills near Melbourne, who “described a method which could destroy the phylloxera.”¹¹¹ The Minister replied that it would be examined by the Commission Supérieure du Phylloxéra in France.¹¹² The same year, Messrs. Murchisons & Co of Melbourne presented their chemical composition and informed the consul that they were willing to sell this new method to the French Government. This announcement was transferred to the Minister of Agriculture to be treated, as the French Government was offering a 300,000-franc reward to anyone who could find such remedy.¹¹³ This reward had been established in 1874, but it generated more frauds than real solutions, and it was ultimately never to be granted despite thousands of proposals from everywhere in France and abroad.¹¹⁴ Australian “solutions” to phylloxera, like many others, were simply discarded.

In the antipodean continent, the plague was handled differently in each colony according to the respective political context and the importance of the wine and table grape industries as well as the various effects of the insect.

¹⁰⁹ Rapport sur l'exposition de Melbourne de 1880, par M. Schoessler, Ministère commerce, Missions commerciales, XIXe siècle, F/12/5021 : Exposition de Melbourne, ANF.

¹¹⁰ Circulaire du 23 juillet 1887, signé M. Flourens, Circulaires du 26 août 1891 et du 13 août 1892 signé M. Ribot, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, direction des affaires commerciales et consulaires, sous-direction des affaires commerciales, 428PO/1/10, correspondance avec les autorités locales (1854-1893), correspondance générale (1891), CADN.

¹¹¹ Lettre du 31 décembre 1892, Ministre plénipotentiaire, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, sous-direction des affaires commerciales, 428PO/1/12, correspondance avec les autorités locales (1854-1893), correspondance générale (1893), CADN.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Lettre du 3 juin 1892, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, direction des affaires commerciales et consulaires, sous-direction des affaires commerciales, adressée à M. Desjardins, consul-général de France à Melbourne, 428PO/1/11 : correspondance Générale (1892), CADN.

¹¹⁴ Lachiver, *Vins, vignes et vigneronns*, 424. Garrier, *Le phylloxéra*, 63.

Troubled academic relationships in Victoria

On the continent of Australia, the colony of Victoria was the first to be hit by phylloxera. The insect was first spotted in the district of Geelong, south-west of Melbourne, in the mid-1870s and made its way northward, reaching Rutherglen, near the border with New South Wales, in the 1900s.¹¹⁵ Its introduction was believed to be the result of the import of vine stocks from Hérault, in the south of France.¹¹⁶ Following its spread, the Victorian Winegrowers' Association (VWA) regularly reported French experiments in the hope that they could better understand the mechanism of the insect and find a suitable solution to stop it.¹¹⁷ French winemaker François Coueslant of Château Tahbilk sent a letter to the VWA along with a translation of an article published in the French journal *Message Agricole* presenting various methods for the application of sulphide carbon on phylloxera-infested vines. Coueslant considered the "sulphurous plough" made by M. E. Falières an essential instrument to be introduced into Australia to combat the insect, especially in the Geelong district where it spread extensively. The VWA agreed then to forward this document to the Minister of Agriculture for Victoria.¹¹⁸

In 1885, the Minister considered that the situation became serious enough to appoint a Phylloxera Board. Its goal was "to inquire and report as to the advisability or otherwise of permitting the replanting of vines in any portion of the Geelong district."¹¹⁹ After careful investigation in the area, the Board advised against replanting, though local winegrowers argued the contrary, emphasising the French example where replanting was permitted.

The opinion of witnesses in the district is, that because replanting is allowed in France it should be permitted here. But the circumstances of the two countries are wholly dissimilar. The disease has taken a firm hold of nearly all the vine districts in France, where viticulture is one of the staple industries. The phylloxera is now being combated with much energy, and, if not cured, has been checked, and its ill effects greatly mitigated. If, in France, the disease was local instead of being general, no doubt the French people would have adopted similar measures to those which have been taken and which we now recommend. The disease being confined to the Geelong district, between which and other vine districts there are wide gaps, there is a very fair chance of stamping it out entirely.¹²⁰

The same optimism had been expressed six years earlier by von Mueller. Yet despite the progress made at the Bordeaux conference in 1881, there was still no mention of grafting

¹¹⁵ On the devastation of Victoria's vineyards, see Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 175-196.

¹¹⁶ *La vigne française*, vol. 4, no. 18, 31 juillet 1883, 293.

¹¹⁷ *Leader*, 25 August 1883, 13; *The Argus*, 17 September 1883, 11.

¹¹⁸ *The Australasian*, 1 September 1883, 25.

¹¹⁹ *The Vignerons*, April 1886, vol. 1, no. 3, 34.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 35.

cuttings on American rootstock on a large scale in Victoria. This situation continued through the 1890s–1900s. It was partly the result of the government’s refusal to listen to its experts François de Castella and Raymond Dubois. But it also derived from a context of economic bust that from 1891 prevented such critical decisions as uprooting from being executed.

Nevertheless, phylloxera was deeply impacting Victoria’s wine industry as well as the viticultural institutions which were supposed to support it. The devastation of the Bendigo vineyards by the insect in the 1890s definitively ruled the district out of the running to welcome the School of Viticulture and confirmed Rutherglen – then phylloxera-free – as the best choice. It became increasingly critical to import the latest knowledge and experiences from the European institutions which were at the forefront of the fight against the insect, especially the Montpellier agricultural school. As early as 1888, a report by Professor Pierre Viala of Montpellier to the French Minister of Agriculture was translated and distributed by the Board. It included a description of the best American resistant stocks and the way to cultivate them to receive the grafts.¹²¹ However, this project was not thoroughly supported. The bulk of Victoria’s winegrowers could not afford to undertake such an enterprise on their own. They generally discarded this solution and expected the Government to provide them with some practical and financial help.

It is in this context that Government Viticulturist de Castella attempted to redirect the colony’s policy in 1890–1892. He confirmed the results of the replanting solution in his very influential *Handbook on Viticulture for Victoria*, published in 1891, in which he described the means of grafting European varieties on phylloxera-resistant American vine stocks. This way “we have,” he stated, “a solution to the difficulty, which has already enabled European vine-growers to reconstitute to a great extent the millions of acres which were destroyed by the pest.”¹²² However, at the time, de Castella considered it an extreme solution, hoping that they would “never be obliged to have recourse to it.”¹²³ Furthermore, far from supporting its expert, the Minister of Agriculture let him go in 1892, and the cultivation of American vines was put aside for several years. Indeed, a change in the Government’s policy led to a disengagement in support for wine production. The bust of the 1890s impacted all economic sectors but especially agriculture. In practice, viticulture proved to be a secondary issue, and the publication of de

¹²¹ Ibid., 31 August 1888, 42.

¹²² Castella, *Handbook on Viticulture*, 134.

¹²³ Ibid.

Castella's second book was not sanctioned.¹²⁴ However, the Government did not completely abandon this industry.

Wine producer Hans Irvine led an investigation in France in the early 1890s on behalf of the Minister of Agriculture, George Graham. He visited the American vine nurseries managed by Foëx at Montpellier.¹²⁵ In his report, Irvine echoed de Castella's opinion and suggested that Victoria's Government should establish a nursery in an isolated location with the various varieties of phylloxera-resistant vines. "This could be considered and managed as an adjunct to the college which I earnestly hope will soon be established."¹²⁶ The Rutherglen Viticultural College was finally opened on 31 March 1897 at the peak of the phylloxera crisis in Victoria. During the inauguration, Mr. Taverner, the new Minister of Agriculture, informed the audience of the importation of 50,000 phylloxera-proof vine cuttings from France. Government Viticulturist Romeo Bragato expected a high demand and planned to import a total of 500,000 cuttings.¹²⁷ At about the same time, New South Wales also ordered a large quantity of American rootstocks from France. The Government was finally accepting that grafting on American stocks was the best and only solution in an area already infested by the plague. In this regard, France served as a valuable example. The method of grafting had been developing there for more than a decade, and by 1887 experts had determined every type of rootstock best adapted to most of France's wine districts. The vine-grafting industry strove, then, to meet with a huge demand across the country.¹²⁸ When Victoria's Government made its first order in 1897, the nurseries in France were at full capacity. Moreover, official public importations of vine cuttings were all the more important, as private imports were still forbidden to avoid any further contamination.¹²⁹

Victoria imported from France not only vine cuttings but also a viticultural expert. In 1898, Raymond Dubois was appointed Director of the Rutherglen College by the Victorian Government for a period of three years. Dubois' role in combating phylloxera in this antipodean colony is often omitted from histories due to his troubled relationship with the Government. Yet, his impact was not negligible and inspired his successors. Like his South Australian peer

¹²⁴ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 169.

¹²⁵ Irvine, *The Australian Wine Trade*, 18.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Journal officiel de la République française. Lois et décrets*, 14 juin 1897, 3305.

¹²⁸ Phillips, *French Wine*, 166-167.

¹²⁹ John W. Bear, proprietor of Chateau Tahbilk, Goulburn Valley and E. Rességuier, nurseryman at Alénia, Pyrénées Orientales, asked the French consul of Melbourne information about possibilities of importing American rootstocks (*Vitis Riparia*, *Vitis Rupestris* and *Vitis Berlandieris* from Texas) into Victoria. See Dossier E. Rességuier, 428/PO/1/20, correspondance générale (1898), CADN.

Perkins, Dubois followed a trans-imperial path during his career as a viticultural expert. He was a graduate of Montpellier and acquired practical experience in the south of France and North Africa.¹³⁰ One of his main objectives was to continue the struggle against phylloxera. He considered that the best solution consisted in uprooting the vines infected as practised in Algeria.¹³¹ During a lecture addressed to the vine-growers of Rutherglen, where phylloxera had recently been detected, Dubois expounded the different ways to deal with this plague. Like de Castella and Irvine, he strongly recommended the use of American resistant stocks, as this solution had been applied in France since the 1870s with significant successes. Dubois was optimistic in thinking that those experiences could easily be reproduced in Victoria to find suitable hybrid vines. It is said that the two hundred people in the audience “warmly applauded at the conclusion of his address,”¹³² which would indicate that Victoria’s viticulturists were finally accepting the inevitable. His later experience proved less optimistic.

At his arrival in Victoria, newspapers like *The Australasian*, *The Argus* or *Weekly Time* had praised Raymond Dubois’ skills and abilities regarding viticultural matters.¹³³ But other French and Australian sources reveal that his services were not adequately used. In an interview accorded to a reporter from *The Age* in May 1899, Dubois answered questions about his work at the Department of Agriculture. When asked if he was the acknowledged authority, he replied:

I suppose I must be logically acknowledged as such, from the fact of my having been sent for by your Government and selected by the French Government as the best qualified man available in all France; but, as a matter of fact, now that I am here I am not being utilised. [...] In France, I was told that my head quarters would be a viticultural college that the Victorian Government had erected near Rutherglen. When I arrived, Mr. Martin, the Secretary for Agriculture, took me up to that establishment, along with Mr. Bragato, who, I understand, has been responsible for the viticultural affairs of the past. Mr. Bragato on that occasion informed me that I must regard him as my superior officer. This I at once declined to do, my reason being that as sending for me inferred inefficient management previous to my arrival, it would be absurd to place myself, as a competent authority, in a subordinate position under incompetent control.¹³⁴

It is not certain whether this constituted an example of Franco–Italian rivalry in Australian viticultural institutions or a mere issue of hierarchy. Being the Government Viticulturist, Bragato oversaw all matters concerning viticulture in Victoria. Dubois, as Director of the Rutherglen School, was the leading representative of the fight against the phylloxera crisis, but

¹³⁰ *Weekly Times*, 18 June 1898, 34.

¹³¹ *The Australasian*, 11 June 1898, 8.

¹³² *Leader*, 20 May 1899, 9.

¹³³ *The Argus*, 10 June 1898, 6. *The Australasian*, 11 June 1898, 8. *Weekly Times*, 18 June 1898, 34.

¹³⁴ *The Age*, 23 May 1899, 5.

he was theoretically under the supervision of Bragato. In any case, Dubois deplored a critical lack of facilities:

You must understand that there is no college. There is a building – a bare unfurnished shell, intended for the sleeping and dining accommodation of students, together with an excavation for a wine cellar, but there is no laboratory equipment, no water supply, no assistant staff – in fact, no anything, not even quarters for myself.¹³⁵

Dubois also warned the reporter that the measures taken to deal with phylloxera were far from adequate and even self-defeating in spreading the disease even more quickly. He thus advocated adopting the models of France and California, where all steps were operated from a single central authority. “That centre in France is Montpellier, and in California, the Oakland Agricultural University. [...] I would recommend that the Victorian Montpellier or Oakland should be the viticultural college at Rutherglen.”¹³⁶ In order to achieve this vision, it was essential to equip the school with a laboratory and staff. But it was also necessary to send for resistant stocks from France to be planted in a State nursery and then spread wherever vineyards had to be reconstituted.¹³⁷

Dubois’ situation eventually echoed through the diplomatic correspondence. In a report addressed to the French consul in Melbourne, it is stated that the Legislative Assembly of Victoria raised concerns over Dubois’ wasted talents:

Le Ministère de l’Agriculture a essuyé des reproches pour ne pas avoir utilisé les services de M. Raymond Dubois. [...] M. Dubois a été effectivement traité avec froideur par l’administration pendant l’absence du Ministre, Mr. Taverner. Mais en France, Mr. Taverner a visité Montpellier, où il a été bien accueilli, et où il n’a entendu dire que du bien de M. Raymond Dubois. Le Ministre a donc promis de recourir, plus qu’on ne l’avait fait en son absence, aux lumières de notre concitoyen, qui a gagné la confiance d’un grand nombre de vigneron.

The Minister of Agriculture suffered criticisms for neglecting Mr. Raymond Dubois’ services. [...] Indeed, Mr. Dubois has not been warmly welcomed by the Bureau while the Minister, Mr. Taverner, was away. However, while he was in France, Mr. Taverner visited Montpellier, where he was well welcomed and where he only heard the best about M. Raymond Dubois. Thus, the Minister committed himself to utilising more systematically our fellow citizen’s guidance who has gained many winegrowers’ trust.¹³⁸

Despite these obstacles, in 1901 Dubois translated, with the help of W. Percy Wilkinson – analyst to the Board of Public Health – Viala and Ravaz’s book under the title *American Vines*:

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Rapport du 3 octobre 1899 au consul français de Melbourne, Archives rapatriées du consulat de Melbourne, 428PO/1/11 : correspondance générale, CADN.

their Culture, Adaptation, Grafting and Propagation.¹³⁹ This work was published with the support of the Rutherglen Viticultural Station and the Department of Agriculture for Victoria. *The Age* praised this initiative, arguing that “this publication contains all the latest approved knowledge concerning replanting on American stock, and should be in the hands of every vine grower in Victoria.”¹⁴⁰ It could thus be expected to see some improvement in the fight against phylloxera, and especially regarding the process of grafting and replanting.

In the end, however, the Government of Victoria let Dubois go as it had de Castella. The former accepted an offer in 1903 to become viticultural expert in Cape Town with a higher salary. Victoria’s winegrowers lamented this decision and blamed their Government for not being able to retain his services. During the farewell dinner organised in Dubois’ honour, Malcolm d’Arblay, winegrower at Château Tahbilk, praised his actions “for advancing the cause of sound viticulture in Victoria, for introducing phylloxera-proof vines, and for disseminating among winegrowers valuable viticultural literature.”¹⁴¹ This praise may all be merited, although it should be noted that the import of phylloxera-resistant vines started under Bragato’s direction a year before Dubois was appointed.

Dubois’ attempt to make an impact on the struggle against phylloxera was not completely over. While in London in 1906, he met with Minister Taverner, Rutherglen vigneron G. F. Morris, and London wine importer P. B. Burgoyne. Dubois suggested that these gentlemen visit France to observe the latest methods of grafting phylloxera-resistant vines and the results in reconstituted vineyards. He also submitted to the Government a proposition for handling these reconstitutions within seven years, claiming that his experience in Victoria, South Africa and France would enable him to succeed in this new mission. But Victoria’s Administration turned it down once again.¹⁴²

The reason for this refusal certainly had more to do with the person of Dubois than with the recommendations he made. Indeed, in 1907, Victoria’s Government called back de Castella on the advice of Hans Irvine to investigate modern viticultural and winemaking methods in

¹³⁹ Pierre Viala and Louis Ravaz, *American Vines: their Adaptation, Culture, Grafting and Propagation*, trans. Raymond Dubois and W. Percy Wilkinson (Melbourne: Robt. S. Brain, Government Printer, 1901).

¹⁴⁰ *The Age*, 17 February 1902, 4. A year earlier, Dubois and Wilkinson had translated L. Roos’ *L’industrie vinicole méridionale*, which proved to be of great interest to Australian winemakers willing to find literature adapted to their particular natural conditions. See L. Roos, *Wine-Making in Hot Climates*, trans. Raymond Dubois and W. Percy Wilkinson (Melbourne: R. S. Brain, government printer, 1900).

¹⁴¹ *The Advertiser*, 12 February 1903, 7. D’Arblay Burney replaced Dubois as Government viticulturist from 1905 to 1907.

¹⁴² *The Mildura Cultivator*, 6 October 1906, 5.

Europe and particularly to oversee the reconstitution of vineyards on phylloxera-resistant stocks.¹⁴³ The troubled relationship with the former director of Rutherglen could explain why they favoured de Castella over Dubois for the same position and the same role. De Castella reached French shores on 22 July 1907 and proceeded first to the Montpellier School, as it was the most renowned viticultural institution in Europe. He then visited the Swiss wine districts of Vaud and Neuchâtel – his father was a native of this region –, before proceeding to Burgundy and finally Paris, where he met with the French Minister of Agriculture and visited the Entrepôt de Bercy storing all the wine consumed in the capital. He also visited western France – Saumur, Cognac and Bordeaux – and ended his trip by collecting vines at Montpellier (Figure 8).¹⁴⁴ De Castella purchased them at the nursery of M. Richter, who had already supplied clients worldwide, including in California and South America. By that time, phylloxera had devastated most of the Rutherglen district and converted all the winegrowers to the uprooting/replanting solution. The context was finally favourable to the reception of de Castella's recommendations. By 1910, Victoria was grafting from 2 to 3 million plants, mostly on rootstocks imported from Richter's American vines nursery.¹⁴⁵ Yet, that number was still insufficient to meet with winegrowers' requirements.¹⁴⁶

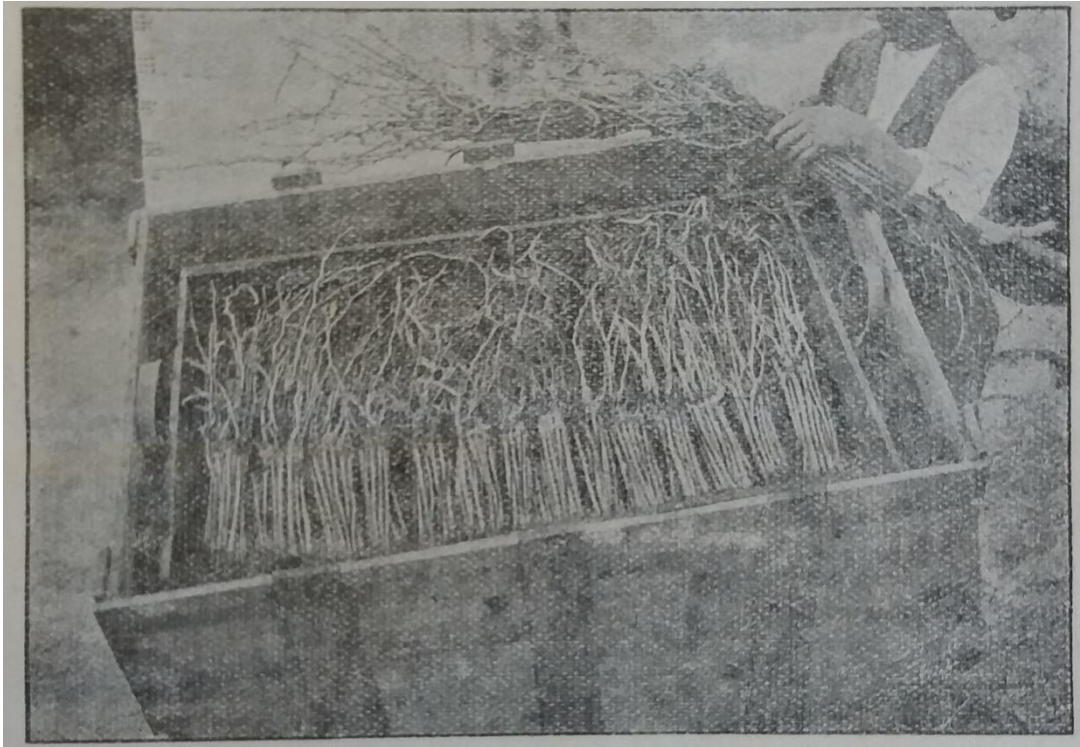
¹⁴³ Typescript, report of the Government viticulturist by François de Castella, 1907, De Castella records, 1991.0159, Unit 19: Notes on viticulture, wine, etc., UMA. David Dunstan, "Irvine, Hans William (1856-1922)," ed. National Centre of Biography, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Australian National University), accessed 21 January 2018, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/irvine-hans-william-6799/text11761>.

¹⁴⁴ Typescript, report of the Government Viticulturist by François de Castella, 1907, De Castella records, 1991.0159, Unit 19, UMA. De Castella then visited London, Portugal and Spain.

¹⁴⁵ Perkins, *Agriculture in Other Lands*, 58.

¹⁴⁶ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 195.

Figure 8: Phylloxera-resistant vine stocks packed at M. Richter's nursery for export to Australia, 1907



Source: Typescript, Report of the Government Viticulturist by François de Castella, 1907, De Castella records, 1991.0159, Unit 19, UMA.

In the end, Victoria's case appeared similar to the French one, where the most critical and only effective solution – uprooting and replanting on phylloxera-resistant stocks – was only to be accepted at the peak of the crisis where no other solutions could be envisioned. Troubled relationships between viticultural institutions and the government, as well as a declining economic context, prevented the implementation of a full support to local winegrowers. The French model finally proved to be instrumental in providing experts, skills, technologies and vine stocks to the endangered antipodean vineyard.

New South Wales: an intermediate situation

In New South Wales, phylloxera was first detected at Camden, south-east of Sydney, in 1885.¹⁴⁷ But the Government did not wait for the insect to be identified in the colony to organise measures against it. As early as 1882, Henry Bonnard was appointed to investigate the phylloxera disease.¹⁴⁸ He travelled to France as representative of the colony at the International Exhibition to be hosted in Bordeaux that year and then visited several regions to collect as much

¹⁴⁷ McIntyre, *First Vintage*, 126. On the phylloxera attack in New South Wales see also McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 284-295.

¹⁴⁸ McIntyre, *First Vintage*, 125.

information as he could on ways to destroy the insect, which included uprooting and burning the vines, saturating with sulphur or carbon or submerging for forty days. The planting of phylloxera-resistant vine species was mentioned last but it was considered “so dangerous and yet uncertain in its results that it should not be resorted to otherwise than under strict control and supervision, either from the Government or of a recognised syndicate of growers.”¹⁴⁹ A “Vine Diseases Act” was passed in 1886, the objective of which was to forbid any importations of vine grapes from outside the colony. It also instituted Vine Diseases Boards in charge of inspecting the vineyards, destroying “diseased” vines and paying compensation when necessary.¹⁵⁰ This Act was renewed twice, in 1890 and 1891. In 1893, a new Act officially inaugurated three Vine Districts of New South Wales, with names and set boundaries, to organise the eradication of the insect more efficiently; these were the Cumberland, the Murray River and the Hunter Valley.¹⁵¹ But confusion and disagreements between the viticulturists, the members of the Boards and the Government led to inefficient actions, and the insect continued to spread during the 1890s.¹⁵²

The French experience became increasingly valuable as the destruction of vineyards could not be stopped. Alongside the Department of Agriculture, the *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales* (AGNSW) was created in 1890 with the intention of diffusing the latest advancement in agricultural science and hoped to be able to reciprocate the exchange of knowledge with other countries.¹⁵³ The AGNSW was notably influenced by the French Government’s action against phylloxera and regularly published articles about the different treatments of vine diseases and the progress being made in France. The first issue stated: “The volumes on Phylloxera issued by the French Government fill a large and valuable library reference for us in our present time of danger.”¹⁵⁴ As Government Viticulturist of New South Wales from 1890 to 1895, Jean Adrian Despeissis actively reported experiments realised in France combating the insect. In an article published in 1895, he enumerated the different means developed to kill it: submersion, planting vines on sandy soils, Balbiani’s mixture, use of hot water and finally the use of phylloxera-proof vine stocks. He translated H. Marès’ report to the

¹⁴⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 February 1885, 11.

¹⁵⁰ New South Wales, *An Act to prohibit the Importation of Grape-vines and to deal with the disease known as Phylloxera Vastatrix*, no. 28 (Assent 23 October 1886).

¹⁵¹ New South Wales, *An Act relating to Vine Diseases; to prevent the introduction into this Colony, or removal from place to place in this Colony, of diseased grapes or grape vines; and to eradicate a certain affecting grapes, grape vines, or vineyards; to proclaim Vine Districts; to appoint Boards; to make assessments and levy rates; and for the purposes incidental thereto*, 56 Vic, no. 22 (Assent 7 June 1893).

¹⁵² McIntyre, “A ‘Civilized’ Drink,” 284-289.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 291.

¹⁵⁴ *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, 1890, vol. 1, 1.

French Minister of Agriculture in 1888, in which *Vitis riparia* was considered to be one of the best species for grafting European grapes cuttings on to.¹⁵⁵ Despeissis had been convinced by the grafting method in 1890 while visiting the districts of Médoc and Sauternes near Bordeaux, despite local winegrowers' reluctance to plant American vine stocks:

Here, by virtue of the rich alluvial soil and the ease with which the chief vineyards can be submerged, the phylloxera has made slower headway, and the opposition to the use of American resistant stocks has been greatest. Yet they have finally vanquished prejudice, and are, either from necessity or choice, rapidly coming into general use. When I say choice, I mean that even where the French vines yet do well, and the phylloxera is kept in subjection by other means, it is found that great vigour of growth and increase in healthfulness and yield of fruit result at once from the use of American stocks.¹⁵⁶

The article included a description of the different American vine species which could be used as phylloxera-resistant stocks and the investigations made at the agricultural school of Montpellier concerning the American species best suited to each type of soil.¹⁵⁷

Like in France and Victoria, the use of American stocks in New South Wales was reluctantly accepted as the best method to be applied in the districts already infested by the insect. In the early 1890s, the Department of Agriculture investigated possibilities for importing American cuttings from France. Kew Botanic Gardens' director, William Thiselton-Dyer, was tasked with this mission. He had been the official representative of the Australian colonies at the Bordeaux conference on phylloxera in 1882. But he had strongly advised against importing cuttings, claiming it was too great a risk, and recommended seeds importation instead. Saul Samuel, the New South Wales agent-general in London, replied that the Department requested "from France, at once, one hundred thousand cuttings of phylloxera-proof vine stocks."¹⁵⁸ Despeissis was replaced in 1896 as Government viticultural expert by Italian-born Michele Blunno, who had studied vine-growing science in Italy and France.¹⁵⁹ Blunno in 1897 advocated planting American rootstocks for replacing exhausted vineyards, and the Department of Agriculture started their importation the next year.¹⁶⁰

Fortunately for New South Wales, phylloxera did not spread as widely as in Victoria and did not reach the famous wine districts of the Hunter Valley, but, as in Victoria, imports of

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 1895, vol 6, 18-29.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., May 1891, vol. 2, 260.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ McIntyre, *First Vintage*, 130.

¹⁵⁹ *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, vol. 39, 1905, x. *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 3, no. 11, November 1897, 800-801. Blunno's experience in France is not ascertained but his references suggest an advanced knowledge of French wine expertise.

¹⁶⁰ McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 289.

American resistant stocks from France proved to be essential to save viticulture in the infested areas.

South Australia's inviolate area

South Australia reacted much more quickly against the threat through government actions than did its neighbours. Restrictions on plant importations were set up from the mid-1870s,¹⁶¹ and these prevented the colony from being reached by the insect. But the Government did not stop its involvement, even though phylloxera was absent from its vineyards. In the early 1890s, Arthur J. Perkins, as Government Viticulturist, took the threat very seriously and argued for reinforcing quarantine measures.¹⁶² In September 1892, he warned the Bureau of Agriculture, via prominent wine producer Thomas Hardy, about the risks linked to the importation of vine cuttings into the colony:

For although at the time when cuttings are forwarded there are generally no phylloxera in activity, add that the winter egg is generally found on two or three year old wood, still there is always a certain amount of risk of introducing them, as very often a cutting is terminated by a piece of two year old wood; and on the other hand, wingless forms of phylloxera have been discovered on ordinary cuttings.¹⁶³

In his opinion, the law prohibiting introductions of vines needed stricter regulations. Perkins emphasised France's example and the devastation caused by the inadvertent importation from North America of several vine diseases: oïdium, mildew, black-rot and, worst of all, phylloxera. "The French Government has issued a decree this year prohibiting any further introduction of vine cuttings from America into France, for a new disease has appeared in California where it is endangering the existence of thousands of vines."¹⁶⁴ Perkins later transmitted to Benno Seppelt – an important South Australian winegrower – Viala and Ravaz's classification of American vine varieties according to their relative resistance to phylloxera, and the most suitable soil in which to plant them out.¹⁶⁵ As such, the network established by Perkins between academic institutions and private winegrowers in France and in Australia was instrumental in spreading scientific knowledge on how to fight the aphid.

¹⁶¹ Reddin, *Teamwork*, 9.

¹⁶² Perkins, *Agriculture in Other Lands*, 59.

¹⁶³ Perkins and Daniels, *The Personal Letterbooks*, 99.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 118-121.

The Government was deeply involved in helping its promising wine industry, as the collapse of viticulture in neighbouring Victoria appeared increasingly devastating. In 1898, Edward Burney Young, first manager of the South Australian Government Central Wine Depot in London, was sent to France on a second trip to investigate winegrowing techniques in the leading viticultural regions. While in Burgundy he observed the reconstitution of the vineyards with grafting on American vine stocks. He visited several private nurseries cultivating these vines for the purpose of selling them to viticulturists, as well as the *École Pratique d'Agriculture et de Viticulture de Beaune*.¹⁶⁶ This school had been created in 1884 to respond to the phylloxera crisis in the département of Côte d'Or and teach students the latest techniques for combating the insect. From the late 1880s, free lessons were given on grafting methods there. It is not certain whether Young's visit in Burgundy influenced viticultural teaching in South Australia but, the next year, the Government took action to support the wine industry. German-born winegrower Gustav Hermann Buring participated with Thomas Hardy through the South Australian Phylloxera Board in the establishment of the Phylloxera Act of 1899. This act organised the funding of vine inspections, quarantine measures and reimbursement for infested vines, and it prohibited imports of foreign plants.¹⁶⁷

In the end, phylloxera never reached South Australian vineyards. They were preserved from devastation thanks partly to the reactivity of the Government but also to the trust and financial support given to agricultural institutions. The latter, led by experienced and highly qualified experts such as Perkins, used connections with France to prevent the colony from sharing the same fate. The cohesion between the Government, academic institutions and private winegrowers' associations made these measures even easier to apply. However, it could be argued that it was also a matter of luck, as the circulation of vine cuttings was difficult to control. Had the insect hit the colony, it is difficult to know how the Government would have handled it and whether the grafting/replanting solution would have been accepted and executed more quickly than in New South Wales or Victoria. The colony of Adelaide might have benefitted from its relative peripheral location in comparison with Sydney and Melbourne, the two main ports in Australia. In any case, South Australia overtook Victoria as the main wine producer in the Antipodes by the turn of the twentieth century, so much so that this State became at the same time the main interstate supplier of wine within the newly established Commonwealth of Australia – which had removed the tariff between the States of the

¹⁶⁶ *South Australian Register*, 21 May 1894, 5. *The Advertiser*, 17 October 1898, 6.

¹⁶⁷ Davis, "From European Roots".

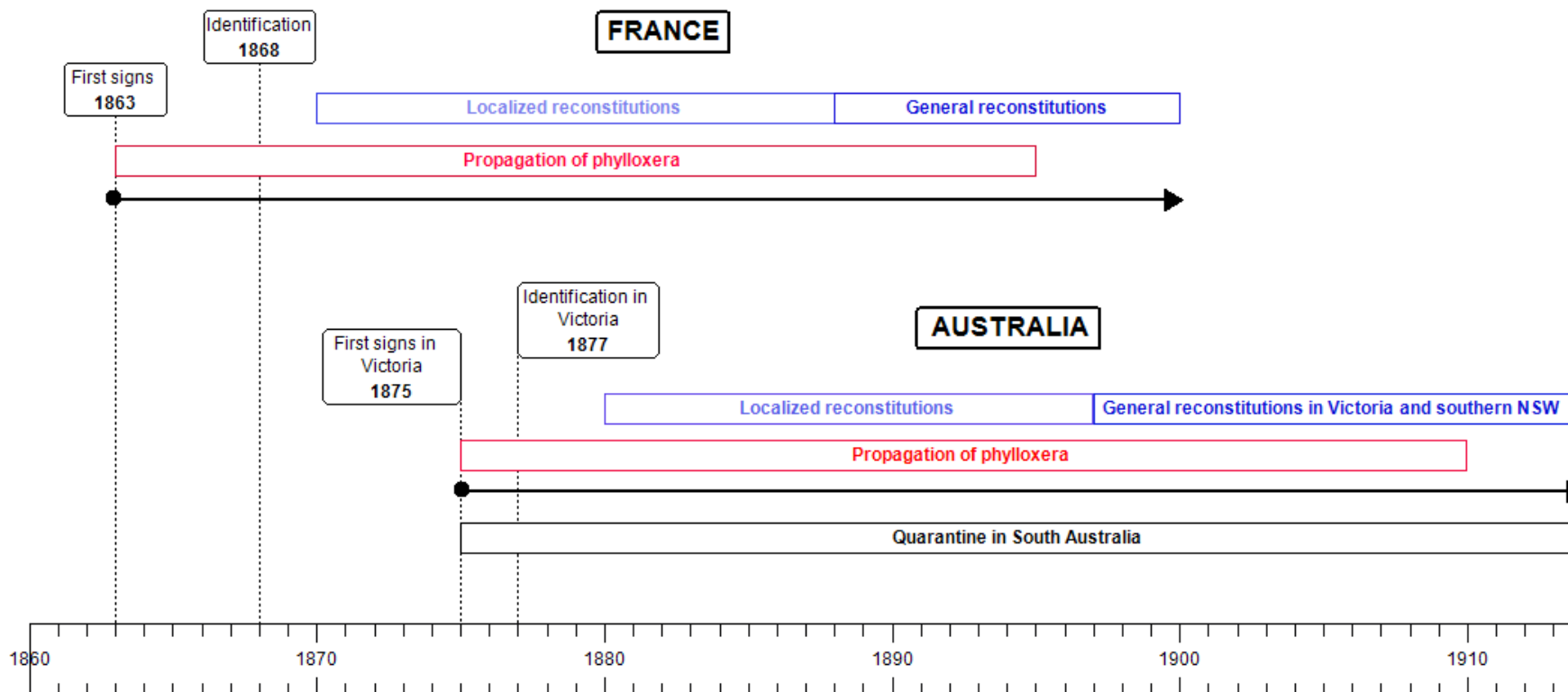
Federation – and the main Australian exporter overseas, principally to Britain.¹⁶⁸ However, the fact that South Australia remained an inviolate area, free from phylloxera to this day, deeply influenced local winegrowers' minds through a permanent concern about its potential future attack and the necessity of maintaining high biosecurity measures.¹⁶⁹

Eventually, the transnational phylloxera problem was resolved by transnational solutions. As the plague came from North America, the solution was also to be imported from that continent. Research realised at Montpellier by renowned experts like Planchon, Ravaz and Viala in connections with North American scientists, influenced the creation of viticultural teachings and the appointment of Montpellier's graduates Perkins and Dubois in South Australia and Victoria, respectively, as well as Despeissis, a graduate of the National Agronomic Institute of Paris, in New South Wales. The relations between agricultural institutions worldwide proved to be essential to the circulation of the knowledge, experts and vine stocks that would address and remedy the phylloxera threat. The French experience fighting the plague served as an example to Australian viticultural experts. As a result, identifications, experimentation with different treatments and the final reconstitution of the vineyards occurred in the two countries with a time-lag of about ten years (Diagram 2). However, the reactions in each colony and the disagreements between different actors in the wine industry sometimes slowed the treatment of the infestations. South Australia, thanks to an early policy of quarantine, preserved its territory from damage, while Victoria, divided as to the measures to be applied, could not prevent its propagation. New South Wales was only partly affected, but as in Victoria, the import of expertise and resistant vine stocks from France saved the industry from destruction.

¹⁶⁸ McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 296-298.

¹⁶⁹ William Skinner, "Presence Through Absence: Phylloxera and the Viticultural Imagination in McLaren Vale, South Australia," *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 19, no. 3 (2018).

Diagram 2: Comparative timelines of the propagation and treatments of phylloxera in France and in Australia¹



¹ This representation was inspired by Gilbert Garrier's timeline, see Garrier, *Le phylloxéra*, 38. The same time-lag was observable between France, on the one hand, and Spain, Italy and Australia on the other.

Conclusion

From the 1870s–1880s, the rise of formal transfers through institutions was the result of an economic boom, the growth of the colonial wine industries and the increase in government involvement both in France and in Australia. It was driven by the desire to provide colonial winegrowers with up-to-date expertise and advanced agricultural instruction to improve wine quality and secure export markets. France appeared as a most suitable model thanks to the reputation of its wines and its progress in wine sciences and viti-vinicultural teaching. The formalisation of sciences and the process of globalisation accelerated transnational exchanges of knowledge and technologies in Europe and North America and helped to build advanced agricultural academic institutions. This phenomenon impacted Australia and became essential to the survival of the colonial wine industry. Indeed, the phylloxera crisis proved to be critical both in Europe and in the Antipodes. The threat strengthened institutional links and academic exchanges while the infestations were spreading. As the first wine country to be devastated by phylloxera, France provided Australian winegrowers, agricultural experts and colonial officials with experiences and a model with which to eradicate the plague. Formal exchanges that occurred during the crisis also revealed the progress made by Australia in viti-vinicultural practices and sciences. By filling the gap with traditional European wine producers, the Australian wine sector started to question these models and assert a distinct model of its own.

Conclusion to Part II

Viti-vinicultural transfers from France were mostly initiated by private individuals in New South Wales and later in Victoria and South Australia with the intention of emulating French wines. The diffusion of this knowledge was made possible by the establishment of a network of winegrowing pioneers involving mutual aid, distribution of vine cuttings, sharing of experiences and the publication of books and articles throughout the three colonies.

The importing of French skilled labour was attempted early in the history of the Australian wine industry, but colonial wine initiators often faced great difficulties in realising this project. Some French migrants turned to viticulture and winegrowing after their failures during the gold rush, but they lacked capital and high-level skills and did not persevere in the industry. After initial failures, the phylloxera crisis and the determination of several British colonists allowed them to send for a handful of French wine experts who were expected to improve the colonial wine production. These Frenchmen were often hired in the most successful wineries, such as Tahbilk and Great Western in Victoria and Beaumont, Tintara and Auldana in South Australia, which could afford to prospect for such highly skilled labour. These French experts often offered their services to several wineries and viticultural properties but rarely established their own vineyards or companies, and when they did so, these did not last for more than a generation. Consequently, the role of the French in the colonial Australian wine industry has been overshadowed by that of the British winery owners who controlled the sector.

Transfers instigated by individuals did not stop in the late nineteenth century, but they became increasingly linked to collective initiatives through the role of agricultural and viticultural associations, societies and schools and sometimes through government-sponsored missions. By the early twentieth century, it was common for trainee colonial winegrowers to finish their studies or obtain professional experience in Montpellier or Bordeaux. Out of thirty-one Australian wine tourists and students in the nineteenth century, nineteen visited Bordeaux, twelve Montpellier, ten Burgundy, seven Champagne and five the Rhône valley (see Appendix 1). The attraction of Bordeaux had become stronger after the classification of 1855 and the consecration of its *grands crus* in the British world. Montpellier, on the other hand, was famous among scholars and students from around the world thanks to its role in solving the phylloxera crisis as well as the prestige of its viticultural teaching.

The rapid progress of Australian wine science led to the idea that colonial winemakers in the 1890s were as skilled as their European counterparts, if not more so. Thomas Hardy was

one of the first to argue that colonial growers had more to learn within Australia than away in Europe. The necessity of being acquainted with local natural conditions appeared more essential than theoretical knowledge acquired overseas. This changing perception was concomitant with the questioning of the French model. Finally, from a commercial point of view, the phylloxera crisis appeared as an opportunity to replace French wines on international markets. The globalisation of the second half of the nineteenth century, while facilitating scientific and academic exchanges, also provoked the rise of international competition.

Part III

Emancipation and Competition: Challenging the French Model?

The process in Australia of catching up with European winegrowing techniques and sciences naturally led to the questioning of these models and their suitability to Australian conditions (environmental, political, economic and cultural), at the level of both production and consumption. Eventually, the concept of terroir reached Australia. This concept encapsulated a piece of “Frenchness” in the colonial wine industry, but it also led to the idea of an Australian wine model with its own taste and qualities independent of the French ones. This will towards uniqueness was also a response to concerns over trade and distribution. Facing the limits of the colonial market, Australian winegrowers and traders needed to focus on international outlets, namely Britain, to sell their production. This naturally led to competition with European wines. The production of French-style light dry wines or sparkling wines was directly intending to take market shares in Britain from French exports. Furthermore, the phylloxera crisis appeared as an opportunity for Australian winegrowers to replace the plummeting French wine output. They highlighted the “imperial” nature of Australian wines and their purity in comparison with French adulterated products and at the same time attempted to reproduce the French model of great growths – from Bordeaux or Burgundy – to meet with a distinguished demand whose desire was to appreciate unique wines or high-quality brands like those provided by Champagne houses. Chapter 6 analyses the limits of the French models for Australian wine production and the impact of the concept of terroir. Chapters 7 and 8 focus on wine distribution and Franco–Australian mutual perceptions.

Chapter 6

Seeking Australian Terroirs: The Limits and Paradox of the French Model

British winegrowers in Australia realised early on that the lands they were trying to cultivate differed greatly from those of their homeland. The climate, the soil, the plants and the animals looked unfamiliar. Furthermore, the Indigenous people were unaccustomed to European products and habits of alcohol-drinking, and the colonists – mostly British – were not in the habit of regularly drinking wine like the French in the nineteenth century and largely favoured spirits and beer. It would not be so easy to overcome such obstacles. Viticulture was seen by some settlers as a means of “civilising” the colony, not only its population but also the country itself. Yet the vine as a “foreign” plant had to be acclimatised and the wine as a “foreign” beverage had to be accepted by the British-born population.¹ This involved a clash of agricultural and industrial models with France and it remained critical for Australian wine advocates throughout the nineteenth century.

As Rod Phillips points out regarding the geographical distribution of wine production, it is difficult to separate human influences and natural ones.² In the case of the Australian wine industry, these two types of factors deeply impacted its development. This question was even more critical regarding the adoption of French wine methods, as France’s environment was considered too dissimilar to Australian natural conditions except in the very south of France, where the heat could match that of the Antipodes. Furthermore, the model of light dry wine did not meet with colonial preference for port and sherry, that is Portuguese and Spanish style wines. Thus, local winegrowers sought to adapt the knowledge and technologies they obtained from France to local conditions. Sometimes, however, they turned their attention to other models in Southern Europe – those of Spain, Portugal, and, further afield, Algeria and Madeira.

This issue also led to the idea that there might eventually be a distinctive Australian wine model. Given that these colonies had specific environments, why should local producers keep trying to emulate French wines? This perspective was paradoxically invigorated by the transfer of the French concept of terroir though the word itself was not utilised with the same meaning at the time.³ In sum, terroir determined the flavours and character of a wine which derived from

¹ McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink." McIntyre, "Adam Smith and Faith."

² Phillips, *Nine Thousand Years of Wine*, 2.

³ The expression *goût de terroir* referred to an earthy taste resulting from winemaking flaws.

the place where it was produced. In the late nineteenth century, the general opinion was that the main characteristics of a wine derived from local natural conditions (soil, topography, climate, etc.) It designed a map of the different particularities of each region of the French nation.⁴ Also, emphasising the uniqueness of terroirs became increasingly necessary in a context of a process of globalisation that led to standardisation and growing exchanges of agricultural and industrial products worldwide.

Terroir was thus intricately linked to the rising nationalism and cultural protectionism of the time. Scholars in France highlighted the links between geography and history as a form of determinism within human societies. In the mid-nineteenth century, French historian Jules Michelet used the expression *tyrannie des conditions naturelles* (“tyranny of environment”) to determine a form of geographical determinism.⁵ This idea would be formalised at the turn of the twentieth century by geographer Paul Vidal de la Blache in *Tableau de la géographie de France* (1903), of which the main argument was that the environment, shaped by internal and external factors, determines *le genre de vie* (the way of life) of a geographical area and its people.⁶ Recently, historian Kolleen Guy points out that the French responded to the changes of modernity and the risks of vulnerability and homogenisation by embracing the “local, the connection with place and history as an antidote.” These elements all lie at the root of the concept of terroir. As Guy puts it, this concept attempts to capture “the holistic combination of soil, climate, topography, and the ‘soul’ of the cultivator that is encoded in the system of *appellation d’origine contrôlée* (AOC).”⁷ In other words, terroir was used in the development of French nationalism on a geographical basis. However, in the late nineteenth century, terroirs in France were far from being formalised, and geographical indications existed only as regional brands determining wine styles. Thus, consumers had no guarantee about the origin or quality of the final product. Merchants usually blended wines from different areas and marketed them under the name of a specific region (Bordeaux, Burgundy, Champagne, etc.) as a generic wine

⁴ Phillips, *French Wine*, 185.

⁵ Roger Dion, *Le paysage et la vigne: Essais de géographie historique* (Paris: Editions Payot, 1990).

⁶ Kolleen M. Guy, "Imperial Feedback: Food and the French Culinary Legacy of Empire," *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies* 14, no. 2 (2010): 154. See Paul Vidal de La Blache, *Tableau de la géographie de la France*, first published in 1903. But the concept of environmental determinism emerged earlier in France in the seventeenth century, see Parker, *Tasting French Terroir*, 90-91.

⁷ Guy, "Imperial Feedback," 149. Regarding the influence of geographers on the French wine culture during the twentieth century, see Jacqueline Dutton, "Geographical Turns and Historical Returns in Narrating French Wine Culture," *Global Food History* 5, no. 1-2 (2019). Dutton argues that Paul Vidal de la Blache, Roger Dion and Jean-Robert Pitte have all contributed to redefine the concept of terroir by adding the role of human interventions (social, cultural and economic) to environmental factors. This reveals the deep connection between geography and history in France.

style. Despite these limits, the concepts of terroir and geographical determinism crossed borders and reached countries as far as the Australian colonies.

The question of geographical determinism should thus be raised for European settler colonies in the New Worlds. French geographer Roger Dion, using Michelet's expression of *tyrannie des conditions naturelles*, went further by explaining that in the Old Continent, the geographical organisation of human societies and agricultural activities are the result of centuries of experiences reshaping lands, whereas in the New Worlds, European colonists would have started from scratch on a "virgin land," and that geographical determinism was easier to observe in these regions.⁸ Dion, who wrote his book in 1948, had not the knowledge we have today about the role of Indigenous people in the organisation and shaping of Australian territories and landscapes prior to the arriving of the Europeans, in terms of agricultural practices, breeding, use of bushfires, and so on, which is described and analysed in Bill Gammage's *The Biggest Estate on Earth*.⁹ However, Dion might have been right regarding European practices of plant cultivation and animal breeding that were unknown to Indigenous people and that had to be acclimatised and adapted to local conditions. Even in these cases, however, it is difficult to talk about a "tyranny of environment", for as Geoff Raby points out, "despite Australian fondness for the romantic drama of struggle against an alien and unforgiving environment, the environment was welcoming to the intruders."¹⁰ This idea had been emphasised on a global scale by Alfred Crosby with his concept of ecological imperialism, which suggests the superiority of European species over local species in the New Worlds.¹¹ Yet, if early settlers managed to cultivate vine grapes and produce wine in Australia, the environment revealed itself to be unsuited to certain styles of wine production.

Eventually, this question leads to the rethinking of the transfers of ideas between two geographical and civilisational areas, involving translations and reconfigurations. Given that the concepts of terroir and geographical areas of wine production were developing in France in the second half of the nineteenth century, it is likely that winegrowers in Australia using French models and absorbing French writings about wine were influenced by this thinking. This chapter intends to show that this "tyranny of environment" and the cultural, economic and political context impacted the wine-related transfers that took place between France and

⁸ Dion, *Le paysage et la vigne*, 44-45.

⁹ Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia* (Crows Nest, New South Wales: Allen & Unwin, 2012).

¹⁰ Raby, *Making Rural Australia*, 24.

¹¹ Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*.

Australia, forcing a reconsideration of the benefits and suitability of French methods and leading to the idea of establishing locally adapted practices. Paradoxically, the transfer of the concept of terroir from France to colonial Australia also led to the emancipation of the latter to shape unique Australian wines with a reputation of their own.

The tyranny of environment.

The idea that environmental factors influence production and consumption habits dates back to the seventeenth century in France.¹² The concept of geographical determinism was formalised in the nineteenth century and was naturally applied to viticulture during that time, which was marked by a specialisation of discourses on winegrowing led by the works of viticultural experts such as Jean-Antoine Chaptal, André Jullien and Jules Guyot.¹³ It is worth noting that geographical determinism in winegrowing was not considered quite in the same way in early-nineteenth-century New South Wales. James Busby, who published the first books in the colony on viticulture and winemaking, acknowledged the role of the soil and climate as described by Chaptal.¹⁴ In his *Journal*, published eight years later, he mentioned again the impact of the soil on wine qualities, describing the presence of limestone in Hermitage vineyards:

It is probably to this peculiarity that the wine of Hermitage owes its superiority, for to all appearance many of the neighbouring hills on both sides of the Rhone present situations equally favourable, although the wine produced even upon the best of them never rises to above half the value of the former, and in general not to the fourth of their value.¹⁵

However, Busby clearly refuted the idea that “something” in the soil would give the wines all their qualities and flavours and that it would be impossible to obtain the same quality from another soil. On the contrary, he highlighted the role of the winegrower in selecting grape varieties and advanced winemaking practices:

By these means have the vineyards of a few individuals acquired a reputation which has enabled the proprietors to command almost their own prices for their wines; and it was evidently the interest of such persons, that the excellence of their wines should be imputed to a peculiarity in the soil, rather than to a system of management which others might imitate. It is evident, however, that for all this a command of capital is required which is not often found among proprietors of vineyards; and to this cause, more than to any other, it is

¹² Parker, *Tasting French Terroir*, 91, 106. See in particular the works of François-Savinien d'Alquier and Saint-Evremond.

¹³ Serge Wolikow, "La construction des territoires du vin et l'émergence des terroirs. Problématiques et démarches," in *Territoires et terroirs du vin du XVIIIe au XXIe siècles: approche internationale d'une construction historique*, ed. Olivier Jacquet and Serge Wolikow (Dijon: Editions universitaires de Dijon, 2011).

¹⁴ Busby, *A Treatise*, xxxii.

¹⁵ Busby, *Journal of a Tour*, 87.

undoubtedly to be traced, that a few celebrated properties have acquired, and maintained, almost a monopoly in the production of fine wines.¹⁶

Busby not only refuted the supremacy of the soil over all other factors, but he also pointed out the strategy used by great growth proprietors to maintain their superiority and disqualify the competition. In other words, he questioned the idea of terroir and hierarchies of vineyards as it would be established during the nineteenth century and formalised with the 1855 Bordeaux Classification. A similar question was raised by Dion a century later in his article entitled “Querelles des anciens et des modernes sur les facteurs de la qualité du vin.”¹⁷ In this regard, Busby’s opinion was closer to Dion’s thinking on the factors influencing wine qualities. He was thus confident in the colony’s capacity for making wines able to compete with European production.¹⁸

In colonial Australia, the question was not about qualities of wines produced from two neighbouring vineyards in the same district but rather about differences between two different continents. The desire to transplant a wine model from Europe to Australia involves a number of issues that are determined by environmental factors: climate, soil, subsoil, topography, indigenous species. Consequently, the “tyranny of environment” was particularly critical for the emerging wine industry in colonial Australia due to these differences. In the 1840s, two winegrowing initiators, both readers of Jullien’s work *Topographie de tous les vignobles connus*, mentioned the issues that constituted the colonial environment to make light dry wines on the French models of Bordeaux and Burgundy. In 1843, despite his preference for French light wines, George Suttor admitted that colonial growers should follow Spanish methods and habits rather than French ones:

The gathering or vintage, in Australia, will generally take place in February, that is, long before the summer is over. In France, the gathering is generally simultaneous; but in the Colonies, it would be best to follow the practice of Spain, that is, to have several gatherings as the grapes ripen, because of the rains, by which if the grapes are left till they are ripe for one gathering; the ripest might be spoiled; for, in the long and warm summers of Spain, and Australia, grapes will be more tender and riper than in France.¹⁹

¹⁶ Ibid., 107.

¹⁷ Dion, “Querelle des anciens.” Dion shows that wine experts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries thought that the main factor of wine quality were the winegrowing techniques used by the producers. While in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the characteristics of the soil became prevalent. This idea would change from the 1960s-1970s owing to oenology progress and Emile Peynaud’s works on the *Goût du vin*. About the evolution of the meaning of terroir in France, see Parker, *Tasting French Terroir*.

¹⁸ Busby, *A Manual*, 23-24.

¹⁹ Suttor, *The Culture of the Grape-vine*, 35.

According to Suttor, the climate would prevent growers from making a good wine from the most celebrated grape varieties present in the colony, which had been imported from Bordeaux.²⁰

William Macarthur questions the applicability of the French model in his *Letters*, referring to climate differences:

I think it unnecessary, however, to trouble your readers with any particular description of these various other modes of pruning, practised in colder countries, because it is quite certain that they are not adapted to this climate.²¹

Like Suttor, Macarthur described the differences in maturing and harvesting between the colder wine regions of France and New South Wales:

In France, in temperate climate, driest and warmest weather is considered most favourable for the vintage. But here, we are differently circumstanced. The perfect maturity of the grape is generally so much more early, frequently occurring before the first heats are over, and its saccharine properties so much more fully developed, that I prefer the coolest weather the season offers.²²

The tension between local experience and theoretical knowledge derived from European sources was officially addressed at the 1853 meeting of the Hunter River Vineyard Association: “present winegrowers in the colony are better qualified for the right management of the business here than any mere empirical practitioner of the art just arrived from Europe, however successful he may have been in his particular locality.”²³

Ebenezer Ward, journalist at the *South Australian Register*, visited a series of vineyards of South Australia in 1862 and collected similar comments from Edward John Peake of the Clarendon Vineyard, thirty kilometres south of Adelaide, and Alexander Hay of Linden, near Beaumont. Both explained that French and German vines were unsuited to local conditions and that Spanish varieties were better adapted. From France, the only grapevine considered suitable was grenache,²⁴ a *cépage* extensively cultivated in the warm region of Languedoc. It was also widely grown in Spain and sometimes considered a Spanish variety by colonial growers.

In the *Revue Viticole* in 1863, it was reported that large Australian wine companies were seeking to adopt the economic models of the southern French wine départements in Languedoc (Gard, Hérault and Pyrénées Orientales), which indicates that not only were the climate and

²⁰ Ibid., 84.

²¹ Maro, *Letters on the culture*, 58.

²² Ibid., 98.

²³ *Hunter River Vineyard Association*, 38.

²⁴ Ward, *Vineyards and Orchards*, 11, 16.

environment being taken into account but also economic organisation.²⁵ However, whether or not the Languedoc model suited Australian natural conditions, the reputation of its wines did not compare with the products of Bordeaux, Burgundy or Champagne. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the distinction became increasingly evident between high-quality wines from celebrated districts and ordinary wines from other regions, particularly the Languedoc, where the production volume was booming to meet with demand from growing consumption among the working class with no concern for quality. This organisation of large-scale production did not provide the quality and refinement expected by elite Australian wine producers.

Another model better adapted was found in the south-west of France. William Keene advocated the region of the French Piedmont of the Pyrenees, near Bayonne, where he had lived for about ten years. Unlike Busby, Keene was of the opinion that the soil was the chief factor in wine quality.²⁶ He was, however, convinced like Busby that New South Wales could produce high-quality wines and described the influence of the soil, and particularly of Australian soils, in his address to the HRVA.²⁷ He also questioned Guyot's method of pruning, considering it unsuited to the Australian climate due to severe heats in summer.²⁸

Wine booster Alexander Kelly was deeply concerned by the so-called bad decisions made in the past. "Much time was wasted in introducing varieties altogether unsuited to our climate, and which might have been saved by a preliminary inquiry into the nature of our own climate and a comparison with the climates of Europe."²⁹ This was one of his motivations for writing his first book, *The Vine in Australia*: providing colonial winegrowers the information they needed to adapt European viticultural practices to local conditions. The first environmental factor considered by Kelly was the climate. He added a map to his book comparing latitudes in Europe and Australia (see Figure 9). This map shows that Sydney and Adelaide lie at the same latitude as Algiers in North Africa; Melbourne as Lisbon in Portugal; Hobart in Tasmania is closer to Bordeaux and Marseilles in the south of France.

²⁵ Ramel, "La vigne en Australie," 64-65.

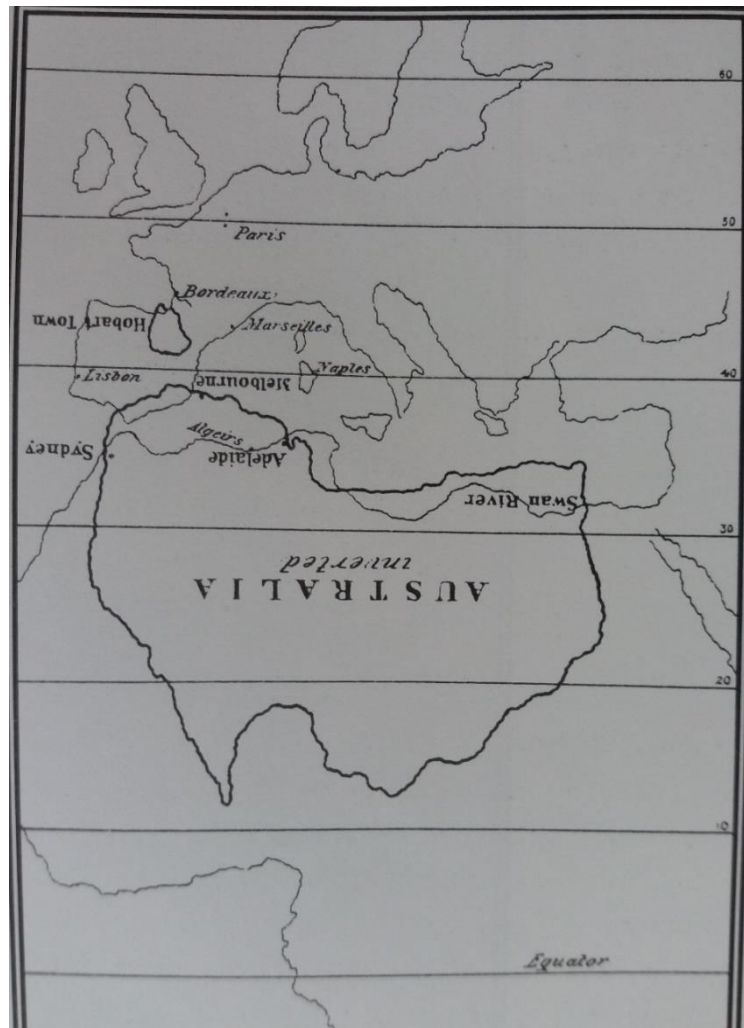
²⁶ *Sydney Mail*, 6 May 1865.

²⁷ Keene, *Addresses*, 6-7.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁹ Kelly, *The Vine in Australia*, 11.

Figure 9: Kelly's map comparing Australian and European latitudes



Source: Alexander Kelly, *The Vine in Australia* (Sydney: The David Ell Press, 1980), 15.

Of course, Kelly thought about other factors impacting climates. Still, he concluded that Australian viticulturists should look at Spanish and Portuguese models rather than French and German ones, though there was a lack of information about the former.³⁰ He explained:

Experience has shown that the vine in our drier climate requires a soil considerably more retentive of moisture than it does in Europe, to counteract the excessive evaporation which takes place in our dry summers. From ignorance of the great difference between the climates of the Northern and Southern Hemispheres, many vineyards planted according to the general practice of France and Germany, on the sunny slopes of calcareous hills, have proved failures; while many low damp situations where there is a subsoil permeated by water from higher ground, and which would be considered altogether unfit for the vine in Europe, have proved excellent vineyard sites in Australia.³¹

In the absence of scientific literature from Spain and Portugal, Kelly turned to the most southern French models, notably that of Roussillon, one of the warmest and driest regions of France, and

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 14-17.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

thus most similar to the climate of Adelaide.³² Furthermore, in his second book, *Wine-growing in Australia*, published in 1867, he warned his readers about Guyot's generalisations about winegrowing practices. While acknowledging the importance of Guyot's work, his main concern was to prevent winegrowers from adopting methods unsuited to local conditions.³³ In the same way, John Frederic Wood, manager of Evandale, east of Adelaide, commented on the distance to be allowed between two vines and recommended leaving at least eight feet for carignan and mataro when planting in South Australia instead of the four and a half feet recommended by Guyot.³⁴

Following Kelly's opinion, several wine enthusiasts in Victoria underlined the influence of environmental factors on the type of wine to be produced in different districts. Ludovic Marie, a French winegrower established at Tahbilk, explained in the *Australasian* in 1868 that "if Victorians are ever to produce wines of the character of the French and the German it will be got in its greatest perfection on the south side of the Great Dividing Range,"³⁵ where the climate was cooler and more similar to French and German conditions. One year earlier, John Ignatius Bleasdale, a clergyman of Melbourne, advocated Southern European methods in his own book, *On Colonial Wines*: "As, therefore, we cannot have here generally Johannisberg and Sauterne[sic], and Burgundy, in approximate perfection, we must turn our attention to perfecting wines of the Portuguese, Spanish and Italian character."³⁶ He made a clear distinction between wines made from warm districts and those from colder districts.³⁷ This distinction, he argued, was one of the chief factors impacting the characteristics and qualities of wines:

Whatever the wine is, sweet or dry, one thing is certain, that in hot climates you can never produce wine with the perfume [bouquet] peculiar to those of colder regions. Nature has fixed the impossible barrier. If you are to have the perfumed wines of France – Sauterne or fine Chablis for example – you must also have all the other conditions, [...].³⁸

In this way, Bleasdale described both environmental barriers and distinctive characteristics of a particular place, thus importing the rising French idea of uniqueness of terroirs.

Despite such obstacles, some colonists considered that Australia possessed "natural advantages" over European wine countries, and in particular over France, in terms of climate

³² *Ibid.*, 65. Kelly, *Wine-growing in Australia*, 75.

³³ Kelly, *Wine-growing in Australia*, Preface.

³⁴ *South Australian Register*, 9 September 1861, 3.

³⁵ *The Australasian*, 18 January 1868, 89.

³⁶ John Ignatius Bleasdale, *On Colonial Wines: A Paper Read before the Royal Society of Victoria, 13th May 1867, Together with the Report of the Late Intercolonial Exhibition Jury in Class 3, Section IX, Wines* (Melbourne: Stillwell and Knight, 1867), 16.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 63.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

and soil, which would enable colonial winegrowers to produce any kind of wines, from full-bodied wines on the Spanish model to light dry wines on the Rhine model in southwestern Germany.³⁹ Joseph Foureur, a French-born champagne-maker, was convinced of the capacity of South Australia to make first-class sparkling wine:

We have the advantage of regular seasons, which is greatly in our favour, whereas in the champagne districts of France the variableness of the seasons affects the grapes, and the quality of the wine is uncertain. We could make here the best of champagne of an even quality.⁴⁰

Hubert de Castella, who had lived in France for several years, even believed that Australia had better conditions (climatic and economic) in which to grow vines and make wines than France.⁴¹

Ultimately, in attempting to develop winegrowing in Australia, migrants accustomed to viticulture in Europe brought practices unsuited to their host country. This problem, first mentioned in the mid-nineteenth century, is increasingly discussed in Australian writings on wine in the last quarter of the century. Léonce Frère, a Frenchman established at Albury, New South Wales, clearly admitted that he had to learn everything from scratch about vine-growing in Australia:

I have been 15 years winegrowing in the Albury district, and I have planted there a large vineyard. I have had to abandon gradually many of the ideas that I had brought from home, and I find every day that even after the long local experience I am still a scholar.⁴²

Frère described in this statement the complexity of transregional viticultural transfers and the local natural barriers necessitating transformation and adaptation. He added: “It is only when the relative advantages and disadvantages of our soil and climate will be known, that the wine industry will attain the degree of importance that it must eventually reach in New South Wales.”⁴³ By publishing these comments in an article in the *Australian Vigneron*, a specialised journal widely distributed across Australia, he intended to warn European migrants expecting to be successful as winegrowers in the Antipodes.

This problem was evidenced also by the experience of François Coueslant at Château Tahbilk in Victoria in the late 1870s. Coueslant imported many practices, tools and types of equipment from France but quickly realised that it was necessary to adapt them to the dry and hot climate of the Goulburn Valley in northern Victoria. With this aim in mind, he decided to

³⁹ *South Australian Advertiser*, 20 January 1886, 4.

⁴⁰ *South Australian Advertiser*, 29 December 1890, 6.

⁴¹ Castella, *John Bull's Vineyard*, 18.

⁴² *Australian Vigneron*, 31 March 1890, 10.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

abandon the old-fashioned system of tying the vines up to a stake and replace it with a form of “gooseberry-bush method” in the 1880s.⁴⁴ He also condemned the universal practice of pruning the vines throughout spring and summer to avoid having the grapes sunburnt during heatwaves.⁴⁵

This question led to a recurrent debate about the benefits to be expected from sending for “skilled” growers from Europe. Charles Gelly, a French-born winegrower of South Australia, doubted the necessity of recruiting European labour. “It has been proposed”, he wrote,

to send for more winemakers from France, Italy, or Germany for the purpose of gaining time. I am not of that opinion. Instead of gaining time we should lose it. These people coming into the country would have to learn the difference of climate, and the difficulties and disadvantages under which we labour and would take three or four years to become acquainted with them.⁴⁶

Gelly’s opinion had been shaped by his first years of experience at Beaumont’s vineyard, near Adelaide, during which he had had to experiment, in the same way as Frère at Albury or Coueslant in the Goulburn Valley. In the *Australian Vigneron*, an anonymous article explained that landholders intending to develop the cultivation of the vine and the making of wine should engage winegrowers who had practical experience in Australia, “for even good men from Europe, who are not practically acquainted with the climatic and the other conditions under which they must work here, are necessarily at a disadvantage.”⁴⁷

Similarly, Thomas Hardy of Tintara, South Australia, argued in favour of encouraging young Australian growers to travel in America and Europe instead of recruiting European viticulturists to Australia:

It is thought by many that the vigneron of Australia have had very little experience, but that is a great mistake; as a rule we know more about wine-making and wine-growing than nineteen out of every twenty that come from Europe: their knowledge is almost always confined to practices of their own immediate neighbourhood, whilst many of us, in addition to 30 or 40 years’ experience here, have had the advantage of the ideas of men from nearly all the wine-growing countries of the world, and also of travel in them ourselves.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ *The Australasian*, 27 March 1886, 11.

⁴⁵ *The Mildura Cultivator*, 25 February 1893, p. 5.

⁴⁶ *Adelaide Observer*, 20 November 1886, 11.

⁴⁷ *Australian Vigneron*, vol. 1, 1 October 1890, 93.

⁴⁸ Simpson, *Creating Wine*, 223.

Hardy's comment may be partly true considering the general advancement of winegrowing in Australia and France. It echoes the problem of poor winegrowing methods in a large number of modest French properties which called into question the suitability of this model and the idea of a need for new wine-producing countries to "catch up." Indeed, French and Australian experts lamented the persistence of traditional and non-scientific practices in many parts of France, especially among small properties and poor vigneron, which was counterbalanced by the constant improvements in viti-viniculture among a small number of wealthy vineyard proprietors, wine merchants and oenological experts. Hardy's opinion on the rudimentary winemaking practices of France was mostly shared by French vigneron Edmond Mazure, also established in South Australia. After a visit through France in 1900, he described his impressions of winemaking in Europe and Australia in an interview for the *Advertiser*. "Speaking of France," he explained,

I may say that in a few – a very few – wineries where scientific methods are most largely practised the cellars are better equipped than any I have seen in Australia, but the majority are just as they were when I left 20 years ago, and that means that they are a long way behind Australia in plant and methods. There is one point, however, in which we would do well to copy them a little more closely, and that is in cultivation. Labor is much cheaper in France than in Australia, but the vigneron spend far more in cultivation and manuring than we do. [...] Of course they have to do more spraying for diseases than we do, but even allowing for that the vineyards are much better looked after than ours.⁴⁹

Indeed, cheap land, expensive labour and the absence of cryptogamic diseases due to a drier climate shaped a different model of viticulture in Australia favouring large vineyards and labour-saving methods. Hardy's and Mazure's opinions also highlight the emergence of self-awareness among colonial wine producers and winemakers, as well as their desire to be recognised as the equals of their European counterparts. This South Australian confidence may also be the result of the development of renowned viticultural teaching at Roseworthy and the fact that phylloxera never reached this colony. Local winegrowers could thus develop a sense of superiority.

Concerns also appeared about the diversity of influence on the early Australian wine industry. Hubert de Castella witnessed it in the Yarra district, Victoria, and he extends this question to the whole colony:

Wine is made in Europe in obedience with local traditions and customs, which vary in every country. Australian vigneron being recruiting from France, from Italy, from Germany and

⁴⁹ *The Advertiser*, 2 October 1900, 3.

Switzerland, each of them imbued with the methods of his province, the Colonial growers mostly new to the industry, found themselves in a Babel of confusion.⁵⁰

The differences in environmental conditions and the diversity of methods from Europe caused trouble for wine initiators in Australia. The French models, highly celebrated, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, were increasingly challenged by southern European models better adapted to the Australian climates. Furthermore, the predominance of German migrants in New South Wales and South Australia, and Swiss migrants in Victoria, was another factor competing against the French influence.

Eventually, such issues led to the development of an Australian model in accordance with local conditions and locally adapted skills. However, other obstacles to the adoption of French models into colonial Australia stepped in.

Political, economic and socio-cultural limits

British drinking culture

Environmental factors have sometimes been highlighted as favouring specific forms of alcohol consumption in Australia, such as beer-drinking.⁵¹ But there are political and socio-cultural factors which better explain the relatively limited wine consumption in the Australian colonies in comparison with that of distilled and brewed alcohol.

Despite scarce figures, it is estimated that spirit-drinking in New South Wales peaked in the 1830s at four and a half gallons a year per capita. It reached the same amount in Victoria in the 1850s.⁵² James Busby deplored this situation in his *Manual* (1830) and pointed out settlers' origin as the main cause for this drinking habit.⁵³ Spirit consumption proved to be a temporary trend in Australia; thanks to temperance movements and Governments' regulations, this type of consumption tended to decrease during the rest of the century to around one gallon per head in the 1890s in both colonies.⁵⁴ Beer consumption, on the other hand, drastically increased in New South Wales and Victoria from the 1840s to the 1880s.⁵⁵ Finally, wine

⁵⁰ Castella, *John Bull's Vineyard*, 27-28.

⁵¹ Helen R. Pearce, *The Hop Industry in Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1976), 1.

⁵² Dingle, "'The Truly Magnificent Thirst'," 229-230.

⁵³ Busby, *A Manual*, 8.

⁵⁴ Dingle, "'The Truly Magnificent Thirst'," 229-230.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 231. However, it is worth noting that the statistics are impacted by the fact that locally brewed beers were not included until 1863 in Victoria, and 1886 in New South Wales.

consumption in New South Wales, which was mostly of imported ports and sherries, tended to decline from three and a half gallons per head in the 1830s to less than a gallon in the 1890s. In Victoria, the pattern remained constant: between one and two gallons per head during the whole century, and mostly fortified wines. However, colonial winemaking was slowly expanding, and the share of locally produced light table wines in the total wine consumption increased. Furthermore, in South Australia, beer consumption was relatively low and wine consumption relatively high in comparison with the other colonies.⁵⁶ But the overall Australian preference for beer was also observable through the number and varieties of public houses. While there were over 400 wine shops in New South Wales by 1887, pubs, in which beer was the main beverage served, numbered 3,270.⁵⁷

A. E. Dingle, in his article “A Truly Magnificent Thirst”, published in 1980, admits that the explanations he suggests are only general and speculative. He clearly separates two categories of factors: those from the supply side and those from the demand side. About the former, he points out the problem of distance and production capacities. Regarding demand, which would depend mostly on the cultural values embraced by a society, he suggests that living conditions and the despair of the convicts in the early years explained the preference for a beverage high in alcohol. On the contrary, the rising beer consumption from the 1860s would have resulted from the “growing prosperity and security felt by an increasing number of people.”⁵⁸ Dingle does not provide a clear explanation for the difference between beer and wine consumption except regarding the transfer of a British drinking culture to Australia. Dunstan and McIntyre also mention colonists’ British origin and cultural background as the main factor in their drinking habits.⁵⁹ This argument would also explain the preference for strong fortified wines – widely consumed by British middle classes – rather than light wines – consumed mostly by the aristocracy – and thus the difficulty of finding an outlet for French-style light wines in the colonies. In other words, settlers were only perpetuating cultural habits and social distinction on another continent.

It is interesting to note, however, that wine – and especially light wine – in Australia was promoted by a middle class of landowners and urban *petite bourgeoisie* whose desire was to “wash away a British ‘stain’ of convictism and working-class drunkenness.”⁶⁰ Their aim was

⁵⁶ Ibid., 232-233.

⁵⁷ McIntyre, *First Vintage*, 108.

⁵⁸ Dingle, “The Truly Magnificent Thirst,” 238.

⁵⁹ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, xiv. McIntyre, *First Vintage*, 104, 106, 112.

⁶⁰ McIntyre, Pierre, and Germov, “To Wash Away a British Stain,” 44.

to cleanse the British society by shaping temperate colonial cultures based on daily light wine-drinking and by wiping out spirit consumption. Furthermore, as Ross Fitzgerald and Trevor L. Jordan put it, the triumph of beer in Australia was not inevitable. “While wine might denote Frenchness, beer and Australianness are not so naturally suited to each other [...]”⁶¹ Due to environmental conditions and the “tyranny of distance,” the beer industry developed only slowly in the Antipodes. Its overall success, in the late nineteenth century, was mostly the result of public efforts to stimulate its consumption to cure intoxication by spirits,⁶² among the repercussions being the slowdown of the wine industry, which shared the same original purpose as a “temperate” beverage. In a context of rising nationalism, competition proved largely favourable to beer, as the Frenchness associated with wine-drinking was rapidly swept away by what was perceived as a more “authentic” British consumption habit.

In Victoria, Dunstan points out that successful winegrowers like Irvine, Bear or Smith represented an exception. The production of wine could hardly provide enough profit, as consumption was extremely low. Furthermore, wine was considered a sophisticated commodity and a luxury. The only types of wine that could content the working class and most of the middle class were strong fortified wines of the port and sherry types.⁶³ A French traveller visiting Victoria and de Castella’s vineyard at St Hubert’s in 1884 commented about English and Australian habits in terms of alcohol-drinking. He deplored that most of the winegrowers preferred the production and commercialisation of fortified wines, unsuited as a table beverage. The reason given was the demand.

[...] les Australiens n’ont pas encore pris l’habitude de consommer leurs vins ; le thé et l’affreux alcool que l’on débite sous le nom de whisky sont leurs boissons de prédilection. Le vin, ici, est généralement regardé comme un extra ; les habitudes des bars lui demandent un bouquet violent et y ajoutent volontiers un verre d’eau-de-vie pour en rehausser encore l’élément capiteux. Aussi le placement des excellents vins de M. de Castella rencontre-t-il d’autant plus de difficultés qu’ils se rapprochent davantage des nôtres.

[...] Australian people are not yet accustomed to the consumption of their own wines; tea and so-called whisky are their main beverages. Wine is generally considered a luxury; the pubs and hotels preferred them with a violent bouquet and usually add a glass of spirit to fortify its intoxicating property even more. Thus, the excellent wines of M. de Castella meet difficulties in finding customers for they are too similar to our wines.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Fitzgerald and Jordan, *Under the Influence*, 58.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 61.

⁶³ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 9.

⁶⁴ Edmond Cotteau, *En Océanie. Voyage autour du monde en 365 jours, 1884-1885* (Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1888), 196.

Another French traveller, who visited St Hubert's a few years later, made similar comments.⁶⁵ De Castella admitted that giving up wool production for winegrowing was not the easiest choice: "*C'était abandonner la seule route battue et sure en Australie, la laine – pour nous engager dans un fourré inconnu et presque inextricable, la culture de la vigne – dans un pays sans vigneron[sic] et où l'on ne buvait que de la bière ou de l'alcool.*"⁶⁶

De Castella was not alone. In the *St. James's Gazette*, an anonymous Australian vigneron wrote: "Among the lower classes [...] the *vin du pays* is not very highly esteemed. They prefer, as a rule, that fateful product colonial beer, or whisky, or 'blue dog'."⁶⁷ The use of the French expression *vin du pays* indicates that an association was made between ordinary light wines and French-style wines. And, as a matter of fact, this type of alcoholic beverage did not meet with great success in Australia.

While the domestic market was too small and too scattered for the local wine industry, the British market, in which an important population of wine connoisseurs could appreciate light wines, represented a good alternative. Britain was also seen as a natural outlet: the imperial metropole ought to buy the products of its colonies and serve as an export rescue in times of recession.⁶⁸ However, as Hans Irvine emphasised, shipping remained a problem, even in the late nineteenth century. Because the wines arrived in London in poor condition, the merchants preferred full-bodied, strong and rich wines, most of the time blended with spirits, as they were best suited to the long maritime trip.⁶⁹ Under these circumstances, the market for light wines in Britain was unreachable, and colonial growers logically favoured the sale of fortified wines. However, wine boosters also denounced political and economic explanations relative to the lack of interest in French-style wines.

Taste, trends and trade policy

De Castella not only deplored that colonial tastes inclined towards spirits and liquors but also that the colonists, when drinking wine, chose the strongest. "Port and sherry advocates had

⁶⁵ Michel, *A travers l'hémisphère sud*, 407.

⁶⁶ Castella, *Notes d'un vigneron*, 8.

⁶⁷ *St. James's Gazette* (Victoria), 18 June 1890, 6. The "blue dog" may refer to poor unhealthy wine, see "Blue," in *A Dictionary of Slang, Jargon and Cant: Embracing English, American, and Anglo-Indian Slang, Pidgin English, 'Tinkers' Jargon and Other Irregular Phraseology*, ed. Albert Barrère and Charles G. Leland (London: The Ballantyne Press, 1889).

⁶⁸ McIntyre, *First Vintage*, 102.

⁶⁹ Irvine, *The Australian Wine Trade*, 4-9.

taken up the movement. The warmest districts were proclaimed as the best to grow vines, and the men who planted in more temperate localities were pitied for their mistake.”⁷⁰ De Castella certainly referred to himself and his brother Paul, having established their vineyards in the Yarra Valley, a district known for its relatively cool climate.

As seen in Chapter 2, the colonial taste derived from trends in the metropole and the trade policy of Britain. For a century and a half, until the early nineteenth century, Britain had maintained high duties on French wines as part of a trade war with its southern neighbour.⁷¹ On the other hand, port could easily enter the British market after the Methuen Treaty of 1703. And during the first half of the nineteenth century, Spanish sherries progressively replaced Portuguese ports.⁷² This trade policy shaped socio-cultural tastes in Britain. Until the early nineteenth century, French wines were perceived among the British middle classes as effeminising and associated with a degenerate aristocracy, in opposition with port, which was considered a manly beverage.⁷³ But things were evolving.

The denunciation of all fortified wines as uncivilised began in the 1840s. Light wines like clarets and burgundies became an ideal substitute, and the context of peace with France helped shape closer cultural and economic relations across the Channel. This led to what Charles Ludington calls the “great nineteenth-century wine debate,” which embroiled the advocates of fortified wines against those promoting light wines.⁷⁴ Social reformers and economic liberals believed that the British preference for ports was politically constructed and that it could be reversed by lowering the duties on clarets.⁷⁵ Richard Cobden, British architect of the 1860 Treaty of Commerce with France, argued that the duties so far imposed on French wines favoured the consumption of strong beverages, with harmful effects on bodies and spirits, and prevented French natural and healthy wines from being consumed in Britain:

We have laid on such an enormous amount of duty that nothing but wines of the very strongest character, the effect of which could be suddenly felt in the head, were ever thought worth purchasing. When a man had to pay 6d. or 9d. for a glass of wine containing a few thimblefuls, he wanted something which would affect his head for his money; he would not buy the fine, natural, and comparatively weak wines of France, though every other country in the world but England has regarded French wines as the best wines in the world. The

⁷⁰ Castella, *John Bull's Vineyard*, 83.

⁷¹ About the wine trade policy of Britain, see Ludington, *The Politics of Wine*. And Nye, *War, Wine and Taxes*.

⁷² Phillips, *A Short History*, 219-221.

⁷³ Ludington, *The Politics of Wine*, 182-187.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 234-237.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 239.

English taste had been adulterated, and our people, or those who could afford it, have preferred the narcotic and inflammatory mixture which is called port, or even sherry.⁷⁶

This debate naturally sounded through the British Empire, and especially in Australia. The same arguments were used by colonial light wine enthusiasts to promote free trade with France. Kelly left some comments on consumption habits in the colonies and Britain. He not only deplored the short-termed effects of British protectionist policy against France, but also its long-termed effects, which would have “vitiating” the British taste in favour of strong wines from Spain and Portugal.

For her supply of wine Britain needed not to go far. Across the English Channel, at her nearest neighbours, she could purchase the purest and best wines in the world, and at reasonable rate. But with singular perversity John Bull refuses to deal at the nearest shop where he can get the article he wants, he prefers passing on to an inferior one where there is a poor choice of inferior articles, and thus goes further and fares worse.

It has long been the policy of the British Government to suppress the importation of French wines. The strong coarse wines of Spain and Portugal were for many years admitted into Britain at a much lower duty than the light wholesome wines of France, and although the duties have since been equalized, the habit of drinking strong brandied wines and their counterfeits have so vitiated the tastes of the people that a pure wine would not be relished by the majority of the British.⁷⁷

Cobden’s and Kelly’s remarks echoed Adam Smith’s argument advocating lower duties on French wine a century earlier.⁷⁸ This opinion eventually won the debate in Britain. The 1860 treaty was followed by two subsequent decreases in 1861 and 1862 instigated by British Chancellor of the Exchequer William Gladstone, a fervent advocate of claret wines. This resulted in a favourable trade policy for French wines against Portuguese and Spanish ones, a situation which had not occurred since 1691.⁷⁹ After a century and a half of mercantilism and protectionism, Britain finally turned its attention back to trade with France. Kelly naturally hoped that this shift would encourage light wine consumption in Britain as well as in the British Empire.⁸⁰

In New South Wales, Henry Lindeman, a vigneron and medical practitioner like Kelly, promoted light wine-drinking and a decrease on wine duties as well,⁸¹ while wine merchant J. T. Fallon deplored the lack of information about Australian wines among the colonists and the general preference for strong fortified wines in the Spanish and Portuguese styles, which he

⁷⁶ Quoted in Nye, *War, Wine and Taxes*, 32.

⁷⁷ Kelly, *The Vine in Australia*, 1.

⁷⁸ McIntyre, "Adam Smith and Faith," 199.

⁷⁹ Ludington, *The Politics of Wine*, 262-265.

⁸⁰ Kelly, *The Vine in Australia*, 2.

⁸¹ McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink." 254-256.

called “spurious articles manufactured to please the public taste.”⁸² Thus, a handful of upper middle-class entrepreneurs and landowners actively advocated for a change of popular taste in the Australian colonies, and supported the new trend policy. The situation seemed to be evolving. François de Castella, in his handbook on viticulture published in 1891, stated:

In Europe strong wines are going out of fashion every day and giving place to lighter ones; people preferring a claret of which they can drink a bottle without inconvenience to a strong wine of port or sherry type, which does not quench the thirst, and of which a couple of glasses may be taken with impunity. In Australia the taste for strong wines still continues, although lighter ones are coming more into favour every day.⁸³

Indeed, since the 1860 Treaty of Commerce, exportations of light claret wines from Bordeaux towards Britain were booming. From around 15,000 hectolitres per year between the 1820s and 1859, British imports reached 56,000 hectolitres in 1860 and even peaked at 281,000 hectolitres in 1880.⁸⁴ It was thus hoped that the same trend would influence the British empire and shape a new taste. But Britishness and old habits still constituted a major obstacle in Australia in the 1880s, twenty years after the tax reduction on French wines, as an article of the *Australasian* reported.⁸⁵ Despite good results in the imperial centre, the new trade policy with France had not been able to change colonial taste, and French wines remained a niche market in the Antipodes.

This issue was noted in an article of the *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales* (AGNSW) in 1896 pointing out the distinction in drinking habits according to settlers’ cultural and social origins.

It is greatly to be deplored that in a climate like New South Wales, which is very much akin to that of South of Europe, public taste inclines towards stronger beverages than wines, such as beers and spirits. Our wines are certainly appreciated by the German, French and Italian colonists and by a chosen few Britishers, but they are ‘caviare to the general.’⁸⁶

Surprisingly, beer was considered in this statement as a “strong” beverage, which was certainly the consequence of the belief that it was a coarse and unhealthy product only appreciated by the lower classes. This statement also suggests that socio-cultural origins prevailed over environmental factors in influencing drinking habits. In other words, Britishness and socially determined consumption habits represented an obstacle to the establishment of a colonial wine complex involving the whole society from the elites to the labour classes. This issue was raised

⁸² Fallon, *Australian Vines and Wines*, 6.

⁸³ Castella, *Handbook on Viticulture*, 67.

⁸⁴ Philippe Roudié, *Vignobles et vignerons du Bordelais (1850-1980)* (Bordeaux: Féret, 2013), 153.

⁸⁵ *The Australasian*, 10 April 1886, 682-683.

⁸⁶ *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, April 1, 1896, vol. 6, no. 12, 407.

again in the AGNSW in 1899, which emphasised the distinction between upper and middle classes on the one hand and working classes on the other:

The use of the wines of the Colony as a beverage has increased of late years, chiefly by the leading houses supplying reliable qualities. The “baby” bottle and the city restaurant have educated a taste for the consumption of wines of the claret type at meals, and the palate has learnt to appreciate the natural and indispensable acidity which not only promotes digestion but slakes the thirst. [...] The conversion of the whole of our population into wine-drinkers is, however, a problem not likely to be realised. Colonial beer has too strong a hold amongst the lower sections of society to be ousted by wine, although there can be no comparison between wine in which fermentation has run its course, and an unstable beer which too frequently is in a rapid state of decay.⁸⁷

Reaching the base of the society remained elusive, and beer-drinking overwhelmed wine consumption on the eve of the establishment of the Australian Federation. Wine kept its mark of distinction and refined consumption in Australia while it was becoming the most popular beverage in France and the symbol of that nation. Some Australian wine producers adapted to this situation and focused their marketing strategy on the promotion of quality wines by emphasising uniqueness and distinction. By identifying and highlighting the “taste of place” in Australian wines, they appropriated the French concept of terroir and sought to reach top-end consumers overseas.

Australian terroirs and the paradox of the French model

Even though the Australian natural and socio-cultural environment did not fit the French models of light wine production and consumption, the concept of terroir found some advocates in the colonial wine industry. These proponents wanted to emulate the success of distinguished beverages like the *grands crus*, but also to shape a unique Australian taste differing from the French one. Paradoxically, the transfer of such concepts led to the emancipation of the Australian wine industry from the French reference. By identifying Australian wine characteristics, the colonial winegrowers could bring out their specificities and distinguish them from the French wines that they originally wanted to emulate. This occurred during the shaping of the Australian nation and identity in a context of rising nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

⁸⁷ Ibid., May 1899, vol. 10, no. 5, 368-369.

Distinct qualities and taste of place

As McIntyre points out, the question of terroir is almost as old as the wine industry in Australia, and the word “terroir” emerged in Australian winegrowing discourse in the 1840s in order to establish a distinction between wines and also between winegrowing districts.⁸⁸ However, a difference existed at the time between the good “natural *goût de terroir* arising from the nature of the soil itself,” and the “evil influence” of the “artificial [*goût de terroir*], arising from external causes,”⁸⁹ a distinction previously established in France in 1801 by Chaptal, Rozier, Parmentier and d’Ussieux.⁹⁰ This distinction was then formalised between the expression *goût de terroir*, understood as a pejorative meaning, referring to an earthy taste resulting from winemaking flaws; and *goût du terroir*, which referred to the particular characteristics of a place and its environment.

In 1843, South Australian colonist George McEwin spread the idea that wine could express the characteristics of the environment from which it was made:

On the soil chiefly depends the quality and value of the produce. It is a well-known and established fact, that the grape vine possesses the property of imbibing by its roots the chemical qualities of the soil in which it grows, imparting thereby a flavour to the wine which no art can change, even were the principles of fermentation and the subsequent management of the vintage ever so well understood. It becomes, therefore, a point of essential importance to select a soil congenial to the growth and habits of the plant, and which has been proved, in other countries, to produce wines of good qualities.⁹¹

Grape varietal selection according to the soil was considered most important, and McEwin regretted that “even in France this branch of vine-culture is but very imperfectly understood, and may be said to be in its infancy.”⁹² The only way to overcome this obstacle was experience and patience among pioneer winegrowers. It also suggests that the adoption of French practices was thwarted by environmental differences.

As early as 1840, a newspaper article pointed out the problem of using French denomination in colonial winegrowing:

The wines of this Colony do not, like the white wine of the Cape of Good Hope, bear one uniform flavour. The flavour of our young wines is as various as the soils. Is this a disadvantage? We do not see why it should be. Let every proprietor call his wines by the name of his vineyards. [...] The wines of this Colony going home in the name of Claret, Sauterne, &c, might excite ridicule. But going home in the names and numbers of the vineyards in which they are *produced*, their flavours cannot tempt ridicule, whether they be

⁸⁸ McIntyre, “Resisting Old-Age Fixity,” 58.

⁸⁹ *The Australian*, 30 April 1842, 3.

⁹⁰ Parker, *Tasting French Terroir*, 140.

⁹¹ McEwin, *South Australian Vigneron*, 3.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 9.

good or bad [...]. At all events, let us have no quackery, nor puffing, nor a counterfeiting of the wines of other countries; but let our wines, be they good or bad, stand *on their own merits*. Let us export them in their original purity, [...]. What have we in New South Wales to do with Claret, Sauterne and Burgundy? We have to do with Australian, and Camden, and Regent Ville, and Mulgoa, and Prospect Hill, and Airs, and Mount this, and Vale that, &c.⁹³

Soil, climate and topography were expected to give wine its uniqueness. Also, by using their own names, Australian wines could distinguish themselves from their French models, develop their own reputations and eventually establish an Australian wine identity which would rely on local environmental conditions and local denominations. This idea became increasingly critical in the second half of the century through the development of the world wine market and international homogenisation.

In the 1860s, J. B. Keene, from the New South Wales Customs Department, was one of the first to clearly highlight the specificities of Australian wines. He argued that vines imported from Europe did not produce the same type of wine when cultivated in Australia and that they produced wines with an “individuality of character of their own.” He added that “Spanish and German wines were valuable for their own special characters, and people would not admire a French wine the more if it had the same character.”⁹⁴ Keene went further in promoting the idea of Australian *vins de cru* – a wine made from a specific property or single vineyard – and thought that colonial growers should name their wines after the property from which they were made like in France. According to Fallon, Keene thought that “The Australian names, or some of them, were highly musical and characteristic, and he liked to see wines named after the vineyards from which they were made.”⁹⁵

The promotion of specific wine estates, however, led to the reproduction of French “marketing” strategies like the use of the term *château* to name a few Australian wine properties. This occurred in the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the trend for *vin de château* was booming in the region of Bordeaux, to promote quality and distinction. After the Bordeaux Classification in 1855, the word *château* became synonymous with *cru* and involved an aristocratic symbolism establishing a hierarchy between wine properties.⁹⁶ Bordeaux wines benefitted at that time from an excellent reputation worldwide. The term “château” was easily recognisable by consumers. Although, this trend had originally been designed to meet the

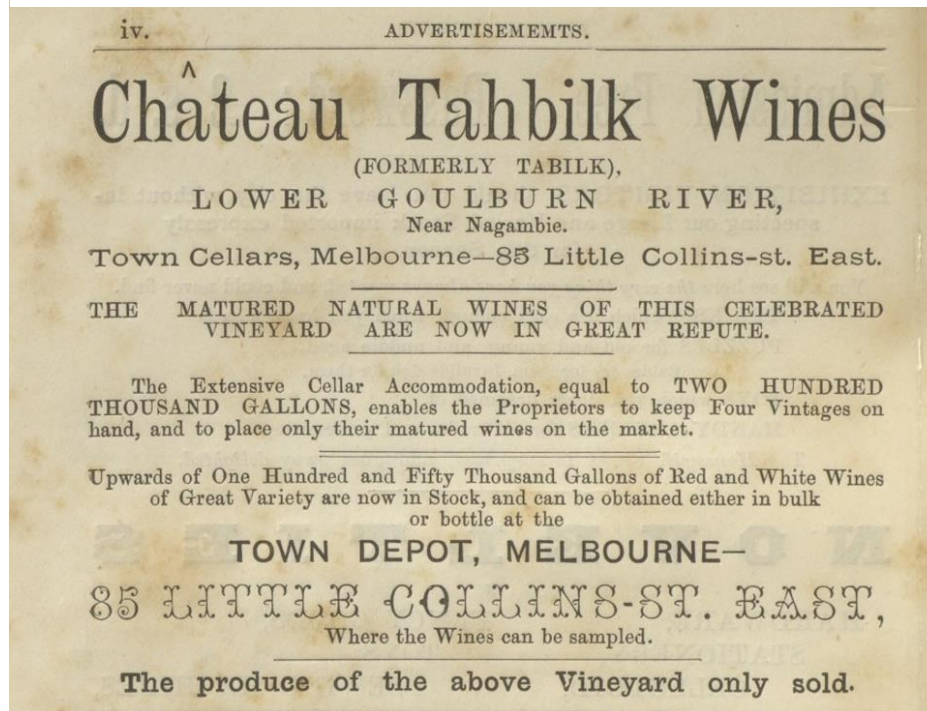
⁹³ *Sydney Monitor and Commercial Advertiser*, 14 February 1840, 2.

⁹⁴ James T Fallon, *The Wines of Australia* (London: Unwin Brothers, 1876), 23-24.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁹⁶ Roudié, *Vignobles et Vignerons du Bordelais*, 180-183.

Figure 10: Château Tahbilk's advertisement, 1880



Source: James Ballantyne, *Our Colony in 1880. Pictorial and Descriptive* (Melbourne: M. L. Hutchinson, 1880), iv.

British demand for unique wines in the eighteenth century, it was now used more broadly by many small-scale producers around Bordeaux for the promotion of their wine. The trend naturally influenced colonial Australian winegrowers aiming to improve the image of their wine in Britain, like “Chateau Tahbilk” and “Chateau Dookie” in Victoria or “Chateau Tanunda” and “Chateau Reynella” in South Australia. At Chateau Tahbilk, the new name was adopted around 1879 – certainly at the initiative of French winemaker Coueslant.⁹⁷ This name was highlighted in advertisements along with the reputation of the vineyard and clearly suggests a marketing strategy targeting wine connoisseurs (Figure 10). In the same way, Lindeman advertised his Cawarra wine as a “First Growth” in 1888 echoing the award of *premier cru* awarded to the best five wineries in Bordeaux in 1855. As McIntyre put it, there was no such classification in Australia at the time, but the appropriation of the term “first growth” drew on French cultural capital.⁹⁸ Both “chateau” and “first growth” aimed at the same objective: highlighting distinction and high quality by echoing French prestige of wine production. However, the adoption of the French concept of growth/cru in Australia also suggested a difference between French growths and Australian growths.

⁹⁷ Hedde and Doherty, *Chateau Tahbilk*, 32. James Ballantyne, *Our Colony in 1880. Pictorial and Descriptive* (Melbourne: M. L. Hutchinson, 1880), iv.

⁹⁸ McIntyre, “A ‘Civilized’ Drink,” 210-211.

The development of Australian specific wine tastes or specific terroirs became increasingly prevalent in the late nineteenth-early twentieth centuries. French-born Bourbaud stated that the only way to succeed in the world wine industry – due to the high competition – was by producing unique quality wines.

Australia is certainly a perfectly new wine country, and if we are to attempt to form types of wine of the same kind as those of the most esteemed vineyards of Europe to which the consumers are accustomed we must give our wines special characters as well as distinctive names, which in the future will found and ensure their repute throughout the world.⁹⁹

However, Bourbaud does not indicate clearly if this uniqueness should come from local characteristics of the soil and climate or from winegrowing practices. Another Frenchman, M. Aigon-Bène, a wine merchant from Bordeaux, established in Melbourne from the 1880s, expressed a similar opinion in a newspaper article entitled “The Perfecting of Victorian Wines,” published in 1898. He stated that his objective was not to turn local wines into imitations of French wines but rather to develop the “natural bouquet and character of the wine on the same principles which have made Bordeaux clarets and Chablis the finest in the world.” He added “Victorian clarets and Chablis will never be as light and subtly aromatic as their compeers of France, but they can be made with their own distinct and decidedly palatable aroma, just as true to name, though a trifle fuller in body.”¹⁰⁰ Aigon-Bène’s comment illustrates the paradox of the French model which suggests highlighting local natural tastes instead of imitating French tastes. As a merchant – and though French himself –, his goal was to establish the reputation of Australian wines on international markets.

In 1896, Hans Irvine echoed this reflection. His visit through the Bordeaux and Champagne districts in the early 1890s deeply impacted his view on this industry. “[...] it is only there and with the environments which exist there, that one can fully realise what the wealth of the vine and its produce means, and how much has, with the aid of capital, been accomplished.”¹⁰¹ But, like Aigon-Bène, Irvine admitted the incapacity of Australian environments to imitate French fine wines. Despite this obstacle, he found in colonial soils and climates major virtues for the making of high-quality products with distinct characters and “if placed upon the English market properly, must command large sales, and will grow in public favour.”¹⁰² Irvine even went further in affirming that colonial Australian wines were able to

⁹⁹ *South Australian Register*, 21 August 1876, 7.

¹⁰⁰ *Table Talk* (Melbourne), 23 December 1898, 29.

¹⁰¹ *Australian Vigneron*, 1 February 1896, vol. 6, no. 10, 368.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

surpass French full-bodied wines of the Burgundy type.¹⁰³ The concerns about styles, characters and names were developing in the late nineteenth century in relation to the British outlet as the domestic market did not show any sign of expansion. In the AGNSW, Adrian Despeissis established the distinction between wines made from the same grape varieties but in different places, using the example of cabernet sauvignon and malbec grown in Médoc and in Australia. He stated that the Australian version was “more heady, less fresh to the palate, and less bouqueted” than its French counterpart and attributed this difference to a more “hazy atmosphere” in Médoc, while the “average Australian atmosphere is less charged with vapour.”¹⁰⁴ An *Adelaide Observer* journalist reported that Leo Buring, a South Australian winemaker, “believed in time they would be able to make a wine here, not to compare with Bordeaux, but of its particular type the best to be obtained.”¹⁰⁵

Thus, various wine professionals highlighted the role of the environment on the final product and the necessity of respecting it and promoting it through local Australian wines. These statements indicate the emergence of a geographical determinism in viticulture in late-nineteenth-century Australia which mirrored a similar phenomenon in France at the time. It led to the establishment of distinctions within Australia itself between the different wine districts and an attempt to formalise local geographical particularities.

Reorganising the wine districts and the wine industry in Australia

Terroir-based winegrowing particularly impacted Victoria where most French vigneronns were established. But it was also due to the role of Australian winegrowers influenced by their visits to French vineyards. In the 1890s, the adaptation of grape varieties and viticultural methods to geographical factors was formalised in the writings of a new generation of winegrowers in this colony. One of the most prominent of them, Hans Irvine, described the challenges that were facing his fellow viticulturists in comparison with their European counterparts. Colonial producers had to find their own way to make a wine adapted to local conditions, while centuries of experimentation in Europe had established the best practices to be applied in each region. He acknowledged that recent experience had eventually taught them the best types of wine grapes to plant in a specific district and the quality and taste to be expected. He concluded saying that:

¹⁰³ Ibid.

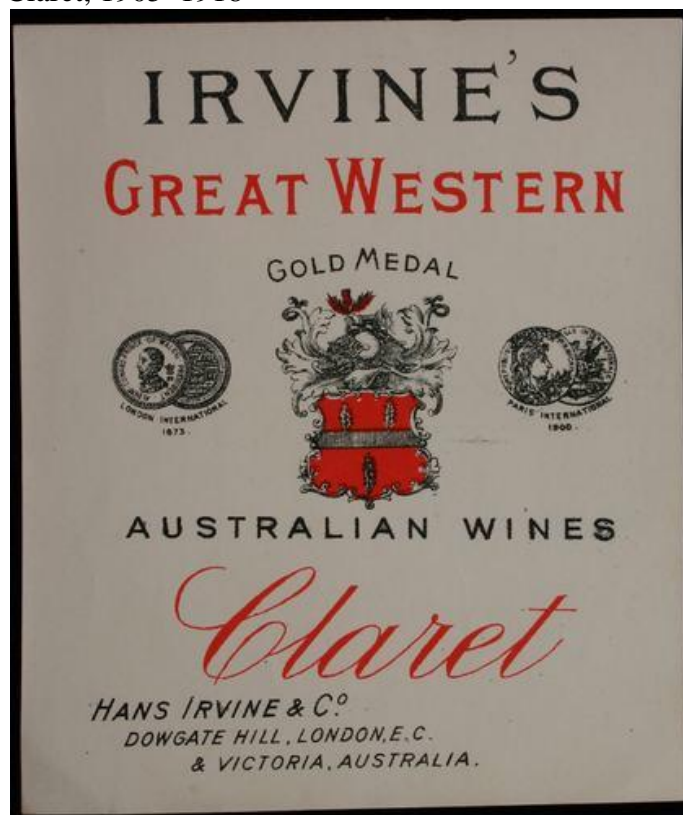
¹⁰⁴ *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 1, no. 1, July 1890, 255.

¹⁰⁵ *Adelaide Observer*, 6 August 1898, 5.

it may, therefore, be claimed that the first, or experimental stage, is past, and the wine-grower can confidently look forward to reaping an abundant harvest; the result, of course, will depend upon whether the teachings of the past have been taken advantage of.¹⁰⁶

The reference to “the teachings of the past” echoes the modern definition of terroir as the result of experiences and the shaping of a traditional model of production adapted to local natural conditions. The environment (climate, soil, topography) of each district was considered in his writings as an important and even inevitable aspect of the quality and character of the wine to be produced from it.¹⁰⁷ He was also in favour of selling Victoria’s wines under their own names, as his Great Western wine labels demonstrate (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Wine Label - Great Western Winery, Claret, 1905–1918



Source: Irvine Wine Collection, Museums Victoria, <https://collections.museumvictoria.com.au/items/265380>.

This label from the early twentieth century indicates the name of the producer (Irvine), the name of the estate (Great Western), and mentions that it is an “Australian wine.” However, it shows that Irvine continued using French names to determine the style (claret), which indicates that he could not completely rely on the reputation of his wine and needed to use traditional denominations known to customers. Moreover, the complete series of labels of

¹⁰⁶ Irvine, *The Australian Wine Trade*, 2.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

Irvine's Great Western winery evidences the production of burgundy, chablis, sauternes, champagne, hermitage, sherry, and hock, all on the same property. It thus confirms that the name of a geographical area or an estate was not strictly linked to a particular wine style.¹⁰⁸

As a renowned wine expert and Government Viticulturalist of Victoria, François de Castella attempted to change this situation. He considered that each district should focus on the production of a specific wine, or only a couple of different types of wine, with a few grape varieties cultivated in each area, in order to secure unvarying character and quality.¹⁰⁹ De Castella was of the opinion that the choice of the *cépage* had less impact on the final quality of the wine than soil and climate.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, like Irvine, he thought that the name of the place where the wine was produced should be indicated on the bottle as the key information:

Each district now has its Vine-growers' Association. Let all the vine-growers join it, and agree amongst themselves to produce one class of wine, or two at most – say one white and one red – and instead of the host of names mentioned above, the wine will then come to be known by the name of the district in which it is produced. We should have, for example, Rutherglen, Great Western, Bendigo, Mooroopna, and so forth. [...] A man will then have some idea of the contents of a bottle from the label.¹¹¹

The confusion among grape-variety names in Australia was one of his main motivations for advocating such a system. But perhaps more importantly, de Castella had visited France and studied and practised viticulture and winemaking in the great growths of Médoc, near Bordeaux, in particular at the celebrated Château Latour during the vintage 1883.¹¹² This experience influenced his view about the best model to be applied to the Victoria's wine industry. "Such districts as Bordeaux, Burgundy, Chablis, Sauternes, Champagne," said de Castella,

all produce distinct types of wine, and the names of these districts have become famous throughout the civilized world. At the Cape the depreciation of wine was so great that they had to adopt this system, which has so far been attended with most beneficial results.¹¹³

He highlighted the role of past experiences, adaptations of grapes and viticultural practices to local conditions as well as the trade and marketing benefits that would result the commercialisation of colonial wines under local district names. In this way, he established a

¹⁰⁸ See Irvine Wine Collection, Museums Victoria Collections, <https://collections.museumvictoria.com.au/search?collection=Irvine+Wine+Collection>.

¹⁰⁹ Castella, *Handbook on Viticulture*, xiii.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, xiv. This opinion was also common in late nineteenth-century France in order to distinguish wine districts and wine properties from each other during the overproduction crisis which occurred after the phylloxera crisis. See Dion, *Le paysage et la vigne*, 27.

¹¹¹ Castella, *Handbook on Viticulture*, 27.

¹¹² Hardy, *Notes on Vineyards*, 107, 110. Michel, *A travers l'hémisphère sud*, 404.

¹¹³ Castella, *Handbook on Viticulture*, xiv.

classification of Victorian districts according to their climate and the types of wine they should produce – taking European regions as references – using three categories: cool regions, on the southern side of the Dividing Range, most similar to Bordeaux, Burgundy and Champagne; intermediate regions, in central Victoria, corresponding to southern France or northern Italy; and warm regions, in the northern part of the colony, which would be similar to Spain, Portugal and Sicily.¹¹⁴ The aim of such classification was to rationalise the transfers of skills and knowledge and adapt production to local Australian regions. It echoed the belief that France could be a model only in some parts of the colony of Victoria due to geographical determinism.

John W. Bear, owner of Château Tahbilk, was also in favour of reorganising the wine sector. In 1894 he published a book to promote wine-growing as an essential industry for the colony, in which he deplored the presence of what he called “miscellaneous collections of nondescript wines” on the colonial market and described what would be an ideal organisation for the wine sector. Like de Castella, he promoted a district-based wine industry on the French model. “Ultimately each locality or district would be known and represented by the particular class or ‘type’ of wine – whether light or full, sweet or dry – it was fitted to produce, just as is now the case in the different wine-growing districts of France.”¹¹⁵ In order to strengthen his argument, Bear highlighted the fact that “in France, handbooks are published in the different vine-growing departments, giving the chemical analysis of the soils and the species of vines proper to each.”¹¹⁶ He used de Castella’s district organisation in three types of geographical areas according to their climate.¹¹⁷ He called for a more strict and narrow range of production in each district for both economic and environmental reasons. His intent was to improve the efficiency of the Victorian wine industry by adapting production to local natural factors, like de Castella, but also by adapting supply to demand.

In fact, Bear seemed motivated mostly by economic concerns rather than cultural concerns or considerations of terroir. David Dunstan describes him as one of the most dynamic and intelligent leaders of the wine industry in Victoria in the late-nineteenth century and acknowledges that Bear was more talented as wine broker and industry organiser than as winegrower.¹¹⁸ This is why he generally hired European experts to manage his vineyards and cellars at Tahbilk. The district-based wine industry he prescribed, though mostly influenced by

¹¹⁴ De Castella, *Handbook on Viticulture*, 21.

¹¹⁵ Bear, *The Coming Industry*, 57.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 71.

¹¹⁸ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 212.

the French model, did not cover the concept of taste of place or distinction and local flavour, mentioned by other wine instigators of the time.

Still in Victoria, several French wine experts advised colonial wineries to produce district-based wines and promote them as such. Henri Fortin was convinced that it would be easier to find an outlet for a distinctive wine at a higher price than for blended wines with grapes produced anywhere in the colony. But he emphasised the necessity of highlighting their own characteristics.¹¹⁹ In South Australia, Edmond Mazure urged his fellow winegrowers to make wine suited to their district and avoid the production of many types of wine from the same vineyard.¹²⁰ In general, French-born winegrowers seemed to be attached to this terroir-adapted method. They did not aim to imitate French wines, preferring to develop unique Australian tastes.

As these examples demonstrate, a district-based wine industry was promoted either by French migrants or by British colonists who had visited French vineyards and been influenced by French wine writers, and who participated in transferring the concept of terroir as a means of developing the quality of Australian products and their reputation overseas. They discussed the existence of particular characteristics which would be recognisable in the final product, resulting from the impact of local factors, that is “taste of place.” They also raised the question of “geographical indication” by linking the product with its place of origin and the name of this place. However, as in France, the delimitations of these geographical areas were not clearly established and often constituted only a general and vague indication. But while France turned to a strict formalisation of geographical indications in the first decades of the twentieth century, Australia, on the contrary, opted for a more liberal system. The efforts to transplant a terroir-based wine industry did not materialise. Geographical delimitations were used during the phylloxera crisis only to improve the measures of treatments against the plague and did not draw on environmental characteristics.¹²¹ Furthermore, when the model of *vin de cru* was adopted in the Antipodes, it was generally associated with the idea of uniqueness to encapsulate the Australian taste and distance the product from French wines models.

Another reason for highlighting this “Australianness” could have been the rise of nationalism in the late nineteenth century, leading to the creation of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901. This event inaugurated the Australian nation as independent from Britain.

¹¹⁹ *Leader*, 17 September 1898, 10.

¹²⁰ Reddin, *Teamwork*, 13.

¹²¹ See Chapter 5.

Winegrowers could support this process by advertising their wines as “Australian” rather than “colonial”. This impulse was also observable in branding that used Australian fauna and flora as decorative motifs during the federation era.¹²² In sum, this period, from the 1860s to the 1900s, was marked by a dual identity in which winegrowers could see their products as “colonial” (that is British) and also as “Australian.” This phenomenon was particularly apparent during international exhibitions, in which colonial exhibitors were grouped according to their colony of settlement while, at the same time, they promoted Australian wines as a whole.¹²³

A taste of eucalyptus?

During the nineteenth century, the expression *goût de terroir* progressively acquired a pejorative meaning in the wine sector, not only in France but also in the new wine-producing countries. In Australia, the expression *goût de terroir* had been present in wine literature since the 1840s, as previously mentioned. It was also introduced in Australian newspapers in the 1860s through the translations of French writings, in which it referred to an “earthy” taste resulting from the presence of weeds surrounding ripening grapes or from the use of the stalk during fermentation.¹²⁴ In the late nineteenth century, some observers congratulated colonial winegrowers’ efforts to avoid this persisting flaw in local wines.¹²⁵

In the Antipodes, a taste of terroir was often linked to a “taste of eucalyptus.” One of the first instances of this expression appeared in a report of the International Wine Exhibition organised in Bordeaux in 1882, during which Australian wines were by and large praised for their quality. However, the judges found an unpleasant flavour in some of these wines, a eucalyptus taste which was believed to be the result of the influence of the soil impregnated by eucalyptus barks and leaves, and a comparison was made with the influence of pine trees in Médoc.¹²⁶ François de Castella expressed a similar comment about the “Australian taste,” which he attributed to the debris of eucalyptus which permeates the soil.¹²⁷ This Australian taste was generally noted pejoratively by European connoisseurs and attributed to flawed

¹²² Macintyre, *History of Australia*, 146-147.

¹²³ See Chapter 7.

¹²⁴ *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 26 May 1866, 3. *The Australasian*, 1 February 1868, 26. *South Australian Register*, 16 December 1875, 5. Translations of Count Odart, Lenoir, Dussieux, etc.

¹²⁵ *Journal of the Board of Viticulture for Victoria*, 4 July 1889, 106. *South Australian Register*, 7 February 1899, 7.

¹²⁶ Bonnard, *Report of the Executive*, 8.

¹²⁷ Castella, *Handbook on Viticulture*, 75.

winemaking techniques. It is worth questioning the possibility of discerning a eucalyptus taste in Australian wines or a pine-tree taste in Médoc wines, and it is certainly more indicative of the way tasters and connoisseurs perceived wine and how the environment influenced their senses and their imaginary than of the way environment really influenced wine taste. Still, it shows a transformation and adaptation of this French expression to Australian conditions.

Another factor might have explained this eucalyptus taste. In the late nineteenth century, the use of eucalyptus timber for wine casks was discussed as a substitute for imports of European oaks. This possibility was even more important because Australian winegrowers and coopers were highly dependent on foreign casks and woods. The issue was discussed in several specialised journals and within winegrowers' associations. Henry Bonnard read a paper before an assembly of winegrowers in 1884 in which he praised the suitability of the eucalyptus for the making of wine casks. By using this material, the winegrowers would avoid the cost of importing woods from Europe.¹²⁸ A few years later, Thomas Hardy reported to the South Australian Vine-Growers' Association on his experiments with various woods, including Quebec oak, mountain ash (*Eucalyptus regnans*) from Victoria; silky oak, hoop pine, and flindosia from Queensland; jarrah from Western Australia; red pine from New Zealand; and redwood from California. Hardy concluded that mountain ash affected the wine very slightly and could be transported to Adelaide at around one-third of the price of oak.¹²⁹ In the *Australian Vignerons* in 1890, it was suggested that *Eucalyptus virgata* would be the best indigenous species in New South Wales for this purpose.¹³⁰

In the same period, the *Journal of the Board of Viticulture for Victoria* indicated all the species in Victoria that were suitable to wine-cask making; but no eucalyptus species was mentioned.¹³¹ Similarly, Hubert de Castella considered all lightwoods (acacias) unsuitable. There is no clear evidence that eucalyptus or acacias were ever used for this purpose by Australian winemakers. As a contributor to the *Gazette* pointed it out, it was a problem peculiar to new wine-producing countries:

I draw attention in a tentative way, to the subject of indigenous timbers for cask (and particularly wine-cask) making. The subject is not free from difficulty, for in Europe the best woods for casks have only been found out as the result of many experiments and long experience. Ours is a new country, and we cannot gain experience in a moment; moreover,

¹²⁸ *The Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser*, 6 September 1884, 472.

¹²⁹ *South Australian Chronicle*, 5 October 1889, 15.

¹³⁰ *Australian Vignerons*, vol. 1, 1 July 1890, 36.

¹³¹ *Journal of the Board of Viticulture for Victoria*, 4 July 1889, 109-111.

money is not sufficiently plentiful to enable one to risk the quality of a large quantity of wine in trying experiments on many timbers.¹³²

But despite this financial obstacle, it is believable that some wealthy winegrowers would have experimented with these different woods. Hubert de Castella's remarks tend to indicate that he experimented himself at his property.

The absence of evidence on this matter prevents the drawing of any firm conclusion. The suggestion that local tree species might be used to replace imported oaks for the making of wine casks was economically driven, but it is arguable that considerations of terroir influenced colonial vigneron as well to unveil the taste of a place through its environmental constituents.

Conclusion

Experience taught Australian wine initiators that environmental and human factors would prevent them from adopting all aspects of the French wine models in the colonies. Differences of climate, soil and consumption habits thwarted the hopes and plans of advocates of light dry wines, to the extent that the emulation of Spanish and Portuguese models was suggested as an alternative, despite a certain revulsion among French wine lovers. In spite of such obstacles, some dynamic winegrowers believed in Australian capacities for the making of all kinds of wine, and especially French-style wines on the models of Champagne, Burgundy and Bordeaux. It was thought, also, that drinking habits could be changed by re-educating the colonial taste.

The influence of French wine enabled the development of locally established wine production following the idea of terroir. Both in France and Australia, discourses on wine and wine districts became increasingly specialised, detailed and geographically determined. In Australia, French vigneron as well as British colonists influenced by their trips to France or their reading of French writers participated in this transfer of ideas. The place of production came to be seen as a deterministic factor in wine quality as well as a marketing argument in international markets. However, no clear intention can be found in Australia of introducing this idea of terroir or "taste of place" into a national narrative as in France, where it involved a nearly mystical meaning, the aim of which was to confirm the superiority of French soils for winegrowing and food production in general. The wine industry in Australia in the late nineteenth century remained an exceedingly small sector in comparison with wool, cereals and mining production. Furthermore, wine consumption involved only a small minority of the

¹³² *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 5, 1894, 363.

population – the upper classes and the upper middle classes – while the rest inclined towards beer-drinking.

Thus, terroir in Australia appeared mostly as a means of adapting methods of production to local environments and developing distinguished brands. Although one should consider the impact of Australian nationalism, which peaked at the turn of the twentieth century with the creation of the Commonwealth of Australia, this did not influence Australian agriculture with the same significance with which nationalism affected agriculture in France. Still, this attempt to establish district-based wine production and to promote local characteristics both in the product and in the environment from which it was produced challenged the preconceived idea of an Australian wine industry which would always have been based on blended wines, with no consideration for local characteristics. On the contrary, Australian sources show early concerns about this issue.

Paradoxically, though the development of the concept of terroir was clearly the result of a French influence, its impact in Australia demonstrated at the same time a desire for emancipation from the French model. In establishing the uniqueness of Australian wines, colonial growers could take on their own destiny and counter criticisms which described the colonial production as a mere imitation of French products. Eventually, it was believed this strategy would enable Australian growers to compete more efficiently in international markets by creating their own reputation in the wake of the first globalisation. In that context, and considering the difficulties – geographical, political and cultural – involved in developing the wine industry in the Antipodes, uniqueness and distinction proved to be essential for establishing inimitable Australian brands and growths and thus reaching a top-end market. As in France, terroir responded partly to both national and international concerns.

Chapter 7

Overtaking the Model? International Markets and Australian Ambitions

In the late 1870s, Henry Lindeman stated: “We may become a rival even to France, in export of wine.”¹ By that time, a few colonial wineries had reached a commercial level of production and could compete with foreign wines imported into Australia. But this market was too limited. As seen in the previous chapter, the plan to turn the colonies into a wine-drinking society like France had failed. As a result, export markets looked more appealing. Britain appeared as a natural outlet for Australian wines, involving competition with France itself and other European suppliers. In the context of globalisation, intercontinental exchanges were rising. Largely dominated by western Europe, these exchanges were increasingly – though modestly – challenged by other powers in America, Asia and the British dominions, including Australia. In turn, this growing multilateral trade increased rivalries on a global level and the integration of world markets.² Although Australia mostly exported raw materials like wool, colonial winegrowers aspired to make their mark in the world wine industry by developing an export strategy against France. This new competition raises the question of the consequences of the transfers of knowledge and technologies on the international wine trade leading to rising trans-imperial rivalries between the European countries and the New World countries in the late nineteenth century.

James Simpson has pointed out the “emergence of a world wine industry” in the latter half of the nineteenth century, but he also argues that there was no global consumer wine market at the time. This would only occur from the 1970s, with the second phase of globalisation. During the nineteenth century, commercial wine production spread to new geographical areas in the Americas, South Africa and Australia, but consumption did not expand at the same pace. Popular drinking remained confined to traditional wine-producing countries in Europe. Outside these areas, there was only a very limited consumption of high-quality wines scattered throughout the world.³ This situation determined differing marketing strategies in new wine-

¹ Henry Lindeman, *A Few Words upon the Wine Bill, now before the House, and upon Wine Matters Generally* (Sydney: Gibbs, Shallard & Co, [between 1876 and 1880?]), 3.

² Bruno Marnot, *La mondialisation au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2012), 101-109.

³ Simpson, *Creating Wine*, xxxii. With the notable exception of Argentina (as well as Uruguay and Chile) which became one of the most important wine consumer and importer country (especially of French and Spanish wines) in the second half of the nineteenth century. But, as Simpson argued, it was the result of southern European migration accustomed to wine consumption prior to emigrating and who brought back their drinking

producing countries inhabited by people unaccustomed to regular wine-drinking.⁴ In Australia, despite many attempts by its advocates, wine consumption did not reach all classes of society. As shown in Chapter 2 and 6, the colonies established themselves as beer-drinking countries in the second half of the century while France did the same with wine. Thus, Australia looked towards overseas markets, using international exhibitions to promote their wines. Colonial winegrowers naturally turned their attention to the British imperial centre, where sales of French-style light dry wines had been on the rise from the 1860s. High-quality wines with distinguished reputations also represented a large part of British wine imports. Finally, following wine production shortages resulting from the outbreak of phylloxera in the 1880s–1890s in France, Australian winegrowers saw an opportunity to gain market share in international markets. As a result, Australian and French wine merchants – and more especially Bordeaux and Champagne négociants – ended up face to face selling their products in Britain by the turn of the century.

International exhibitions: competition and advertisement

First successes in the 1850s–1870s

At international exhibitions and shows it was of particular importance for Australian winegrowers to be admitted among their peers from the Old Continent if they hoped to introduce their products in the European markets. David Dunstan talks about an “exhibition mania” in the second half of the nineteenth century which influenced the Australian wine industry.⁵ William Macarthur was one of the New South Wales Commissioners at the Paris Exhibition of 1855. He earned some success for his Camden wines and was even decorated with the *Légion d’Honneur* by the French Government.⁶ Macarthur considered, however, that

habits with them to South America. On the other hand, wine consumption did not spread among British colonial working classes, nor among colonised population of Africa or Asia.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 268.

⁵ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 51.

⁶ Macarthur family papers, A2940: Sir William Macarthur correspondence relating to the 1855 Paris Universal Exhibition, May 1854–October 1863, SLNSW.

New South Wales wines were not yet ready to be compared with the best French and German wines. Although he had confidence in their potential in the near future.⁷

In Vienna in 1873, British writer Henry Vizetelly was appointed judge and reported impressions made by some Australian wines. On this occasion, the French judges wrongly believed that the samples of “Australian Hermitage” they tasted were fine wines from the Rhône Valley which had been matured during a trip to Australia. Vizetelly then found out that Australian hermitages had been praised on several occasions at different international and colonial exhibitions. He concluded by stating: “Any one who knows how exceedingly rare are the good red wines produced outside the limits of France and Portugal will see in this superiority of the Australian Hermitage a fine opening for the vine growers of the colony.”⁸ Colonial samples and exhibitors progressively grew in importance. The three wine-producing colonies of Australia – New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia – vied to propose the most impressive show during the exhibition of Paris in 1878 (see Appendix 7). Despite representing a very modest industry at the time, winegrowers managed to occupy a central position in each Australian court to raise their visibility at international events.

At the Royal Colonial Institute, a speaker recalled that for the Sydney International Exhibition of 1879 judges came from every wine-producing country of the world and were unanimous in thinking that Australian wines reached an excellent quality in general and were “destined to enter into successful competition in the markets of Europe.” The speaker added,

One of the judges (a Frenchman) compared the valleys of the Hunter and Paterson with those of the Gironde and Garonne, from which the best French wines were obtained, stating that as the climate and soil of the former are both favourable to wine production, the wines made in the colony will every year become more like the celebrated vintages of France.⁹

The increasing reputation of French great growths influenced Australian colonists hoping to produce similar wines and compete on the same markets. This became more evident at the International Wine Exhibition of Bordeaux in 1882.

⁷ *Catalogue of the Natural and Industrial Products of NSW Exhibited in the Australian Museum by the Paris Exhibition Commissioners, Sydney, November 1854*, (Sydney: Reading and Wellbank, 1854). In Macarthur family papers, A2940, SLNSW.

⁸ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 54. French reactions may be related to the practice known as “retour de l’Inde” and “retour des Indes” involving maturing wine during trips respectively to India and America in the nineteenth century.

⁹ *The Vignerons*, April 1886, vol. 1, no. 3, 36.

The Bordeaux International Wine Exhibition of 1882

Among all the universal exhibitions at which Australian samples were presented, the event organised by the Société Philomatique de Bordeaux in 1882 was arguably the most impactful. First, because it was held in one of the most important wine trade centres of the world.¹⁰ Furthermore, Bordeaux was in close connection with London, the most significant fine wine importer of the time. Australian winegrowers were eager to receive feedback from Bordeaux négociants and vignerons as “the Department of the Gironde [district of Bordeaux] possesses such an unlimited number of ‘connoisseurs’ perfectly conversant with the planting and cultivation of the vine, vinification, and the rearing of its produce.”¹¹ Henry Bonnard, representative of the colony of New South Wales for the exhibition, recalled the motivations behind the event:

When provoking this Universal Exhibition of Wines the *Société Philomatique* proposed to bring at Bordeaux all the vinicole produces of the world, not so much to compare them with the wines of France as to give to the trade of Bordeaux an opportunity to judge these produces and to look amongst them for those which would prove the most likely to be of some use in helping to fill up the want increasing from year to year, now felt in the wine production of France.¹²

Louis Lawrence Smith, representative of the colony of Victoria, listed three main reasons for the importance of this exhibition, echoing Bonnard’s view:

First, because Bordeaux is the centre of the European wine trade.

Secondly, [...] The production of wine in France has fallen off nearly a third, and the local merchants are seeking a supply from other countries. The present is, therefore, the best opportunity that has yet presented itself for introducing Australian wine into Europe.

Thirdly, because the judgements of European experts on Australian wine have very considerable influence upon its reputation in this country, and consequently on the local demand and consumption.¹³

For Australian exhibitors, the event represented an opportunity to secure an outlet in France by replacing dropping French productions due to the devastations of the phylloxera. From an average of 53,160,000 hectolitres a year produced in the 1870s, the output of French vineyards plummeted to 30,770,000 hectolitres a year in the 1880s.¹⁴ This drop was even more critical in light of booming consumption in French urban areas, causing significant shortages.

¹⁰ About Bordeaux wine trade prosperity, see Roudié, *Vignobles et Vignerons du Bodelais*, 141-172. The 1880s marked the end of this “golden age” and the beginning of the disruptions caused by the phylloxera crisis.

¹¹ *Bordeaux International Wine Exhibition 1882*, 4.

¹² Bonnard, *Report of the Executive*, 4.

¹³ *Bordeaux International Wine Exhibition 1882*, 18.

¹⁴ Anderson, Nelgen, and Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets*, 180.

Regarding the constitution of the jury, a report of the colony of Victoria stated that “the Exhibition authorities showed that perfect impartiality guided them in the constitution of the jury by inviting the foreign countries represented at this Exhibition, as well as the Chambers of Commerce of all wine-growing departments of France, to nominate and delegate special jurors.”¹⁵ However, out of fifty-five judges, forty-five were French or directly involved in French wine trade. Great Britain nominated only three judges to represent its five colonies (Cyprus, the Cape colony, Victoria, South Australia and New South Wales). Additionally, there was one delegate of the Turkish Government, one for Italy, one for Greece, one for the Netherlands, one for Austria-Hungary and one for Chile. This composition inevitably led to a French bias during the tasting.

Bonnard insisted on the significance of wine in France, and especially in Bordeaux, while lamenting a certain form of nationalist chauvinism:

The wine-growers of France, and more especially those of the Gironde, are very proud of their wines; they are very fond of them; their wine is almost the one and universal object of their leading business and topics of conversation at all times of day. As a matter of fact there is hardly another district of France where people are so thoroughly acquainted and interested in everything concerning the vine and the wine; yet the feeling is pretty general in France that French wines alone are good and can be good. Some, perhaps, may be of inferior qualities, still better than the generality of foreign wines. There is certainly nothing to be wondered at it. Australian wine-growers themselves will certainly share this prejudice in time to come, if some do not already do so for their own wines.¹⁶

Despite this situation, Bonnard stated that Australian courts proved very attractive to the public and French judges appreciated Australian wine qualities, even though they were not yet ready to accept any comparison with the great growths of France. “They willingly admit that the colony may, at the present time, be brought to produce sorts of wine ranging from an ordinary St. Emilion to a common Roussillon.”¹⁷ Other observers, such as Leo Monenn in Victoria, were more enthusiastic and talked about “absolute triumphs” in the “very centre of the principal wine-producing centre of the world.”¹⁸ French sources confirmed that Australian wines were praised for their finesse and bouquet as the best products presented among foreign exhibitors.¹⁹

From New South Wales, there were twenty-three exhibitors and two hundred and forty-six different wines exhibited. Alexander Munro from Bebeah, Hunter Valley, made the best

¹⁵ *Bordeaux International Wine Exhibition 1882*, 4-5.

¹⁶ Bonnard, *Report of the Executive*, 7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁸ Quoted in Laffer, *The Wine Industry*, 73.

¹⁹ Charles Benoist fils, "L'Australie et ses colonies," *La vigne française: revue bi-mensuelle des intérêts viticoles français et de la défense contre le phylloxera* 3, no. 24 (1882): 422.

impression on the judges: “*C’est assurément un viticulteur intelligent. Tous ses vins ont été admirablement traités, aucun échantillon n’a été trouvé altéré*” (“He is a clever winegrower. His wines have been well-preserved, none of his samples have deteriorated”).²⁰ The commissioners of Victoria were pleased to observe that their colony had the highest percentage of gold and silver Medals of Progress in proportion to the number of its exhibitors:

For a young country like Victoria (especially in regard to the cultivation of the vine) it is certainly a most satisfactory result to come out of this examination [...]. The great profits derived by Victoria from the results of this Exhibition are, in the first instance, that it attracted considerable attention to her general resources and to those for the production of wines in particular.²¹

Five medals were awarded to wines made by French-born Australian winegrowers: two gold medals to Philobert Terrier and Francis Mellon; two silver medals to Charles Braché and Camille Réau; and a bronze medal to Trouette and Blampied (see Figure 12). The rest were awarded to British or German–Australian winegrowers who sometimes had been helped by French experts like François Coueslant at Château Tahbilk (gold medal) or Auguste d’Argent at the Victorian Champagne Company Ltd owned by L. L. Smith (silver medal) – see Appendix 3 for the list of awards received by exhibitors from the colonies of Victoria and New South Wales.

Figure 12: Bronze Medal of Progress awarded to Trouette and Blampied, St. Peter’s Vineyard, Victoria, Bordeaux Universal Exhibition 1882



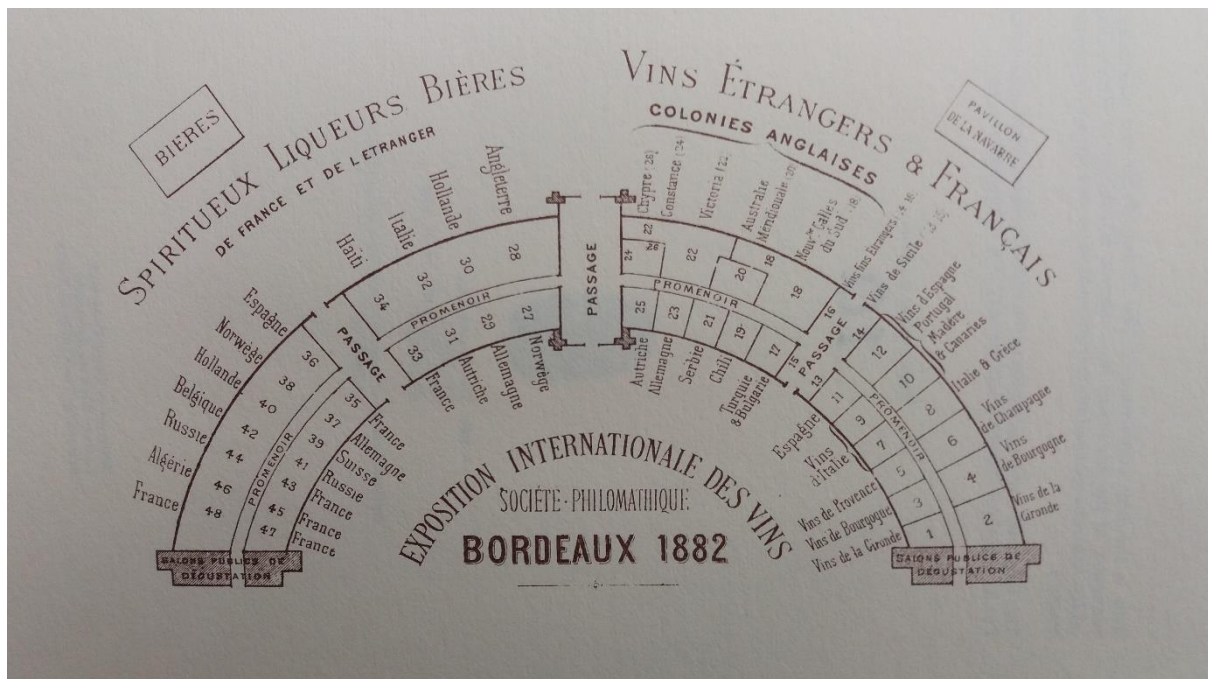
Source: Museum Victoria Collections, <https://collections.museumvictoria.com.au/items/80219>

²⁰ Ibid., 423.

²¹ *Bordeaux International Wine Exhibition 1882*, 6.

All these comments and prizes spurred Australian growers' ambitions and helped them to believe they could efficiently introduce their commodities into international markets. That said, it should be noted that French wines and foreign wines did not compete in the same category. There were two categories of awards: Order of Merit and Order of Progress. French wines, but also Rhenish, Madeira and Tokay, were the only ones to be awarded Medals of Merit, while other countries, including the Australian colonies, received Medals of Progress.²² This distinction was based on reputations and origins. It was designed to formalise the pre-eminence of renowned wine districts over newcomers and avoid allowing any wine from a new producing country to compete directly with long-established fine wine areas like Bordeaux. It echoed the classification of 1855 by setting a hierarchy between wine districts according to their reputations.

Figure 13: Plan of the Universal Wine Exhibition of Bordeaux, 1882



Source: Bonnard, Henry. Report of the Executive Secretary on the Bordeaux International Exhibition of Wines, 1882. Sydney: Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1884, unpagged.

²² Ibid., 5-6.

As depicted in the plan of Figure 13, the *colonies anglaises* have very large courts, larger than Spain or Italy. All together, they have almost as much space as the French courts. This was the result of well-prepared organisations and advertising by the representatives and commissioners of the Australian colonies – especially those of Victoria and New South Wales – aiming to impress visitors and wine connoisseurs (see Figure 14).

Figure 14: Lithograph of New South Wales' court at the Universal Wine Exhibition of Bordeaux, 1882



Source: Bonnard, Henry, Report of the Executive Secretary on the Bordeaux International Exhibition of Wines, 1882 (Sydney: Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1884), unpagged.

It is also interesting to note that though each colony participated separately during these events, winegrowers of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia had a sense of their common interest and cooperated to promote their business on an international scale. In his report on Australian wine trade, Hans Irvine considered exhibitions a good means of informing British people about the styles of wine the Australian colonies could provide to the imperial metropole. But, according to him, before the London Exhibition of 1885–1886, they would have been completely neglected by merchants and connoisseurs.²³ On the other hand, in his book focused on the wine industry of Victoria, John W. Bear had a much more enthusiastic feeling regarding the Australian production as a whole. “The excellent natural qualities of

²³ Irvine, *The Australian Wine Trade*, 16.

Australian wines for commercial purposes, have been repeatedly acknowledged by France, who has complimented and encouraged the efforts of our growers by awarding them high recompenses and special distinctions whenever they competed at her exhibitions.”²⁴ This sense of Australianness increased with the development of a national mindset in the latter half of the nineteenth century. This allowed the shaping of dual identities – colonial and national (e.g. Victorian–Australian) – leading to mixed relations of competition and cooperation between the winegrowers and wine merchants of the antipodean colonies.

Moreover, the differences of perceptions between Irvine and Bear may have been the result of the fact that French experts often praised Australian efforts and successes in winegrowing though only deigning to compare them with “ordinary” French wines. And they often claimed that they were too expensive and badly made or badly preserved from deterioration during the long trip to Europe. This was an argument that was voiced by some Australian experts as well. Yet, one cannot deny the existence of nationalist thinking, which played an important role at the time in attempting to confirm the superiority of French wine in a context of decreasing production and growing competition on the international level. It was to strengthen the belief in the superiority of French soil which led to the protection of geographical indications against foreign misappropriation in the early twentieth century. This in turn influenced Australian growers who attempted to transfer this terroir model to Australia to develop a top-end wine trade and compete more efficiently with French growers in international markets.

Rivalries in international markets: the shaping of an Australian export trade

When he visited the vineyards of Victoria and South Australia in the early 1860s, journalist Ebenezer Ward was convinced that Australian winegrowers would have to compete with southern France in the near future.²⁵ It is not very clear which districts Ward had in mind, but he certainly referred to Bordeaux and Hermitage wines, which were particularly famous in England. This hypothetical competition became more obvious when the French wine industry was hit by the phylloxera crisis in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. One of the main evidences of such strategy among Australian wine producers was the trip to Europe undertaken in 1891 by Irvine on behalf of the Minister of Agriculture for Victoria to study the possibilities

²⁴ Bear, *The Coming Industry*, 23.

²⁵ Ward, *Vineyards of Victoria*, 98- 99.

for the establishment of an export trade for Australian wines on this continent.²⁶ This revealed the interconnection existing between Australia, Britain and France in terms of wine trade.

The Phylloxera crisis: “France’s misfortune is Australia’s opportunity.”

Walter Pownall, proprietor of the Australian Wine Company and the second most important British importer of Australian wines in London, in 1889 presented to the Board of Viticulture for Victoria the advantages expected from the creation of a market for Australian wines in England. Pownall observed that colonial wines had made some progress during the previous few years, thanks to the general improvement of their quality and the consequence of the devastation of French vineyards on international wine trade. “I would point out,” he added, “that this is an opportunity that may never occur again in our lifetime for Australian wines to take a prominent place in England. ‘France’s misfortune is Australia’s opportunity’”.²⁷ The drop in French vinicultural production occurred during the peak of British wine imports from France. From 39,000 hectolitres imported in 1859, the year before the signature of the Franco–British treaty of commerce, the imports reached 183,600 hectolitres in 1868 and even 273,260 in 1876.²⁸ When Pownall made his comment, British imports of French wines had stabilised at around 220,000 hectolitres per year in 1885–1889 – see Appendix 5 for the evolution of British wine imports by source. In Pownall’s mind, the decrease of wine production in France would inevitably impact exports to Britain. It would thus create a gap to be filled.

Contrary to Pownall’s expectations, British imports of French wines remained steady in the 1890s and only started to decrease in the 1900s,²⁹ that is, after the phylloxera crisis. This drop was mostly due to the degradation of the reputation of French wines in Britain owing to frauds and adulteration scandals. To compensate for the shortage of domestic production during the crisis, French exports were partly composed of foreign wines blended with local products. In the 1860s, French imports of wines amounted to only 830,000 hectolitres, while in the 1880s they grew more than tenfold and reached 9.38 million hectolitres, most of it from Spain, but also from Italy, Portugal and Algeria.³⁰ Hubert de Castella pointed out that “the result of the

²⁶ Irvine, *The Australian Wine Trade*. See also, *Journal of the Board of Viticulture for Victoria*, 10 March 1892, 112.

²⁷ *Journal of the Board of Viticulture for Victoria*, 5 August 1889, 118.

²⁸ Anderson, Nelgen, and Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets*, 534-535.

²⁹ *Ibid.* France still exported 246,000 hectolitres of wine a year to Britain in 1895-1899, but only 149,000 in 1905-1909.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 540.

concentration in France of the viticole production of Europe, of the wines which supply international market, is a great impulse given to viticulture in all countries.”³¹ In the Spanish region of La Rioja, Bordeaux became a model of fine-wine production in the mid-nineteenth century in response to the domination of claret in the top-end London market. The phylloxera crisis increased the trans-Pyrenean transfers owing to Bordeaux négociants’ need for wines to fill their stock. At first, they only bought wines, but then they started to invest in cellars and local associations to reshape the production process to suit their quality requirements.³² In Mendoza, central-western Argentina, Bordeaux was chosen as a model owing to its strategic outward-looking trade and its reputation on international markets.³³ This encouraged Bordeaux négociants to established branches in Buenos Aires to control a new market in expansion in South America. Finally, Algeria became the main beneficiary of this international reconfiguration thanks to the involvement of the French Government from the 1880s in developing a massive wine industry in this colony to supply the imperial centre and avoid imports from foreign countries. While in the 1870s Algerian wine exports to France represented virtually nothing, in the 1900s they reached 4.75 million hectolitres.³⁴

De Castella expected that these new wine exporters – established in European settler colonies or former colonies – would eventually avoid the French intermediaries and reach consumer markets in northern Europe and North America directly. Emerging wine-producing countries in the New Worlds could even become the next suppliers – after Spain, Italy, Portugal and Algeria – of France, owing to lower transoceanic freight costs and larger vessels.³⁵ However, unlike in Spain, Argentina or Algeria, viticulture had not spread exponentially in Australia. It was too far away from the European markets, domestic consumption was too low, and phylloxera eventually reached its shores, especially Victoria, from the 1870s. Yet, these obstacles did not alter Australian winegrowers’ optimism as the French wine shortages started to be felt in Britain.

In *The Garden and the Field* (Adelaide), Thomas Hardy reported the growing interests in Australian and Californian wines among British merchants and consumers as a result of the

³¹ Castella, *John Bull's Vineyard*, 102.

³² Brémond, "Rioja," 192.

³³ Blanchy, *Le Vignoble Argentin*, 28-29. However, the vineyard of Mendoza quickly turned to ordinary wine production for the Argentinian market.

³⁴ Anderson, Nelgen, and Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets*, 540.

³⁵ Castella, *John Bull's Vineyard*, 103.

phylloxera crisis.³⁶ In 1888, *The Age* (Melbourne) announced the lack of wine in France and the rising demand for foreign wines

for mixing with the native product for the supply of the foreign trade, and to provide for the home consumption. [...] One of the chief purposes of Victoria at Paris [Exhib of 1889] should be to show that she can meet a large demand for the wines of the colony, which are even now better than those of California and of some of the European countries from which France is drawing supplies.³⁷

The author of the article even argued that wines would become more profitable than cereals for Victoria's farmers. The same enthusiasm was to be found in the *South Australian Advertiser*:

Above all, we have no phylloxera to trouble us. The dreaded pest which has devastated the vineyards of Europe has spared all but a few isolated districts on this continent, and with the exercise of reasonable care we may regard ourselves as safe from its attacks. Thus far almost the only effect of the phylloxera on the colonies has been to enlarge the possibilities of an Australian wine trade with Europe by the diminution of European production. The English market has been deluged with inferior brands of doctored wines from the Continent; and consumers, impatient at such treatment, are now turning towards Australia with unwonted eagerness for the supply of a sound and wholesome wine of agreeable flavour and sufficient cheapness. Europe's extremity ought to be Australia's opportunity.³⁸

Colonial wine advocates were convinced that the recent decrease of French exports was a turning point:

While our young industry is expanding surely, if but slowly, and has brightening prospects opening up to it, wine production in France shows unmistakable and continuous signs of decadence. The days when France was practically the wine factory for the whole world are gone, it would seem, for ever. The result is due to two causes – the ravage of phylloxera and the growth of competition.³⁹

The result was that Californian wines were replacing French wines on the US market. It was believed that the same phenomenon would occur in Australia. Furthermore, Australian ambition went as far as envisioning replacing France as the main wine exporter of the world, using the example of tea in India to support it:

The enthusiasts who believe that Australia will yet be the chief wine producing country in the world cannot hope to live to see their prophecy actually fulfilled; but if France continues to lose ground as rapidly in the coming years as she has done in the last two decades, the way will be cleared, and some appreciable progress towards the realisation of the dream should be made even in the time of those now living. [...] The history of the tea trade affords a parallel instance of great industry being transplanted and transferred from one country to another one. India took the place of China as first tea producing country in the world. Such an example encourages the hope in these colonies that history may repeat itself as regard the

³⁶ *The Garden and the Field*, vol. 13, no. 145, June 1887, 11.

³⁷ *The Age*, 4 December 1888.

³⁸ *South Australian Advertiser*, 20 January 1886, 4.

³⁹ *The Age*, 13 January 1890, 4.

wine industry, and that the diminishing production in France will prove the opportunity of Australia.⁴⁰

Of course, such ambition looked unrealistic at the time, especially considering the volume of wine production and consumption in the colonies. In the 1880s, Australia produced barely 100,000 hectolitres a year while consuming 110,000 hectolitres.⁴¹ But most Australian wine exporters realistically limited their undertaking to the British market and its top-end customers.

Britain: international and imperial outlet

During the nineteenth century, Britain, and especially its capital London, was the centre of the world economy as well as of the fine wine business.⁴² Since the late seventeenth century, British consumers had distinguished themselves as real connoisseurs of quality beverages, developing tasting skills and specialised vocabulary.⁴³ British merchants had played a critical role in promoting the development of wine districts like Bordeaux, Porto, Madeira and Jerez during the Modern Period.⁴⁴ In the nineteenth century, in addition to traditional wine-producing countries in southern Europe, Britain started to deal with wine producers of the New Worlds like the Cape, California, and Australia. Even though the production was significantly low in the beginning, these new inlets meant more competition as world production tended to grow more quickly than consumption.

Among the major issues that arose were marketing and advertisement. Jennifer Regan-Lefebvre argues that Australian wine merchants principally marketed their products as an “imperial” good able to awaken customers’ patriotic sides and positively impact colonial societies.⁴⁵ In 1876, James Thomas Fallon, a vigneron and wine merchant of New South Wales, campaigned in favour of advertising Australian wines in the British market, and more particularly in competition with French wines:

The cheap clarets coming to the English market had no prejudices to contend with. They were recommended by long usage, amounting almost to a superstition, which gave them an

⁴⁰ Ibid., 5.

⁴¹ Anderson, Nelgen, and Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets*, 180, 188.

⁴² Whether Bordeaux constituted the world centre of fine wine exports, London could claim to be the world centre of fine wine imports.

⁴³ Garrier, *Histoire sociale et culturelle du vin*, 108.

⁴⁴ About the role of the English in Porto wine trade in the eighteenth century, see Ludington, *The Politics of Wine*, especially Part III on Port. During the same period, Irish merchants played a decisive role in developing Bordeaux grand crus. See Ludington, "Inventing Grand Cru Claret."

⁴⁵ Regan-Lefebvre, "John Bull's Other Vineyard," 265, 273.

immense advantage to start with over the Colonial product. There was a great prejudice against the latter, as they all knew.⁴⁶

This “superstition” refers to the mystique associated with some French wines, their healthy attributes, their uniqueness in accordance with the terroir and the link between a place and its produce. However, Fallon was known to be a French wine enthusiast, acknowledging the health qualities of French wines and hiring a French vigneron to manage his Murray Valley Vineyard. His patriotism and his involvement in the colonial wine industry proved preeminent in influencing his view on the wine trade with Britain and fighting criticisms against Australian wines.

Indeed, colonial wines still suffered in the 1880s from being considered coarse and poorly made. This issue reached the Royal Colonial Institute in 1885. On 8 December, Mr. E. Combes, C.M.G., read a paper discussing the progress of the New South Wales wine industry. “It is much to be regretted,” he started,

that so little is known of Colonial wines in England, and there can be little doubt that is owing to a vitiated taste. The public of England have been accustomed, not only to wines strongly brandied or otherwise sophisticated, but to spurious manufactured wines. If Australian wines were better known, they would be more generally used, and take a permanent position among the better class of wines consumed in this country.⁴⁷

To solve this problem, Henry Bonnard suggested that all vineyard proprietors should take on the responsibility of introducing themselves and their products in the markets of England:

A syndicate of wine-growers should be formed in Sydney, having special depots in London, Havre, and Antwerp, until the names, merits, and values of our wines should be so well established that the European consumers and Australian growers could be brought into direct contact, and conduct their own business without having to fear the influence of prejudices or the conspiracy of a ring, and without intermediate agency of a productive association merely employing sworn wine-brokers, in the usual way, to their mutual satisfaction.⁴⁸

The priority was to recover control of trade from careless merchants and improve the brand image of colonial wines in the eyes of European consumers, which was the only way to compete efficiently with long-established southern European products. This trade policy was also linked to the development of the terroir concept in Australia, which, as seen in Chapter 6, was to lead to the production of unique fine wines. Thus, the origin of the product became a marketing tool with which to compete with European fine wines to reach top-end customers.

⁴⁶ Fallon, *The Wines of Australia*, 26.

⁴⁷ *The Vigneron*, April 1886, vol. 1, no. 3, 36.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

As Simpson put it, this problem of reputation, which concerned the three main wine-producing colonies of Australia, was linked to the “tyranny of distance.” The long journey between sellers and buyers; the conditions of transoceanic transport across very different climates, which resulted in the adulteration of the wines; and the asymmetries of information between the producing areas and the consumer markets made this trade uncertain.⁴⁹ Thus, colonial winegrowers needed trusted agents to secure reliable transport and careful treatment upon arrival. In the late nineteenth century, this trade was controlled by London importer Peter Burgoyne, who traded with Alexander Kelly and the Tintara Vineyard Company (South Australia), since 1871, before it failed and was then bought by Thomas Hardy. Burgoyne, however, remained the chief representative of Australian wine exporters, claiming that from the 1870s to 1900, “fully 70 per cent of the wine exported from Australia to England had passed through his hands.”⁵⁰ Most of the rest was controlled by his rival Walter Pownall through the Australian Wine Company.

This situation led to resentment among Australian exporters regarding the control exercised by the two British importers. Once in London, most of the wine was sold unbranded in casks or in bottles under the brands of the importers. This was a major marketing issue for Australian producers, who aimed to promote their own brands and the qualities of their estates. This strategy had been promoted by Burgoyne in the 1880s,⁵¹ but he then turned to the trading of generic brands to realise economy of scale and make a large impact on the market. In 1894, a South Australian Government Central Wine Depot was established in London to avoid Burgoyne’s monopoly and find agents for the exporters. But this initiative as well as all other alternatives failed, and in 1911 Burgoyne still controlled most of the market.⁵²

Colonial winegrowers also had to deal with a context of free trade that allowed French wines to be introduced into the British market at a lower duty than Spanish and Portuguese wines and even than British colonial wines.⁵³ In 1860, the Cobden–Chevalier treaty of free trade reduced all taxes between the two countries. Two years later, British Chancellor of the Exchequer William Gladstone established a new tax system based on proof spirit levels, which

⁴⁹ Simpson, *Creating Wine*, 235.

⁵⁰ Quoted in *ibid.*, 236.

⁵¹ Regan-Lefebvre, “John Bull’s Other Vineyard,” 275-276.

⁵² Simpson, *Creating Wine*, 236-239.

⁵³ Ludington, *The Politics of Wine*, 265. From 1862, British duties on French wines amounted to £10.5 per tun, whereas duties on Spanish, Portuguese and South African wines amounted to £26 per tun.

penalised Australian wines, which were usually much stronger than French or German wines.⁵⁴ The motivation of the British Government was to favour light wines and beer, as these beverages were considered healthier. It was also a means of discouraging the fortification of wine with brandies as in sherries and ports. The French wine trade, and especially the clarets from Bordeaux, took great advantage of this customs policy.⁵⁵ Australian wine producers could not bear such a situation, as they greatly relied on exports to Britain.

Fallon actively fought this new tax system, claiming that Australian wines were naturally high in alcohol and were not fortified. Thus, the level of alcohol could not be decreased to come within the one-shilling duty.⁵⁶ The *Sydney Morning Herald* came to the fore to denounce this situation in 1878. "It is generally believed that if a modification were made in England in regard to the duties levied on wines coming from this colony [New South Wales], they would compete successfully with the light wines of France."⁵⁷ The Australian Wine Association lobbied in favour of "the admission of Australian wines containing less than thirty degrees (Sikes)⁵⁸ of proof spirit into Great Britain on the payment of 1s. per gallon duty."⁵⁹ The president of the association, Archibald Michie, former Minister of Justice for Victoria and well-known wine advocate, regretted the way Britain treated its own colonies "as if they were foreign nations instead of British dependencies."⁶⁰ In the settlerist principles foreseen by colonial wine exporters, the imperial centre was expected to serve as a natural outlet for colonial industries and fulfil its role in the imperial economic cycle.⁶¹ The Government of Victoria eventually obtained the implementation of a sliding scale, and Australian wine exports to Britain increased from 2,400 hectolitres in 1885 to 14,000 hectolitres in 1890.⁶²

Despite this progress, François de Castella bitterly observed that Victoria had made little progress in the global volume of wine produced in the colony, preventing London merchants from considering it as a serious supplier.⁶³ In comparison, in 1890, European competitors supplied Britain with 242,000 hectolitres from France, 155,000 hectolitres from Spain and

⁵⁴ Simpson, *Creating Wine*, 113-115.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 114-118.

⁵⁶ Fallon, *The Wines of Australia*, 4-8, 18. Fallon's argument was strongly challenged by German chemist Dr Ludwig Thudichum, see McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 243-246.

⁵⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 March 1878, 5.

⁵⁸ The level of proof spirit as shown here referred to Sikes' scale established in 1816 in Britain. It differed from Gay-Lussac's scale based on percentage of pure alcohol developed in 1824 in France. Thirty degrees of Sikes proof spirit equals seventeen degrees of Gay-Lussac proof spirit.

⁵⁹ *The Vignerons*, February 1886, vol. 1, no. 1, 7.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ McIntyre, *First Vintage*, 102.

⁶² Anderson, Nelgen, and Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets*, 535. See Appendix 5.

⁶³ Castella, *Handbook on Viticulture*, xiii.

154,000 hectolitres from Portugal. Yet de Castella optimistically foresaw rising competition as a source of distinction of quality and value which would eventually favour colonial vigneron:

Competition will bring about differences in price in favour of the most suitable wines, and the grower will naturally find that these are the most advantageous for his business. At present any well-made wine of moderate alcoholic strength is of pretty much the same value, but is scarcely reasonable to suppose that this state of things will continue.⁶⁴

De Castella, like the main wine producers of Australia at the time (Hardy, Fallon, Penfold, Irvine, Smith etc.), aspired to secure top-end wine markets. This meant emulating French fine wines of the claret or burgundy types, but also champagne, which established itself as the key beverage of European high society – especially British – in the second half of the nineteenth century. As Claudine and Serge Wolikow put it, the globalisation of the champagne trade was stimulated by the development of British industrial capitalism: it occurred at the British Empire's peak and during a period of free trade. Britain attracted nearly half of champagne exports in the late nineteenth century with 10.7 million bottles.⁶⁵ Naturally, some Australian growers were influenced by this new drinking trend and intended to gain market share. In the same way as Australian claret and Australian burgundy, they adopted a top-end strategy to develop Australian-made champagnes able to compete with French champagnes.

The first attempts to make Australian champagne can be traced back to the early 1850s in New South Wales and the early 1870s in both Victoria and South Australia. Like for clarets, the main customers for this type of beverage were to be found in London. The most prominent sparkling wine pioneers were Fallon in New South Wales, L. L. Smith and Hans Irvine in Victoria and Thomas Hardy in South Australia. They all hired French champagne experts between the 1870s and the 1890s to develop Australian sparkling wines.⁶⁶ French migrants were indeed at the forefront of this new industry in Australia. Léonce Frère established himself at Albury, New South Wales, and made champagne wines with which he won gold medals at several exhibitions – Melbourne 1880, Calcutta 1883 and London 1886 – and sold them mostly to London at a similar price to medium-quality champagnes from France.⁶⁷ In South Australia, Joseph Foureur, a former employee of Moët & Chandon in the Champagne district, expected to turn local wines into champagne and introduce them in the London market as well.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Ibid., xii.

⁶⁵ Claudine Wolikow and Serge Wolikow, *Champagne! Histoire inattendue* (Paris: Les Editions de l'Atelier, 2012), 67-68.

⁶⁶ About champagne making in Australia, see also Chapter 4.

⁶⁷ George Bell, "Australian Champagne Is not so New," *Wine & Spirit* (1985): 48.

⁶⁸ *South Australian Chronicle*, 20 September 1890, 14.

Replying to *The Advertiser* in December 1890, Foureur considered the time particularly favourable to undertake the making of colonial champagne:

A good opening is before us, as I understand the price of champagne is being raised in Europe in consequence of the ravages of phylloxera. The supply of this beverage consequently will fall off, and we should now seize the golden opportunity of establishing the industry in South Australia. We have grapes that are suitable, and our climate is adapted for the production of first-class champagne.⁶⁹

Indeed, phylloxera had reached the region of Champagne in the late 1880s; the département of Aube as early as 1888, and the more northerly département of Marne only in 1894.⁷⁰ This was seen as an opportunity by Foureur, who hoped to fill the gap left by the insect in champagne production to supply both Australian and overseas markets. However, vines planted in Champagne turned out to be only partially hit owing to climatic conditions and to recover quickly thanks to reconstitution methods – grafting on American stocks – tested and perfected in the southern regions since the 1870s. Champagne houses ultimately maintained their positions on the British market and left little room for foreign newcomers.

Shipping and production costs were not in favour of Australian winegrowers. The distance of about 20,000 kilometres between Australia and Britain implied extra freight costs and uncertain quality upon arrival. Australian exporters and British importers took advantage of the situation by asking colonial wine producers for lower prices.⁷¹ Labour in general was also more expensive than in France. One way to counter this problem was through the use of machinery to reduce labour costs and be competitive on the British market.⁷² Another solution was to target a top-end model in order to legitimate higher prices. Both solutions stimulated the development of innovations and wine science in Australia.

The development of high-quality wines was used for the marketing of Australian wines in Britain. In a letter addressed to the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, Alfred Lawrence, an agent in London, pointed out that Australian wines were advertised as “pure.” “This is a polite way,” he said, “of saying that French, German and Italian wines are not pure, and the public read it so.”⁷³ This argument was put forward by the *Australian Vigneron* as well: “When we observe the similarity in the qualities, and the great disparity in the prices, we are surprised

⁶⁹ *The Advertiser*, 29 December 1890, 6.

⁷⁰ Garrier, *Le phylloxéra*, 32.

⁷¹ Simpson, *Creating Wine*, 234-235.

⁷² *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 1, no. 1, July 1890.

⁷³ Letter republished in the *Australian Vigneron*, 2 February 1891, 177.

that the French Clarets and Burgundies are not swept out of the market to make way for our purer wines.”⁷⁴ This strategy directly resulted from a context of general distrust over wine products in the late nineteenth century with the increase in cases of fraud.⁷⁵ French wines were particularly targeted by this campaign in Britain, as the phylloxera crisis had drastically diminished the production capacity of the country. Consequently, many merchants did not hesitate to cheat by adding water, blending their wines with foreign products, making wines from dry raisins, water and sugar, and even sometimes by producing synthetic “grape-free” wines.⁷⁶ Australia could then appear to British consumers as a healthy and authentic alternative.

Still, the problem of reputation remained critical. Lawrence added in his report that people in general did not like Australian wines but bought them even so because of their attractive price. He met a lady in London who would have told him: “Oh dear no; I do not drink Australian wine. I lived in Bordeaux for seven years, and know good wine. I have tasted the Australian wines and that was sufficient for me.”⁷⁷ But, was it a popular opinion at the time? Thomas Hardy seemed to disagree and advanced that “the increasing sale and steady demand from those who have once used them is a far better index of how they are appreciated by the public generally.”⁷⁸ However, both Lawrence and Hardy agreed on the necessity of developing Australian sales in Britain. The dropping production in France due to the phylloxera had to be taken into consideration, and Lawrence recommended that the governments of the Australian colonies appoint a commission to investigate opportunities to ensure “continuous sale in England.”

In the late nineteenth-early twentieth centuries, Australian winegrowers paid close attention to trends and tastes in Britain. Charles Burney Young, from South Australia, noticed that colonial wines could compete efficiently with any other types of wine, though advising merchants to be moderate in their prices, as 1893 vintages of clarets and burgundies were about to be launched by French merchants. In general, he remarked that “the English taste is still for full-bodied wines – burgundies and ports; the consumption of port is as considerable as ever. Sherry has declined in favour, and the champagne trade is by no means flourishing; the quality

⁷⁴ Ibid., 1 May 1890, 2.

⁷⁵ Simpson, *Creating Wine*, 81-82.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 121-123, 147-151. Lachiver, *Vins, vignes et vigneron*, 438-442. About the impact of adulterations on the French wine sector, see in particular Alessandro Stanziani, “La falsification du vin en France, 1880-1905: un cas de fraude agro-alimentaire,” *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 2, no. 50-2 (2003). Alessandro Stanziani, “Information, Quality and Legal Rules: Wine Adulteration in Nineteenth Century France,” *Business History* 51, no. 2 (2009).

⁷⁷ *Australian Vigneron*, 2 February 1891, 177.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

has not been up to the mark, and there have been certain difficulties in the trade.”⁷⁹ The classification of burgundies as “full-bodied” may appear astonishing, as pinot noir wines are generally considered to be light-bodied. However, it attests to the fact that Burgundian negociants used to manipulate the wines to meet their customers’ demand. Thus, wines of Burgundy could be of very different types and styles according to negociants’ practices, including blending with southern French wines to give them more body, colour and alcohol.⁸⁰ Besides, that habit was very common in other French regions like in Bordeaux. Young’s comment also tends to confirm that Australian and French wine négociants were in direct competition and aimed at the same customer base on the British market. French-born vigneron Edmond Mazure was even confident in thinking that Australian wines were better than ordinary French wines and much cheaper. He reported an anecdote to *The Advertiser* in 1900:

I had a bit of fun with one French wine maker. I told him we were going to get a big share of the English market from the French, and he pooh-poohed the idea – said he heard about Australian wine, and that it was deadly, and all that sort of thing. I gave him some without telling him where it came from, and he praised it very highly. Then I told him it was Australian wine, and he would not believe me. To prove it I sent him an unopened bottle, and got in reply a letter with the most profuse apologies.⁸¹

Colonial winegrowers’ enthusiasm was not shared by everyone, however. In 1898, the reporter of the *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney) commented on the results of the introduction of Australian wines into Europe, reporting very limited sales in Britain, despite Irvine’s and Bear’s efforts. One of the reasons suggested was the unfair comparison with French *grands crus* like Lafite, Yquem or Mouton. Another explanation relied on the fact that the trade was almost completely controlled by one agent, Peter Burgoyne, who indiscriminately sold wines bought from Melbourne and Adelaide as “Australian” with no distinction of origin between the colonies. There was a lack of advertising and a critical need to improve their reputation if Australian wines were to compete with French fine wines in Britain.⁸²

According to the statistics gathered by Kym Anderson, Signe Nelgen and Vicente Pinilla (see Appendices 5 and 6),⁸³ the gradual success of Australian wines in the British market at the turn of the twentieth century should be viewed in the context of the relatively small volume of their exports. In 1882, the year of the Bordeaux International Exhibition, New South

⁷⁹ *The Daily Telegraph*, 6 September 1895, 3.

⁸⁰ Christophe Lucand, *Les négociants en vins de Bourgogne. De la fin du XIXe siècle à nos jours* (Bordeaux: Féret, 2011), 54, 62-63.

⁸¹ *The Advertiser*, 2 October 1900, 3.

⁸² *The Daily Telegraph*, 12 July 1898, 4.

⁸³ Anderson, Nelgen, and Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets*, 534-535.

Wales, Victoria and South Australia combined to export only 970 hectolitres of wine to their imperial metropole. In contrast, France sent 229,000 hectolitres across the Channel. But in 1901, the newly established Commonwealth of Australia could sell up to 37.380 hectolitres to Britain, that is, seventeen and a half percent of the volume from France (213.490 hectolitres).⁸⁴ In 1880–1884, British wine imports from France represented thirty-three percent of the total while those from Australia were negligible. In 1910–1913, imports from France had fallen to twenty-four percent, but those from Australia reached six percent.⁸⁵ Though it remained well behind its European competitors, by the eve of the First World War, Australia had become a noticeable wine supplier of Britain.

Given that French wine imports reduced in proportion to Australian growth and considering that the demand for fine wines in Britain at the time was dominated by red dry light wines – that is, the main type of wine imported from France – it can be argued that Australian wines were being distributed successfully and that this was directly impacting French exports into Britain. Irvine expressed this situation in an advertising document for his vineyard of Great Western:

The vintage of France will probably always take pride of place by virtue of seniority, but the monopoly of favour so long enjoyed by Reims and Medoc, by the valleys of the Rhine and the Gironde, has at any rate been challenged by the products of the vineyards of the younger land. The future has yet to tell how formidable a rival has sprung up to the famous vineyards of the Old World.⁸⁶

The relative success of Australian wines on the British market at the turn of the twentieth century resulted from several factors: the new custom duty system of 1885, greater preservation qualities due to higher volume of alcohol, favourable environmental conditions in comparison with French wine districts, less risk of attacks by vine diseases such as mildew and black-rot, meaning fewer fluctuations of production in terms of quantity and quality, and the distribution strategy of Australian exporters and British importers focusing on fine wines and thus directly competing with French wines. This “success” was received with mixed feelings by Australian producers who considered the volume sold overseas promising but too low to rave about. Another issue concerned the dependence on the imperial centre. Simpson estimates that, by

⁸⁴ Between 1893 and 1899, these exports almost evenly came from South Australia (50.7 percent) and Victoria (46.4 percent). Only 2.8 percent were shipped from New South Wales. *Australian Vignerons*, May 1901, 21.

⁸⁵ Anderson, Nelgen, and Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets*, 535.

⁸⁶ Hans Irvine, “A Famous Australian Vineyard. Descriptive details of Hans Irvine’s ‘Great Western Vineyards in Victoria, Australia,’” (after 1906), Hans William Henry Irvine, Papers and business records, 1880-1947, MS 12738, 1567/4: Advertising material for Great Western and Irvine’s Wines, SLV.

1902, Britain absorbed nearly all of Australia's wine exports and a fifth of its total production.⁸⁷ This vulnerability encouraged the prospection of other outlets.

The French market: a mere delusion?

Wine consumption boomed in France during the nineteenth century owing to urbanisation and the development of the railway network interconnecting southern wine districts with Paris and other cities. From 86 litres per capita per year in 1831–1834, wine consumption rose to 148 in 1865–1869. It then dropped due to shortages during the phylloxera crisis to 93 litres in 1885–1889.⁸⁸ The International Wine Exhibition of Bordeaux in 1882 was an opportunity for French merchants to examine wines from all around the world and presented the possibility of importing them in a time of need to be blended with local wines to meet increasing demand. It thus appeared natural to see Australians attempting to introduce their products. As discussed previously, Australian wines were appreciated during international exhibitions, even though their prices and the volumes available remained an issue. The commissioners of Victoria reported: “The impression and opinion of the trade are rather favourable for our wines, but the facility existing at present to supply themselves with cheap wines from all the different wine-producing countries of Europe prevents the French importers and merchants from using Australian wines as yet.”⁸⁹

The Agent-General of Victoria for the Bordeaux Exhibition of 1882, Murray Smith, noticed the same difficulties:

[...] whilst the qualities of colonial wine were much admired, it does not appear that we are likely to find an extensive market in France, as colonial wines cannot compete on equal terms with Spain, Portugal, and Italy; but Australia has an excellent opportunity before her, as the wines of those countries have hitherto been supported by France.⁹⁰

In order to fill their cellars, Bordeaux merchants found most of their supply with their southern neighbours. This situation was fully understood by New South Wales representative Henry Bonnard:

In Bordeaux, people are so much used to superior wines that none but these can please them; further, that market is so fully supplied by Spain and Portugal with cheap wines for operating,

⁸⁷ Simpson, *Creating Wine*, 233.

⁸⁸ Nourrisson, *Le buveur*, 312.

⁸⁹ *Bordeaux International Wine Exhibition 1882*, 6.

⁹⁰ *The Sydney Mail*, 18 November 1882, 880.

that wines of a middle good character like those to come around actually from the Colony would suffer from the low value of the others.⁹¹

Australian products were not considered good enough to compete with the fine wines of Médoc and Sauternes, and they were too expensive to compete with ordinary wines from southern Europe. Instead, Bonnard suggested focusing on introducing Australian wines to Paris or Le Havre in France, or Antwerp in Belgium. According to him, the Paris market would very much favour Australian trade, despite high competition and low prices at the time. Paris market demand was considered almost boundless. Le Havre was a gateway for the supply of northern districts of France which increasingly consumed wine but did not produce it.⁹² Bonnard was motivated by the fact that French wine consumption had grown almost constantly since the middle of the century. He also envisioned potential prospects in the neighbouring French colonies of New Caledonia and Tahiti.⁹³ The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported this optimism for New South Wales wines: “The great falling-off in the production of wines on the Continent, and the growing opinions that not only England but France will, in the not distant future, have to look to Australia for wines, makes us regard the future of this industry in our colony with peculiar interest.”⁹⁴

In Victoria, Hubert de Castella was often overenthusiastic about the future of the Australian wine industry in the late nineteenth century. In reporting the success of colonial products at international exhibitions and among European elites, he went so far as to say that it “caused a cry of alarm from the French producers, afraid for the future of their mixtures.”⁹⁵ Also from Victoria, John W. Bear, clearly targeted France as the next outlet for Australian winegrowers. “I maintain that in France alone we have an unlimited market, at sufficiently remunerative price, for all the sound, honest wines that can be landed there in satisfactory condition.”⁹⁶ The problem of adulterated wines made in France was a recurrent argument in favour of advertising Australian “pure” or “honest” wines as a healthy alternative. Bear admired France and its wine, but, like other colonial wine exporters, he saw the wine crisis in France as an opportunity to be seized. In his mind, securing an outlet in France did not mean more competition and rivalry, but rather synergy and partnership:

I say, establish an export trade with Europe, and especially with France. It would, I consider, be politic on the part of our statemen to cultivate the most friendly relations with a country

⁹¹ Bonnard, *Report of the Executive*, 71.

⁹² See Nourrisson, *Le buveur*, 27-33.

⁹³ Bonnard, *Report of the Executive*, 71-72.

⁹⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 May 1885, 5.

⁹⁵ *Australian Vigneron*, vol. 1, 1 August 1890, 57.

⁹⁶ Bear, *The Coming Industry*, 24.

which may be regarded as the mother of modern wine-growing, from which we have so much to learn, and to admit her still wines for ordinary consumption at a reasonable rate of duty, provided she offered us an equivalent by encouraging the importation of Australian wines into France.⁹⁷

His strategy was to adapt the Australian wine industry to French demand, and he counted on the insufficient production to fill the gap. “Why, I ask, should these colonies not participate in this splendid commerce – one that would absorb a large proportion of the wine they will be able to produce for many years?”⁹⁸

Hans Irvine, extended Bear’s opinion to sparkling wines.

France – the cradle of viticulture – promises to become a customer for our lighter wines, such as are suitable for blending for champagne; for, notwithstanding expressed opinions to the contrary, I am confident that in several districts of Australia champagne wines can be produced that compare favourably with the best champagne wines in the world. Such being the case, if these wines were properly introduced to France, and regular supplies warranted, I am of opinion that a good business could be done.⁹⁹

It is interesting to note that Francophile Australian winegrowers were in favour of free trade with France, as they considered it beneficial for both countries. It was believed that Australian wines could be complementary to French production. Thus, the desire to supply France was seen not simply as a way to struggle economically for market shares but rather as a way to reach economic prosperity and confirm Australia as worthy of its wine model.

The reality, however, differed, as Australian wines did not manage to be introduced into the French market. This was primarily because ordinary wines were not produced in any great quantity and their price was too high in comparison with southern European and north African competitors in this market sector. In the 1880s, France imported 9.4 million hectolitres of wine annually. Spain alone supplied sixty-seven percent of that number. Italy secured sixteen percent, Portugal seven percent and Algeria five percent. The remaining five percent were supplied by other countries, and Australia does not appear in the statistics.¹⁰⁰ Regarding the top-end market, uncertain quality and reputation were the main obstacles. In 1896, the colony of Victoria exported a total of 388,909 gallons [18,000 hectolitres] of wine, almost entirely to Britain, and only 48 gallons [218 hectolitres] to France!¹⁰¹ These figures were published in an article in *The Argus* whose author was convinced that Victoria, with a little help, could sell in

⁹⁷ John W. Bear, *The Viticultural Resources of Victoria, with Notes on Other Wine-Producing Countries of the Globe* (Melbourne: Melville, Mullen and Slade, 1893), 23.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Irvine, *The Australian Wine Trade*, 15.

¹⁰⁰ Anderson, Nelgen, and Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets*, 540.

¹⁰¹ *The Argus*, 28 August 1897.

France millions of gallons at a fair price. The French vice-consul of Melbourne, M. Maistre, commented on this article in a letter to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, arguing that “*le journaliste qui émettait cette opinion oubliait que nous pouvons trouver en Algérie et en Tunisie des vins qui peuvent hardiment soutenir la comparaison, comme prix et qualité, avec ceux d’Australie*” (“the journalist who expressed that opinion forgot that in Algeria and Tunisia, there are wines that can easily be compared with those of Australia in price and quality”).¹⁰²

Indeed, North African wines were greatly advantaged. Algeria had the status of French départements and the wines produced on the southern side of the Mediterranean could easily be shipped to the ports of Cette, Marseille and Bordeaux.¹⁰³ What is more, the Algerian wine industry had been created rapidly in the 1880s to replace Languedoc vineyards whose production was plummeting because of the phylloxera. The French Government supported cultivation of grapevines in Algeria via the Banque d’Algérie and the cutting of taxes on Algerian wines being introduced into France. Thus, vigneron ruined by phylloxera in metropolitan France quickly found refuge on the southern shore of the Mediterranean.¹⁰⁴ Like Languedoc, Algeria became a *vignoble de masse*, as defined by Gaston Galtier, the purpose of which was to supply the massive French consumption.¹⁰⁵ It shortly became the main supplier of the imperial metropole, progressively replacing Spain from the mid-1880s. While France imported an average of 6.3 million hectolitres of wine a year from Spain in the 1880s, it only imported 470,000 hectolitres from Algeria. But, in the 1900s, the figures completely reversed. Spain was only exporting 630,000 hectolitres to its northern neighbour, but Algerian exports reached 4.7 million hectolitres.¹⁰⁶ The preferential tariff established by the French Government in 1892 in favour of Algeria closed the market to foreign wines.¹⁰⁷ Finally, the reconstitution

¹⁰² Lettre de M. Maistre, consul de Melbourne, au Minsitre des Affaires Étrangères, 2 août 1897, Ministère du Commerce, Missions commerciales, XIXe siècle, F/12/7122: Melbourne et Sydney, ANF.

¹⁰³ On viticulture in French Algeria, see H. Isnard, "Vigne et colonisation en Algérie," *Annales de géographie* 58, no. 311 (1949). Economic exploitation of Algeria was first conceived as a means to develop tropical cultivations. However, after the failures of sugar cane, cocoa, coffee, cotton and tobacco, the settlers turned their attention to Mediterranean plants like cereals and vine grapes.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 214-215.

¹⁰⁵ Alain Huetz de Lempis, "Deux vignobles de masse: Algérie et Argentine," *Les Cahiers d’Outre-Mer*, no. 57 (1962): 85. In his thesis published in 1961, Gaston Galtier defines a *vignoble de masse* (massive vineyard) as “*un vignoble qui produit un vin de consommation courante vendu, à bas prix, en grande quantité, sur un marché étendu.*” (“a vineyard producing ordinary wines, for a low price, in great quantity, on a large market”). After the end of the devastations of phylloxera, Algeria and Languedoc vineyards directly competed leading to a crisis in 1907 during which Languedoc vigneron asked for a specific protection against Algerian wines. See Elizabeth Heath, "The Color of French Wine: Southern Wine Producers Respond to Competition from the Algerian Wine Industry in the Early Third Republic," *French, Politics, Culture and Society* 35, no. 2 (2017).

¹⁰⁶ Anderson, Nelgen, and Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets*, 540.

¹⁰⁷ Vicente Pinilla and Isabel Ayuda, "The Political Economy of the Wine Trade: Spanish Exports and the International Market, 1890-1935," *European Review of Economic History* 6(2002): 61-62.

of the vineyards thanks to the grafting on American vine stocks led to the increase of wine production in metropolitan France as early as the 1890s and even to overproduction in the 1900s. Thus, France had no reason to look further afield to find ordinary wines.

As a result, the French Chamber of Commerce of Sydney reported that for the year 1900 there was no record of wine directly exported to France by the three main wine-producing colonies – Victoria, South Australia and New South Wales. And Western Australia only exported for £95 of table wines to France.¹⁰⁸ Some wines may have been transferred through Britain, however, as direct connections between France and Australia were rare. Still, there is no evidence in either French or Australian sources of a noteworthy introduction of antipodean wines in France in the 1880s–1890s. Given its production volume and its geographical situation, as well as French protectionist policy, Australia could not compete directly either with Languedoc, Spain or Algeria in the French market. The very modest Australian output constituted one of the main obstacles confronting this colonial wine industry in its infancy.

Conclusion

The second half of the nineteenth century was marked by increasing undertakings by Australian winegrowers and merchants to secure overseas outlets. The international exhibitions represented one of the most efficient ways to advertise colonial products and played a major role in shaping the Australian wine reputation in Europe. The production of French-style wines led to direct inter-imperial competition with France and its colonies. Britain provided the most hope for colonial winegrowers and wine merchants, though Franco–British free trade and Gladstone’s new duty based on alcohol level constituted strong handicaps for Australian wines and placed France as a privileged partner thanks to the production of lighter wines. Some wealthy colonial vigneron responded to this situation by aiming at a top-end market. But the introduction of a sliding scale of duties in the 1880s gave antipodean wines new stimulus in Britain.

Furthermore, the phylloxera crisis which devastated French vineyards from the late 1870s to the 1890s completely disrupted the international wine trade during that period and gave colonial winegrowers an opportunity to secure outlets in Europe. Though France turned out to be an impasse due to southern European and Algerian competition, Britain appeared as a natural outlet for Australian wines. However, very slight progress was made in the 1880s–

¹⁰⁸ *Bulletin trimestriel de la chambre de commerce française de Sydney*, no. 1, janvier 1902, 42-48.

1890s, and France kept its place as the largest wine supplier of Britain. Australia did not manage to wash away the bad reputation of its own wines.

Some active Australian vignerons advocated for a more aggressive strategy, highlighting the “purity” of colonial wines in comparison with adulterated French wines during the phylloxera crisis. Others opted to focus on the top-end market, promoting high-quality products which sought to compete with French *grands crus*, though several observers doubted the realism of such strategy. This in any case led to the promotion of a terroir-based wine industry, to establish unique quality wines with their own reputation, as seen in Chapter 6. Thus, the transfer of the concept of *cru* in late nineteenth-century Australia was derived from both economic and environmental considerations. It was the result of a desire to emulate quality French wines to secure market shares in Britain, but also to develop a distinction from them and establish their own brands and taste adapted to local conditions. Lastly, it constituted a means of avoiding confusion with mistrusted French brands during the phylloxera crisis.

By the eve of the First World War, it could be argued that a new trend was slowly conquering Britain in favour of Australian wines and to the detriment of French products suffering from a declining reputation and new drinking habits. Globalisation and the emergence of an Australian wine export industry brought out the existence of inter-imperial rivalries during the period of free trade between France and Britain. Ultimately, it led to the gradual refocusing of the trade of these two European powers towards their respective empires – Algeria for France and Australia for Britain. In France, observers had various responses to Australian ambitions in the world wine market and the appropriation of their wine models.

Chapter 8

Antipodean Threat? The French View of the Australian Wine Industry

From the late 1870s to the early 1890s, the outbreak of phylloxera in France challenged its supremacy in the global wine trade and forced French winegrowers and *négociants* to take foreign wine productions more seriously. Attention turned not only to finding substitute suppliers for the booming domestic market but also to studying the potential of new competitors in export markets. During the nineteenth century, the discovery of the existence of burgeoning wine industries in the New Worlds provoked mixed reactions in France. Australia in particular drew French observers' attention. Some French travellers, merchants and wine experts saw it as the future of winegrowing in the world, others as a mere curiosity or delusion. This echoed French perspectives about Australia as a whole, between mystical thinking leading to strong interest and, on the other hand, a tendency to neglect or disdain it.

This chapter concerns the French perspective on international wine rivalries and how Australian competition in wine production influenced French wine professionals in a context of crisis and economic globalisation. Through the nineteenth century, the balance of power in the French wine industry shifted from producers to *négociants* due to the increasing needs for capital. Only wealthy owners could bear the costs of producing quality wines, whereas modest *vignerons* had to rely on *négociants*. This situation was worsened by the devastation caused by phylloxera in the 1870s–1890s in France, necessitating the reconstitution of vineyards. Furthermore, only the *négociants* could quickly adapt their activities to local shortages and supply the rising demands in the cities in the context of urbanisation and increasing global exchanges.¹ With the decrease of wine production in France, *négociants* increasingly relied on foreign production to fill up their cellars. But they also met with new competitors in their traditional markets in northern Europe. This struggle was observable in the British market, where French and Australian wine merchants competed to secure outlets, leading to discord regarding wine denominations and misnaming of labelled products.

¹ Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 307.

The French, Australia and wine

French interests in Australia

French elites were interested in finding a mythic continent in the southern hemisphere as far back as the sixteenth century. More significantly, several explorers sailed along the Australian coast in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.² These expeditions brought artists who left a testimony of the way they perceived this continent. Viviane Fayaud points out that these works describing Australia incorporated philosophical conceptions of this foreign continent that became disillusioned dreams in the age of colonialism.³ Indeed, the antipodean continent remained a delusion for French colonial ambitions. Apart from some unrealistic projects, France never undertook in practical terms to establish a settlement there and was thwarted by British ambitions in the end. Once Britain took over the continent for itself between the 1780s and the 1820s, the French turned their attention to other places, such as smaller islands in the Pacific.

The Australian continent faded in French minds until the 1850s and the gold rush, during which some French migrants undertook the long trip in the hope of making a fortune. More decisively, the development of the textile industry in France and wool-growing in the Australian colonies were instrumental in commercially connecting the two countries. By the middle of the century, the French Government finally acknowledged the importance of Australia and appointed consuls in Sydney and Melbourne.⁴ The visits of several French travellers between the 1840s and the 1880s and the publication of their journals may also have awakened interest in France about Australia.⁵ Yet, the Antipodes had little impact on French people, and only a few thousands of them emigrated there during the colonial era.⁶

By the late nineteenth century, French–Australian relations relied mostly on trade connections – essentially wool exports to France – and geopolitical rivalries in the South Pacific

² About French explorations around Australia, see Marchant, *France Australe*. Aldrich, *The French Presence*.

³ Viviane Fayaud, "Le temps du rêve français: l'Australie dans l'iconographie au XIXe siècle," *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 129, no. July-December (2009), accessed 8 March 2019.

⁴ Aldrich, *The French Presence*, 199.

⁵ See for example, Eugène Delessert, *Voyages dans les deux océans Atlantique et Pacifique* (Paris: A. Franck, 1848). Henry Russel-Killough, *Seize mille lieues à travers l'Asie et l'Océanie. Voyage exécuté pendant les années 1858-1861 par le comte Henry Russell-Killough, membre de la Société Française de Géographie. Sibérie, Désert de Gobi, Peking, Fleuve Amour, Japon, Australie, Nouvelle-Zélande, Inde, Himalaya...* vol. 1 (Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1864). Beauvoir, *Voyage autour du monde*. Michel, *A travers l'hémisphère sud*.

⁶ Aldrich, *The French Presence*, 199.

rather than on the settlement of migrants or cultural activities.⁷ From the 1860s to the 1880s, France bought half of Australian-produced wool, chiefly via the British intermediary.⁸ In 1900, France imported £1.9 million in goods from the Australasian colonies – including New Zealand – but exported only £583,000 worth of goods in return. This imbalance was recurrent in French–Australian trade relations and grew constantly from the late 1880s to the 1900s, as shown in the table below.

Table 4: Value of French–Australian direct trade, 1887–1906

Yearly Average of Quinquennial Periods	From Australia to France (Sum in pounds)	From France to Australia (Sum in pounds)
1887–1891	663,672	360,000
1892–1896	2,064,639	201,284
1897–1901	2,641,244	476,756
1902–1906	4,190,591	465,330

Source: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia, Containing Authoritative Statistics for the Period 1901-08, and Corrected Statistics for the Period 1788 to 1900*, vol. 2 (1909): 604-606.

Australian wool alone constituted most of French imports, up to £1.7 million in 1900. On the other hand, Australia imported only £44,361 worth of French wines.⁹ The figures for 1907 show that Australia exported more than £8 million in goods to France and directly imported from France a little less than £0.5 million and around £1.5 million worth of goods in return in total (direct and indirect trade via European ports). Wines directly imported from France amounted to only £23,105, and the total Australian imports of French wines reached £94,430. The most important goods of French origin were apparel and textiles (£889,545).¹⁰ The causes of this negative balance of trade for France appears to be Australian protectionist

⁷ Ibid., 202. Regarding the French influence in Australian culture and politics, see in particular Bergantz, "French Connection." On French–Australian trade relations, see Aldrich, *The French Presence*, 202-210. Barko, "French presence in Sydney."

⁸ Barko, "French presence in Sydney," 54.

⁹ *Bulletin trimestriel de la chambre de commerce française de Sydney*, no. 1, Janvier 1902, 29-41. These figures only report direct trade and do not include exchanges via non-French ports like London or Antwerp through which were exported a large part of French goods to Australia. At the time, there was no direct cargo-boats line between France and the Australian colonies.

¹⁰ Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia, Containing Authoritative Statistics for the Period 1901-08, and Corrected Statistics for the Period 1788 to 1900*, vol. 2 (1909): 451, 601-604. The total amount of French exports (direct and indirect) to Australia is an estimate, as the detailed figures are not available.

and pro-imperial policies, British colonial preference for Australia, and also ineffective business practices from French exporters.¹¹ This situation concerned French traders and businessmen established in Australia, who formed a Chamber of Commerce in Sydney in May 1899. One of their main objectives was to reduce this imbalance by protecting French interests and increasing imports of French products – notably wines – into Australia.

British-inherited Francophobia certainly infused Australian society too, but, as Ivan Barko puts it, it was intermittent and latent, mostly expressing itself when events exacerbated diplomatic relations.¹² Despite colonial concerns about the French presence in the area – especially with the decision to transfer convicts to the neighbouring island of New Caledonia from the 1860s – the two countries enjoyed cordial relations.

First contacts with Australian viticulture (1820s–1880s)

The first French observations of Australian vineyards occurred in 1803, when botanist François Péron, a member of Nicolas Baudin's expedition, visited the coasts of New South Wales. Péron acknowledged the efforts made to establish viticulture in the colony but noted that the results were disappointing due to poor choices in the localities where the vines had been planted. He tended to put too much faith in his fellow countrymen who had been hired to manage and improve the vineyards.¹³ For it appeared that they had not enough experience in growing grapes or lacked knowledge of local conditions. In any case, Péron seemed very optimistic regarding British viticulture in Australia, though the colony had not yet exported its first wine overseas. He notably based his thought on the fact that Britain needed a colonial production to supply the demand in the imperial centre and in the empire. "In spite of the fact that Britain's consumption of wine, both at home and on her Fleet, is immense, she grows none of it herself. Australia must therefore become the 'Vineyard of Great Britain'."¹⁴ This prediction was only achieved more than a century later, in the 1930s, when Australia for the first time became the main source of British wine imports.¹⁵

¹¹ Barko, "French presence in Sydney," 53-55. Aldrich, *The French Presence*, 215-223.

¹² Barko, "French presence in Sydney," 51. Tensions with France were mostly the result of imperial rivalries in South Pacific, as with the German presence.

¹³ François Péron and Louis Freycinet, *Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes, exécuté sur les corvettes le Géographe, le Naturaliste, et la Goëlette le Casuarina, pendant les années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804; sous le commandement du capitaine de vaisseau N. Baudin* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1815), 290-291.

¹⁴ Quoted in Laffer, *The Wine Industry*, 8.

¹⁵ Anderson, Nelgen, and Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets*, 535.

Only a handful of French explorers and travellers visited Australia in the first half of the nineteenth century. Among them was explorer Louis Isidore Duperrey who sailed to New South Wales in February and March 1824. He visited a government farm at Emu Plains but did not seem impressed by the state of viticulture in the area. As Julie McIntyre puts it, he apparently did not visit Macarthur's Camden property, which included the first important vineyard of the time in the colony.¹⁶ Eventually, Péron's and Duperrey's examples appeared anecdotal, and French interests in Australian viticulture proved unsustainable until the middle of the century.

As world tours became common among European upper classes, several French travellers left enthusiastic comments on the vineyards they visited in the Antipodes. French sketcher and writer Eugène Delessert published a book about his journey across the Atlantic and the Pacific. While in New South Wales in December 1844, he met the first French consul of Australia, Jean Faramond, and was then invited by William Macarthur to visit Camden, near Sydney. Delessert was particularly impressed by the press:

Il suffit d'un coup d'œil jeté dans le pressoir pour juger qu'une haute intelligence préside aux mouvements de cette vaste machine. La grande fortune des propriétaires leur permet, d'ailleurs, d'appliquer successivement aux diverses parties de leur maison les perfectionnements indiqués par les progrès de la science.

From a quick look at the press, one can be assured that its operation is based on complex and intelligent technics. The proprietors being wealthy, they can adopt the latest scientifically based methods in their winery.¹⁷

Two decades later, young aristocrat Ludovic de Beauvoir visited Macarthur's vineyard as well and praised his wine as the "best Burgundy of Australia."¹⁸ Macarthur paid close attention to recognition by Europeans, especially Frenchmen, and their appreciation of his wines, as he aimed to emulate various French-style wines. Delessert and de Beauvoir's enthusiasm for Australian winegrowing was the result of their visits to Camden. But it is worth noting that this property was one of the few examples of successful wine enterprises at the time in the Australian colonies and thus did not reflect the overall situation of the sector in the colonial economy.

Another visitor, Franco-Irish explorer Henry Russel-Killough, had ambivalent feelings towards Australian society. He made a long trip through Asia and Oceania from 1858 to 1861. Visiting Victoria, he deplored the excessive alcohol consumption there, considering the country to be immoral in its tastes, habits and literature. He especially pointed at consumption of

¹⁶ McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 95-96.

¹⁷ Delessert, *Voyages*, 117.

¹⁸ Beauvoir, *Voyage autour du monde*, 290-291.

“*liqueurs enivrantes*” (“intoxicating liquors”).¹⁹ Russell-Killough was referring to spirit-drinking, which was at its peak in the early 1850s in Victoria. But it had already considerably decreased by the time he was visiting the region in 1860. From 8.5 gallons [36.4 litres] per capita in 1853, it had dropped to only 1.8 gallon [8.2 litres] in 1860. As a matter of fact, spirits were less and less popular in the colonies at the time and were losing ground to beer.²⁰ In New South Wales, however, Russell-Killough noticed that “*la vigne y réussit [...] au-delà de toutes les espérances, et nul doute que les excellents vins du pays ne pussent se débiter dans le monde entier, si leur prix était un peu plus raisonnable*” (“The vine is thriving there [...] beyond all expectations, and there is no doubt that the excellent wines of this country would find customers everywhere in the world if their prices were more affordable”).²¹ It is not known which regions Russell-Killough referred to, but it can be assumed that he visited the Hunter district – relatively close to Sydney – which was developing at the time thanks to the support and network of the Hunter River Vineyard Association.²²

More surprisingly, Australian viticulture was mentioned in Jules Verne’s book, *Les enfants du capitaine Grant*, first published in 1868, narrating the quest for captain Grant and his ship the *Britannia*. One of the characters, a French geographer, described Victoria as follows:

En 1836, la colonie de Port-Philippe avait deux cent-quatre habitants. Aujourd’hui, la province de Victoria en compte cinq cent cinquante mille. Sept millions de pieds de vigne lui rendent annuellement cent-vingt et un mille gallons de vin. Cent trois mille chevaux galopent à travers ses plaines, et six cent soixante-quinze mille deux cent soixante-douze bêtes à cornes se nourrissent sur ses immenses pâturages.

In 1836, two hundred and four persons had settled in the colony of Port Phillip. Today, Victoria has five hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. Seven million vine stocks annually produce one hundred and twenty-one thousand gallons of wine. One hundred and three thousand horses gallop across the plains, and six hundred and seventy-five thousand two hundred and twelve horned cattle graze its vast pasturages.²³

It is interesting to note that vines and wine are mentioned directly after the number of inhabitants and before horses and cattle. This is, however, more revealing of Verne’s interests – and his French cultural bias – than of the actual importance of these items in the colonial economy.

¹⁹ Russel-Killough, *Seize mille lieues*, vol. 1, 334-335.

²⁰ Dingle, “The Truly Magnificent Thirst”, 230-231, 249.

²¹ Russel-Killough, *Seize mille lieues*, vol. 1, 393.

²² McIntyre and Germov, *Hunter Wine*, Chapter 4.

²³ Jules Verne, *Les enfants du capitaine Grant*, vol. 2 (Paris: J. Hetzel et Cie, 1884), 120.

From the 1860s, while the Australian wine production had made some progress, especially in New South Wales and Victoria, French wine experts began to express interest in the winegrowing activity of this continent. An article published in 1863 in the *Revue viticole: annales de la viticulture et de l'œnologie françaises et étrangères* explained that vines were marvellously successful in the colony of Victoria owing to “formidable natural conditions.”²⁴ In his *Nouveau manuel complet du sommelier*, published in 1874, M. P. Maigne added some very optimistic comments on the Australian wine industry, remarking that it ought to be productive enough to supply its domestic market as well as compete with European wines in America.²⁵

French observations and comments on the Australian wine industry multiplied in the 1880s, partly owing to travellers visiting Victoria, and especially Hubert de Castella’s vineyard, at St Hubert’s in the upper Yarra. De Castella, like Macarthur, was a Francophile and he was eager to receive the feedback of Frenchmen on his production. French diplomat and geographer Louis Delavaud, in his work treating the economic geography of Australia, referred to observations and comments from Burgundian M. Charnay who visited St Hubert’s around 1882. The latter noticed:

Je doute que l'on puisse trouver en France une culture aussi soignée : pas une herbe dans les champs, chaque pied est garni de son échelas et les branches, relevées et rattachées entre elles, laissent voir des grappes innombrables. [...] On cultive côte à côte une grande quantité de plants, qui tous réussissent, le souvignon de Bordeaux, le pineau de Bourgogne, le chasselas de Fontainebleau, qui donne un vin blanc délicieux, l'ermitage, le reesling, qui est un cépage du Rhin. Tous ces vins on en vérité leur bouquet particulier et ils ont parfaitement conservé leur cachet d'origine. Une culture soignée, un sol plus ameubli, aidés d'une expérience de dix années et de soins constants dans la fabrication, ont donné ces produits parfaits.

I doubt there could be found in any part of France a more careful cultivation. There is not a weed between the vines, and the branches, all tied to sticks or trellised, disclose innumerable bunches. [...] Curious to say, here, in the same vineyard, a variety of kinds are cultivated, which all succeed. Here the Sauvignon of Bordeaux, the Pineau of Burgundy, and there the Chasselas of Fontainebleau which produces a delicious wine and the Hermitage and the Riesling of the Rhine. [...] these wines have truly their distinctive bouquet, and they have perfectly preserved the character of their origin.²⁶

Like Camden in New South Wales, St Hubert’s vineyard did not represent the average colonial viticultural property in Victoria. Charnay noticed this specificity and clearly deplored that de

²⁴ Ramel, "La vigne en Australie."

²⁵ P. Maigne, *Nouveau manuel complet du sommelier et du marchand de vins, contenant des notions succinctes sur les vins rouges, blancs et mousseux* (Paris: Roret, 1874), 114-115.

²⁶ Quoted in Louis Delavaud, *L'Australie* (Paris: Librairie de la Société bibliographie, 1882), 105.

Castella could only sell a part of his production and that he was forced to make spirit with the rest. “*L’Australien vend son vin,*” concluded Charnay,

mais il ne le boit pas. Il vante surtout sa force, car le vin australien est trop alcoolisé. Les gens riches boivent du thé, des liqueurs d’Europe, du vrai Bordeaux, du Bourgogne, du champagne. Les pauvres seuls boivent le vin du pays. Mais ils sont loin de le trouver trop fort ; ils n’ont qu’une ambition, c’est de le récolter épais et fort, ce qui est naturel dans un climat sec et brûlant. C’est un défaut qu’ils exagèrent encore, loin de l’atténuer, car souvent ils alcoolisent leurs vins au lieu de les affaiblir. Pourtant les vins australiens ont été admirés à l’exposition de Melbourne.

Australian colonists produce wine but do not drink it. They praise its strength because Australian wine is too high in alcohol. Wealthy people drink tea, liquors from Europe, real bordeaux, burgundies or champagnes. Only the poor drink local wines. But they do not find them too strong, quite the contrary. They always produce thick and strong beverages, which is natural in such a dry and hot climate. This problem is even exacerbated by the addition of spirit to the wine. And yet, Australian wines were praised at the Melbourne exhibition.²⁷

Charnay’s French bias obviously influenced his taste for light dry wines and his distaste for fortified wines of the Portuguese and Spanish types. Addressing Australian growers, he said:

If you intend to supply the world, you must alter your method. Do not make these extraordinary wines, which everybody will refuse, but produce light wines, of an easy digestion and fit for daily use. Leave off imitating Spanish wines and take French wines as a model, and you will dispose of a hundred times more of your products than you now do.²⁸

This opinion was shared by a number of Australian vignerons – mostly by Francophile colonists who appreciated French quality light wines. And it came from the belief that light wines were to become the new fashion all around the world. But sherries and fortified wines in general were still popular in Britain and its Empire, including Australia, though their consumption was decreasing in favour of clarets since the Franco–British treaty of free trade signed in 1860. The trend in favour of French light wines on the British market was at its peak in the early 1880s when Charnay made these comments, which explains his supporting of this model from an economic perspective.

French journalist and photographer Edmond Cotteau undertook a round-the-world trip in 1884–1885 that was highly reported by French newspapers. He notably spoke highly of Australian society, workmen’s living conditions and urban planning, while strongly disliking the food.²⁹ Of St Hubert’s he left a similar account to that of Charnay. He congratulated de Castella on his cultivation and the quality of his wines but regretted that all Australian winegrowers were not as meticulous and chose to sell strong wines. Obstacles lay in local

²⁷ Ibid., 106.

²⁸ Quoted in English in the *Darling Downs Gazette* (Queensland), 6 October 1882, 3.

²⁹ Cotteau, *En Océanie*, 158-184.

drinking habits favouring tea, spirits and fortified wines. “*Aussi le placement des excellents vins de M. Castella rencontre-t-il d’autant plus de difficultés qu’ils se rapprochent davantage des nôtres*” (“Because they are very similar to ours, M. de Castella’s excellent wines are barely sold off”).³⁰ Whether or not the French model of light wines could be an advantage on international markets, it was a handicap on the domestic market.

A third French traveller, Ernest Michel, met de Castella in the 1880s during his second trip around the world and left the same comments as Charnay and Cotteau.³¹ It is difficult to know, however, whether these travellers actually investigated Australian drinking habits or simply reported de Castella’s account. As a rule, French observers praised specific growths like St Hubert’s while criticising Australian wines as a whole for being too strong and badly made or too expensive. These ambivalent opinions proved recurrent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while French interests in the antipodean wine industry significantly rose thanks to the multiplication of international exchanges.

Globalisation and new competition from the New Worlds (1880s–1900s)

Enthusiasm and concerns: a possible threat?

While Australian viticulture was mentioned only in travellers’ writings during most of the nineteenth century, it began to draw the attention of French scientific and economic literature in the last quarter of the century. There was a shift in the way French experts considered new wine-producing countries in the context of globalisation and the development of free trade, improvement of transport and communication methods, and rising competition on an international scale. As early as 1863, an article in the *Revue viticole* was warning Europeans about the progress of wine production in the Australian colonies:

On doit donc s’attendre à ce que bientôt, sous l’impulsion qui lui a été imprimée, la production australienne prendra de considérables proportions. [...] Déjà les négociants de Melbourne voient le jour où ils adresseront en Europe, dans l’Inde et en Chine, de riches cargaisons de vins coloniaux des qualités les plus variées. [...] Cette prétention est loin d’être chimérique. [Ainsi] il n’est pas sans intérêt pour l’Europe d’étudier les progrès de tout genre qui se développent aux antipodes.

Australian production is expected to be greatly increased thanks to recent developments. [...] Melbourne wine traders already envision supplying Europe, India and China with rich loads

³⁰ Ibid., 196.

³¹ Michel, *A travers l’hémisphère sud*, 404-408.

of colonial wines of diverse quality. [...] This ambition is by no means chimeric. [Thus] it is of the first importance for Europe to investigate all kind of progress made in the Antipodes.³²

However, this warning relied more on fanciful expectations than on actual developments and impacts in the world wine sector. The whole antipodean output barely reached 50,000 hectolitres a year in the 1860s, while the French production amounted to 50 million hectolitres.³³

After the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867, the rising reputation of French wine was notable through the appropriation of French *cépages* by new wine-producing countries (California, Brazil, Africa, Australia). Among them, Australian ordinary wines were acknowledged as the best positioned to compete with French equivalents.³⁴ A decade later, while considering oenology-applied progress in chemistry, expert Francisque Chaverondier urged French winegrowers to keep improving their methods in order not to be outclassed by America and Australia.³⁵ Though rather conservative regarding winemaking and opposed to the use of chemistry in oenology, he was concerned by the progress made in the New Worlds in this matter. In parallel, he deplored the spread of what he called *cépages grossiers* (coarse grape varieties) to increase the volume of production in France to the detriment of quality.³⁶ His intent was to maintain France's leading position in oenological research at the time of Pasteur's discoveries to preserve the domestic wine sector from foreign competition.

A member of the Société Philomatique of Bordeaux, Dr Méran, in his *Notes and Remarks upon the Australian Wines from the Colony of New South Wales at the Bordeaux International Exhibition of 1882*, supported Australian ambitions in the wine business. He admitted, however, the existence of prejudices against foreign wines among wine judges. He tried to refute them by naming some successful Australian wine estates: Dalwood, Kaludah, Bebeah, Albury, Bukkulla, and Rosemont. To him, they had some of the qualities of the best wines of France and were by far superior to the ordinary wines produced in the whole of Europe.

They may rest assured of a great future, if the intelligent owners of your principal vineyards may obtain experienced workmen, skilled wincoopers, *mâtres de chais*, and men qualified to taste wines, ascertain their defects, and develop their qualities – There is in that a full science which a long practice alone can give, and as some advantage should be derived first

³² Ramel, "La vigne en Australie," 65-66.

³³ Anderson, Nelgen, and Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets*, 180.

³⁴ *Rapports de la commission départementale déléguée pour la visite et l'étude de cette exhibition / Exposition universelle de 1867, à Paris*, (Toulouse: Imprimerie de Bonnal et Gibrac, 1868), 50.

³⁵ Francisque Chaverondier, *La vigne et le vin: guide théorique et pratique du vigneron* (Paris: Librairie agricole de la "Maison rustique", 1876), 18.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

from the experience of elders in viticulture, it would be well also to learn and follow what is being done in France.³⁷

Yet, Méran recommended the production of cheaper wines in Australia. In his view it was the only way to be profitable with very distant exportation. Production and transport costs were some of the main obstacles Australian vignerons met with in developing their vineyards. “To obtain these,” stated Méran, “your vinegrowers should choose rich and well-watered grounds, vine-species of an extreme abundance, such as the *aramon*, for instance: and then produce wines similar to those of Languedoc, of Provence, and of the north of Spain.”³⁸ Méran suggested here that there were market shares to be taken in the ordinary wine trade in the wake of the phylloxera devastation.

The 1880s arguably marked a shift in French views on international wine trade. With the outbreak of phylloxera, the French wine industry suddenly stopped the formidable progress it had made in terms of volume production during the previous two decades. From this point on, France became a net wine importer and feared to lose its outlets to the advantage of foreign competitors. Furthermore, Australian wines received some notable awards during the Bordeaux International Exhibition of 1882, revealing their potential to French wine professionals. During this event, Bordeaux négociants and winegrowers took a very dim view of Henri Bonnard’s attempts to attract French vignerons to Australia. For the representative of the colony of New South Wales, such an undertaking was directed only at vignerons who had lost everything with the phylloxera devastations. Bringing their skills, capital and technologies to Australia would give them a second chance. Bonnard also argued that one of the objectives of the exhibition was to find “fresh fields from which the cellars of Bordeaux could be filled.”³⁹ On the other hand, from the perspective of Bordeaux wine professionals, such transfers of know-how would result in new competition to deal with. They preferred to execute this type of transfer themselves to keep control of their supplies as in Spain, Algeria or Argentina.⁴⁰ The migration of French and Algerian vignerons to Australia eventually alarmed the vice-consul of Melbourne in 1905.⁴¹ Three years later, the new vice-consul was concerned about the competition with Australian

³⁷ Dr. Méran, *Notes and Remarks upon the Australian Wines from the Colony of New South Wales at the Bordeaux International Exhibition of 1882* (Amsterdam: printed by Bunge Brothers, 1883), 4.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *The Sydney Mail*, 18 November 1882, 880.

⁴⁰ Brémond, "Rioja," 193. Blanchy, *Le Vignoble Argentin*, 28-29.

⁴¹ Lettre du vice-consul de Melbourne M. Maistre au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, 11 décembre 1905, Ministère du Commerce, Missions commerciales, XIXe siècle, F/12/7122 : Melbourne, ANF.

sparkling wines, because the Minchinbury Vineyards had engaged a graduate of the *École nationale d'Agriculture de Grignon* and imported equipment from France.⁴²

The shift in perception was reinforced by a context of overproduction after the end of the phylloxera crisis at the turn of the twentieth century, which led to dropping prices. Moreover, protectionism and nationalism had increased on the European continent as a response to the depression of the 1880s. In France, the Third Republic, unlike the Second Empire, did not believe in prosperity through commerce and cooperation with Britain and favoured the protection of domestic agriculture and industry. Customs duties were gradually raised in the 1880s and reached their highest point with the Jules Méline tariff of 1892.⁴³ This new customs policy increased average taxes on bulk wine imports from five percent in the 1880s to more than twenty-five percent in the 1890s.⁴⁴ Limiting imports became a major concern to avoid the weakening of one of the most productive sectors in France and a symbol of its culture. Vignerons as a whole favoured this decision in the hope that it would reduce wine imports from southern Europe. However, wine négociants, and particularly those from Bordeaux, who strongly relied on their outward-looking trade (imports from southern Europe and exports to northern Europe), did not support this policy.⁴⁵

In the 1890s, concerns about the Australian wine industry were spreading in French wine literature and journals. *La Vigne française* announced in 1890 that Australia, thanks to the recent efforts to modernise its wine production, could henceforth afford to introduce its wines into the European markets.⁴⁶ Two years later it reported the great progress made by Australian wines in Britain.⁴⁷ Improvements in the Antipodes were also noticed in a Treaty on vines and wine which stated: "*La vigne prend une grande extension dans ce pays [Australie]; on y obtient de très bons vins alcooliques du Schiraz rouge et de Pineau; les vins ordinaires deviennent assez abondants pour arriver jusqu'en Europe*" ("The grapevine is extensively spreading in this country; one grows there some very good wines, from red Schiraz and Pineau; ordinary wines are now produced at such volume that they are able to reach Europe").⁴⁸ The French

⁴² Lettre du vice-consul Albert Pinard au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, 19 mars 1908, Correspondance politique et commerciale dite « Nouvelle Série », Australie, NS : 19 (Vins et Spiritueux, 1903-1918), ADLC.

⁴³ Yves André Perez, "« 1892 : l'année où la France est retournée au protectionnisme », " *Humanisme et Entreprise* 308, no. 3 (2012).

⁴⁴ Pinilla and Ayuda, "Spanish Exports," 62.

⁴⁵ About the perspective of the Bordeaux wine sector on protectionism, see Gabrielle Cadier-Rey, "Les chambres de commerce dans le débat douanier à la fin du XIXe siècle," *Histoire, économie et société* 16, no. 2 (1997).

⁴⁶ *La vigne française*, vol. 11, no. 2, 31 janvier 1890, 29.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 13, no. 20, 31 octobre 1892, 320.

⁴⁸ Emile Viard, *Traité général de la vigne et des vins* (Paris: J. Dujardin, 1892), 305.

journal *Revue des vins et liqueurs et des produits alimentaires pour l'exportation* noted in January 1893 that the reputation of Australian wines had greatly improved, especially in the United States and in England. Australian merchants expected to introduce still white wines on the American market to compete with Californian wines. In England, they focused on the export of red wines and sparkling white wines which competed with French products. The *Revue des vins* acknowledged that the colony of Victoria was already producing good sparkling wines that only needed better preservation and marketing methods to secure market share in London.⁴⁹

In general, such developments were believed to be able to threaten ordinary wine trade only, as indicated in 1893 by the Official Gazette of the French Ministry of Finance.⁵⁰ High-quality wines from Bordeaux, Burgundy or Champagne were considered out of range. Still, the competition against ordinary wines was concerning at the head of France. This issue was discussed in the French senate in the late 1890s while reporting the post-*phylloxera* situation. The country could be contented by the reconstitution of its vineyards:

Mais dans la république argentine, l'Italie avait pris sa place. Dans l'Australie, elle se trouvait en présence des vins récoltés dans ce pays et en face de produits avec lesquels il faudra peut-être compter plus tard, je veux parler des moûts artificiels. Dans toute l'Amérique du Sud, elle a eu à combattre la concurrence de l'Espagne; en Grèce, elle a trouvé le marché alimenté par le produit de vignobles nouveaux. En Russie, elle s'est heurtée à l'imitation des vins français faite par l'Allemagne et par l'Italie, sous le nom de vins de Champagne. En Autriche, grâce à un traité que vous connaissez, que j'ai souvent dénoncé à la tribune de la Chambre des députés, le marché nous a été ravi complètement par l'Italie. En France même, nos vins avaient à subir la concurrence des vins d'Italie et d'Espagne. Tout ce que je dis là peut se résumer en un seul mot: c'était la diminution constante de l'exportation de vins français.

But in the Argentinian Republic, Italy had replaced her [France]. In Australia, she faced local winegrowing and other products made from artificial musts against which we might have to deal with in the future. In the whole of South America, she is forced to fight against Spanish competition; in Greece, she found the market supplied by products from new vineyards. In Russia, she met with imitation of French wines by Germany and Italy, under the name of Champagne. In Austria, thanks to a treaty that you know and that I have often condemned before the Chamber of Deputies, the market has been entirely stolen by Italy. In France, our own wines had to suffer the competition of Italian and Spanish wines. All that I say can be summarised as follows: it is the constant diminution of French wines exports.⁵¹

The devastations of *phylloxera* and its disruptions had stimulated the wine sectors of other European countries, in Spain and Italy, and further away in Algeria, California, Argentina, Chile, South Africa and Australia, creating opportunities to erode French market share worldwide. Viticulture had been developed in these countries earlier, but the vine plague

⁴⁹ *Revue des vins et liqueurs et des produits alimentaires pour l'exportation*, vol. 17, no. 1, 31 janvier 1893.

⁵⁰ Ministère des finances, France, *Bulletin de statistique et législation comparée* 17, no. 33 (1893): 644.

⁵¹ *Journal officiel de la République française. Débats parlementaires. Sénat: compte rendu in-extenso*, 16 février 1897: 184. It is not clear where this question of Australian “artificial musts” comes from. To my knowledge, no other documents, either French or Australian, mention it.

accelerated the shaping of a world industry by boosting the needs for new supply sources. This explains why the French wine sector, or at least a part of it, was concerned by the progress made in winegrowing in the British Empire. In 1912 these concerns reached the consul of Sydney, which warned the French Minister of Foreign Affairs about the competition of Australian wines with French and Algerian wines in England.⁵²

More surprisingly, French concerns also focused on viti-vinicultural scientific progress at the turn of the twentieth century. On his way home after visiting Australian cellars, champagne-maker Viscount des Garets stated:

Some of the best wines I have tasted in Australia were those of South Australian production. [...] Before many years the French market will be killed out, and I am quite sure that the export of Australian wine will improve day by day and year by year. Many of the ideas employed by Australian winemakers came from their own heads. These young countries can teach the older places many things, and I have learnt some ideas which I will put into practice in France. My countrymen do not travel enough; there is always something to be learned in the changed conditions of younger countries. I intend to tell them that when I get home, and persuade them to come and see what Australasia has to show.⁵³

This comment suggests that Australia had overthrown its French model in terms of viti-vinicultural techniques and established one of its own. The influence of the Roseworthy wine research and teaching had been effective since then – particularly in South Australia –, along with the initiatives of wealthy winemakers to improve the taste and reputation of their products to be more competitive. Des Garets' remark may constitute another case of the transfer of wine knowledge and skills in the reverse direction, from Australia to France. This process of catching up, technologically, contributed to French concerns regarding international wine trade. However, as a whole, Australian production remained very modest in comparison with European production, and most professionals in the wine sector in France did not consider it a threat.

Disdaining the Australian wine industry: quantity, quality and prices.

In parallel with these concerns, most French observers noticed several problems preventing the Australian wine industry from threatening France: quantity, quality and prices. Though it is true that Australian wines were particularly praised for their bouquet and finesse among exotic

⁵² Lettre du consul de Sydney au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, 30 juillet 1912, Correspondance politique et commerciale dite « Nouvelle Série », Australie, NS : 19 (Vins et Spiritueux, 1903-1918), ADLC.

⁵³ Quoted in David J. Gordon, *The Central State: South Australia, Its History, Progress and Resources* (Adelaide: Vardon and Pritchard, 1903), 135.

wines at the Bordeaux Exhibition of 1882, their prices were too high to compete efficiently with French productions.⁵⁴ A similar comment was made by a French judge at the exhibition:

les vins d'Australie ne sont pas encore en état de faire concurrence aux vins de France. Leur prix est excessif, et avant que les propriétaires en puissent produire assez pour lutter, comme quantité et prix, nos vignobles seront certainement reconstitués.

Australian wines cannot yet compete with French wines. They are too expensive. Our vineyards will be reconstituted long before they can produce enough wine to rival both in terms of quantity and price.⁵⁵

French perplexity about Australian competition was also to be found in an article in Bordeaux newspaper *La Gironde* in the early 1880s, which considered that Australian views were too ambitious regarding their potential production both in quantity and quality. With their inconsistent results and exceedingly limited volumes, colonial wines would not be of any interest to European merchants. The sub-editor of the *Maitland Mercury* – a local newspaper regularly reporting agricultural activities in the Hunter Valley, New South Wales – reprinted the article from *La Gironde* denouncing French “crowing.”⁵⁶ Both newspapers were at the forefront of the promotion of their local industries and agricultures. The district of Gironde was highly involved in the wine trade with Britain, while the Hunter Valley was increasingly looking to this country to develop its exports. Even though British imports of wines from Australia were still insignificant in the 1880s, the British market brought out the emerging rivalry between very distant winegrowing districts and their integration in the British world-economy.

In a work introducing the Bordeaux Exhibition, the author praised the diversity of Australian climates, the dynamism of the colonial population and its potential in producing wine. However, he clearly mocked Australian ambitions based on the scale of the production:

Ce peuple jeune et fort se sent capable de tout entreprendre ; on le voit, multipliant sa présence dans toutes nos expositions, ambitionner de remplacer les pays vinicoles sur les marchés de consommation. Il va même plus loin, puisqu'il émet l'espoir de fournir des vins à ces mêmes pays vinicoles, et cette espérance s'appuie actuellement sur une production de 3 litres par habitant [par an] !

This young and strong population is very enterprising; one can observe its presence at all our exhibitions, intending to replace old wine-producing countries on the consumer markets.

⁵⁴ L. de Rozel, "Les vins exotiques à l'exposition universelle de Bordeaux," *La vigne française* 3, no. 24 (1882): 422.

⁵⁵ Benoist fils, "L'Australie et ses colonies," 424. Also, the presence of the phylloxera in Victoria was noted in the consular correspondence. Rapport du consul de France à Melbourne sur la production de la colonie du Victoria, 3 janvier 1882, Ministère du commerce, missions commerciales, XIXe siècle, F/12/7121: rapports commerciaux des agents consulaires de Melbourne adressés au Ministère du commerce, ANF.

⁵⁶ Quoted in McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 301-302.

Even worse, it hopes to supply these wine-producing countries, and this hope is founded on a current production of 3 litres per capita [a year]!⁵⁷

He also considered that Australian wines were badly made and too expensive to compete with European wines. In his view, Australia ought to focus on its domestic market until it reached the production level of one hundred litres per inhabitant per year, as in France. Only then could colonial winegrowers start developing exportations. This idea, that only countries with a traditional domestic consumption could export wine, may appear as a cultural bias. Australian vigneronns were aware of this obstacle and aimed to reach the large, concentrated markets of Europe instead of their own limited and scattered colonial market.⁵⁸ The last issue mentioned by the author concerned the value of New South Wales wine exports. He estimated an average of 140 francs per hectolitre of wine exported from this colony and concluded it was too expensive for ordinary wine on international markets.⁵⁹ This point could be argued, but the merchants of this colony marketed not only ordinary wines but also quality wines, adopting the model of *cru* which underscored uniqueness for upper-class consumers. This last critic echoed a common prejudice among French experts who denied the existence of Australian fine wines.

Despite some good results, the quantity of Australian wines produced was still in 1890 considered too low: “*Ce vignoble peut produire près de cent mille hectolitres de vins, ce qui n’est pas grand chose étant donné les hautes prétentions des Australiens de dépasser les vignobles européens.*” (“This vineyard can only produce 100,000 hectolitres of wine, which is not a lot considering Australian ambitions to surpass European vineyards”).⁶⁰ This figure is confirmed by recent studies (see Appendix 4). But for French botanist Pierre Mouillefert, quantity was not the main problem. He was convinced that Australian vineyards could be greatly extended, estimating that six million hectares on the southern coast would be suited to grapevine cultivation.⁶¹ He also described the quality of Australian wines compared to French products and cited some famous and distinguished vineyards like Tahbilk and St Hubert’s, recalling that they did well at the international exhibitions in London and Paris. He estimated Australian wine exports to Britain at more than 40,000 hectolitres yearly. Recent research shows that this figure was closer to 17,000 hectolitres, while French exports to Britain amounted to around 220,000 hectolitres.⁶² Nonetheless, Mouillefert noted that most of these wines were

⁵⁷ Raymond Sempé, *Étude sur les vins exotiques* (Bordeaux: Féret et Fils, 1882), 184.

⁵⁸ See Chapter 7.

⁵⁹ Sempé, *Étude sur les vins exotiques*, 186-187.

⁶⁰ P. Le Sourd et al., eds., *Traité pratique des vins, cidres, spiritueux et vinaigres* (Paris: G. Masson, 1890), 27.

⁶¹ Mouillefert, *Les vignobles*, 502.

⁶² Anderson, Nelgen, and Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets*, 535.

badly made and that their aging process was too short as a result of neglect. He concluded by stating that their quality would be higher when Australian winegrowers improved their practices.⁶³ Other observers in the wine business doubted this possibility on account of the peculiar quality of the terroirs.

French terroir superiority?

The disdain for foreign wines, and Australian wines in particular, also derived from the belief in the superiority of French soils. In the booming champagne industry, Australian ambitions were discussed with scepticism. Two French champagne makers, established in Victoria and South Australia in the 1880s, claimed that they managed to produce sparkling wines comparable with the best champagnes of France.⁶⁴ Those statements constituted a good advertising method to provoke reaction in the wine business in Europe and promote Australian alternatives. They were answered by Alfred Simon of the firm Simon, Kingscote and Co., London trade agents of the celebrated champagne house Moët & Chandon, who, after visiting Australia and tasting colonial sparkling wines, stated:

Although by far the best sample of native sparkling wines I tasted in the colonies was that made at Messrs. Hardy's vineyards by M. Foureur, it was far distant in body, bouquet and delicacy from the champagne produced in France and shipped by the first houses. In our (Moët and Chandon) opinions the sparkling wines in Australia can never rank on the same level with champagne, as, according to the authorities, it is the soil which imparts to the wines of Champagne the essential characteristics so much appreciated by connoisseurs of the finest growth of that renowned district in France.⁶⁵

The fact that Foureur had worked at Moët & Chandon prior to migrating to Australia may have resulted in rivalry between the champagne house and his former employee. But, more interestingly, in this extract, Simon was reaffirming the belief that French wine superiority derived from specific soils or environments and thus could not be imitated in any other regions in the world. This idea was taking shape in the late nineteenth century as international competition was increasing. In the region of Champagne, the link between wine, the soil in which it was grown and the culture from which it was produced was a creation of this period,

⁶³ Mouillefert, *Les vignobles*, 503. Mouillefert's comments were reported five years later with no changes in Edouard Féret, *Dictionnaire-manuel du négociant en vins et spiritueux et du maître de chai. Guide utile à quiconque veut vendre ou manipuler des vins ou des spiritueux* (Bordeaux: Féret et Fils, 1896), 72-73.

⁶⁴ *The Age*, 30 November 1882, 6.

⁶⁵ *The Pleasant Creek News and Stawell Chronicle*, 22 December 1891.

as shown by Kolleen Guy.⁶⁶ It was echoing the concepts of terroir and uniqueness as an element of French nationalism. But linking the wines of Champagne to a specific geographical area was also the result of new marketing strategies among the big champagne houses, which sought to provide British consumers with a unique and sophisticated product.⁶⁷ In order to secure this market, it was critical to prevent any foreign competitors from pretending they could supply the same type of product, which would eventually call into question the supposed scarcity of champagne and its value as a luxury commodity.

The so-called superiority of French soil influenced Bordeaux too. In a work on the privilege of Bordeaux wines, the author very briefly mentioned new wine-producing countries (Uruguay, Chile, California, Australia) seeking to sell their products to Europe. He argued that even if it could mean competition with ordinary wines from France, Bordeaux had no reason to worry, as its wines are

inimitables, grâce au sol qui les produit, à un choix de cépages qui lui est parfaitement approprié, et dont l'étude d'adaptation commençait il y a des siècles. Ils sont inimitables aussi parce que la méthode de leur traitement en usage dans le Bordelais ne s'apprend pas en un jour.

inimitable, thanks to the soil from which they grow, and the selection of the grape varieties adapted to it, which has been studied for centuries. They are also matchless because methods used in the Bordeaux district cannot be taught within a day.⁶⁸

Soil, varietal selection, practices and traditions were utilised as a protection against foreign competition. This extract was written in a book entitled *Le privilège des vins de Bordeaux jusqu'en 1789*, referring to the privilege of Bordeaux wine merchants, who, from the thirteenth century to the late eighteenth century, could sell and ship their goods with priority over all other winegrowers and merchants of the *haut-pays* (upstream regions).⁶⁹ This *privilege*, abolished in

⁶⁶ Kolleen M. Guy, *When Champagne Became French: Wine and the Making of a National Identity* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003). On the origin of champagne as a sparkling wine, see Benoît Musset, *Vignobles de Champagne et vins mousseux (1650-1830): Histoire d'un mariage de raison* (Paris: Fayard, 2008). About the distribution, marketing and consumption of Champagne wines in Britain, see Harding, "Champagne in Britain."

⁶⁷ Harding, "Champagne in Britain," 230, 272. The major companies which distributed champagne wines also developed high skilled practices in viticulture and winemaking to raise the quality of their products. They also generalised vintage-dated wines to create an "illusion of scarcity" and thus raise prices.

⁶⁸ Henri Kehrig, *Le privilège des vins de Bordeaux jusqu'en 1789: suivi d'un appendice comprenant: le ban des vendanges, des courtiers, des taverniers, prix payés pour des vins, du XIIIe au XVIIIe siècle, exportation (statistique), faits divers se rattachant à la vigne et au vin du XIIIe au XVIIIe siècle, tableau de l'exploitation des vignes en 1725* (Bordeaux: Féret et Fils, 1886), vi-vii.

⁶⁹ On the history of Bordeaux vineyards during the Middle Ages, see Sandrine Lavaud, *Bordeaux et le vin au Moyen Age: essor d'une civilisation* (Bordeaux: Editions "Sud-Ouest", 2003). On the Modern Period, see Sandrine Lavaud, "D'un vignoble populaire à un vignoble de notables: les transformations du vignoble suburbain de Bordeaux du XVe au XVIIIe siècle," *Annales du Midi* 107, no. 210 (1995). And Stéphanie Lachaud-Martin, *Le Sauternais moderne: histoire de la vigne, du vin et des vigneronns des années 1650 à la fin du XVIIIe siècle* (Bordeaux: Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest, 2012).

1776, was then perpetuated through geographical determinism, which held Bordeaux terroir to be unique, inimitable and superior to any other terroir in the world. Its purpose was to discredit competitors in a context of declining national production and rising international rivalry in the late nineteenth century.

This idea was explicitly stated in 1898 in the journal *La vigne française*, in which members of the *Bureau du Comité girondin pour favoriser la vigne française* belittled Australian and Californian competition, arguing that:

Tous ceux qui sont au courant des questions viticoles savent que les cépages du Médoc, de nos Graves, de Saint-Emilion et de Sauternes, plantés dans d'autres pays, même dans d'autres régions de la Gironde, n'ont jamais produit des vins comparables à ceux que récoltent ces contrées favorisées.

Every person acquainted with viticultural matters knows that varieties from the privileged regions of Médoc, Graves, St Émilion and Sauternes never produce the same quality of wine when they are planted in other countries or even in other areas of Gironde.⁷⁰

However, the Bureau du Comité girondin were afraid that ordinary wines from new wine-producing countries would flood the traditional markets of claret wines in northern Europe. As seen in the previous chapter, whether or not Australian wines were introduced in the French market, they met with increasing success in Britain from the 1880s to the eve of the First World War and took a part of the market share previously controlled by French négociants.⁷¹ The main causes were the diminution of orders by British importers and a lack of trust in French wines known to be fraudulent or adulterated since the phylloxera crisis.⁷² British consumers were less and less inclined to drink wines originating from France, and gradually turned their attention to the products of their former colonies – a situation to be taken advantage of by Australian wine merchants in London.⁷³ Though modest, this trend was serious enough to worry French wine négociants and experts, who started to fight Australian misnaming and counterfeits.

Wine denomination and misnaming

The question of wine identity and its embodiment in a socio-cultural environment rose in parallel with the shaping of the French nation from the Renaissance on.⁷⁴ For some scholars,

⁷⁰ *La vigne française*, vol. 19, no. 1, 15 janvier 1898, 5.

⁷¹ See Appendix 6.

⁷² Phillips, *French Wine*, 183. Paul Butel argues that this reduction was also caused by the competition with whisky, which was becoming increasingly popular in Britain, see Butel, *Les dynasties bordelaises*, 272.

⁷³ See Chapter 7.

⁷⁴ Parker, *Tasting French Terroir*.

the history of wine and the history of France were intertwined and interdependent.⁷⁵ This notably resulted in the shaping of the ideas of geographical determinism and terroir, and a desire to protect names of origin. By this means, trademarks were bound to territories and assured a rent to economic agents.⁷⁶ But, until the early 1880s, French vigneron and traders did not question the use of national names by their Australian counterparts. At the Paris Exhibition of 1867 and the Vienna Exhibition of 1873, several samples of “hermitage” made an impression on French judges who believed they were made in the Rhône Valley and matured by shipping to Australia and back again to Europe.⁷⁷ But this anecdote was not followed up afterwards. The reasons for that indifference may have been economic: the period from the 1860s to the 1880s has been called *Belle Époque du vin* (“golden age of wine”) in France, as production was booming and the markets – domestic as well as foreign – were expanding. Thus, foreign wines were not perceived as a threat to the national industry, especially as their production was limited. The context changed, however, in the 1880s with the increasing devastation caused by phylloxera and the declining orders from importers in America and Europe.

At the Bordeaux Exhibition of 1882, Hubert de Castella reported that “Victorian growers were taunted with the names they gave to their wines. They were said to be taking, ‘in contempt of all truth, the names of the great wines of Europe to adorn their products’.”⁷⁸ According to de Castella, this practice was used only to indicate the type of beverage the consumers would find in the bottle. Because they were meant to be sold on the British market, to drinkers accustomed to European names, “this is more explanatory in any case,” said de Castella, “than would be the name given to a piece of land held a few years ago by aborigines.”⁷⁹ He also justified the use of the term “hermitage” by arguing that it was the name that Australians gave to the syrah, the grape variety cultivated in the region of Hermitage in southern France.⁸⁰ By indicating either a grape name or a wine style, these practices would not originally have involved a will to counterfeit European products. Nicholas Faith argues that, until very recently,

⁷⁵ See for example, Guy, *When Champagne Became French*, 2-3. Dion, *Histoire de la Vigne*, 650.

⁷⁶ Alessandro Stanziani shows that the emergence of collective brands and the origin of the AOCs took place in late nineteenth-century France as a result of different transformations and crises (phylloxera, globalisation and transfers of properties). While tradesmen first took advantage of the situation, the producers eventually succeeded in making the state act in favour of quality controls and protection of origin. Alessandro Stanziani, “Wine Reputation and Quality Controls: The Origin of the AOCs in 19th Century France,” *European Journal of Law and Economics* 18(2004). Furthermore, “protectionist interests and the health security movement converged, demanding that ‘bad’ wine from abroad should be stopped at the French borders.” See Stanziani, “Information, Quality and Legal Rules,” 287.

⁷⁷ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard*, 54.

⁷⁸ Castella, *John Bull's Vineyard*, 162.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Castella, *John Bull's Vineyard*, 163.

“the use of such fanciful names was the only way Australians could sell their better wines,”⁸¹ the reason being the ignorance of the public about Australian geographical names and the lack of a well-established reputation among connoisseurs. Thus, an effective marketing strategy could only be based on European names. But the French did not see it this way and began to consider it a misuse of French districts’ reputations and an unfair form of competition.

The evolution of French opinions can be seen in the different editions of the *Nouveau manuel complet du sommelier et du marchand de vins* by M. P. Maigne, in which Australian wines were briefly mentioned. In the 1874 edition, Maigne explained:

Dans l’Océanie, le continent Australien s’occupe seul de la culture de la vigne, qui, si l’on en juge par les résultats déjà réalisés, y acquerra un jour une très grande importance. Cette contrée arrivera même à produire assez de vin, non-seulement pour satisfaire à ses propres besoins, mais encore pour remplacer les vins d’Europe dans les deux Amériques.

In Oceania, only Australia grows vine grapes, and according to the progress made hitherto, it will become a great deal. This region will even be able to produce enough wine, not only to supply its domestic market but also to replace European wines in the Americas.⁸²

However, in the 1884 edition, the same author considered that Australian vignerons made wines “burdened with the most pretentious names and generally of very mediocre quality.”⁸³ He had certainly been influenced meanwhile by the Bordeaux Exhibition of 1882 during which judges were disconcerted by the names Australian wines bore on their labels. What was once considered a tribute to French wines eventually ended up being considered misnaming and counterfeiting.

This problem was clearly stated by Raymond Sempé in his book on exotic wines published during the Bordeaux Exhibition:

Devons-nous en terminant faire une observation sur la détestable habitude qu’ont les vignerons australiens – surtout ceux de la colonie de Victoria – de prendre, au mépris de toute vérité, les noms des grands vins d’Europe pour en parer leurs produits ! Dès à présent, ils peuvent fournir du vin de Champagne, de Madère, de Tokay, de Porto, de Xéres, de Sauterne, du Rhin, de Constance, etc. Ils possèdent tous les crus, toutes les qualités. Ils ne doutent de rien, et, presque sans outillage, avec des vignes en enfance, ils ont la prétention naïve de produire des vins similaires à des vins récoltés sous des latitudes différentes, dans des terrains spéciaux, fabriqués avec un art infini et soignés avec une constance admirable.

We shall now discuss Australian vignerons’ detestable habit – especially those from Victoria – of misusing names of great European wines for their own products! From now on, they can supply wines of Champagne, Madeira, Tokay, Port, Xeres, Sauterne, Rhine, Constance, etc. They own all kind of growths, with all qualities. They have full confidence and, with almost

⁸¹ Faith, *Liquid Gold*, 14.

⁸² Maigne, *Manuel complet du sommelier*, 114-115.

⁸³ Quoted and translated in Phillips, *French Wine*, 140. Rod Phillips argues that Maigne might have had in mind the Tahbilk winery, in Victoria, renamed “Château Tahbilk” around 1879. This practice impacted a few wine properties in Victoria and South Australia and resulted from a trend launched in district of Bordeaux during the Second Empire, see Chapter 7.

no equipment and with young vine grapes, they naively claim to be able to produce similar wines to those harvested under different latitudes, on specific soils and made with infinite care.⁸⁴

Sempé made this statement while acknowledging that he admired the Australian economy and society as being highly resourceful and enterprising. It is worth repeating here that this blend of admiration, concern and disdain intervened in a period of doubts and economic turmoil in France. The perspective most likely shifted when French vigneron and wine merchants perceived market slowdowns and the first impact of the phylloxera crisis on wine supply. Even if French merchants consented to the blending of local and foreign wines before exporting them under French names, they did not accept the use of these same names by foreign merchants. These names constituted collective brands encapsulating local know-how and reputation. As such, wine professionals increasingly demanded the protection of these brands as geographical denominations by the authorities to secure market share.

This issue was particularly critical to Bordeaux, Champagne and Burgundy, whose wines were increasingly renowned in Britain in the late nineteenth century. These regions relied on export markets and the reputation of their great growths and brands. The special commissioner for South Australian winegrowers at the exhibition of Bordeaux in 1895 wrote in a letter:

I must tell you that the Jury were surprised to find your wines labelled with French names, such as Chablis, etc., etc. Fortunately, I could satisfy their objections by showing that your exhibitors did not try to create any confusion with French vintages, inasmuch as the ticket bore the notice that the wine was the produce of South Australia.⁸⁵

Three years later, a thesis on wine trade submitted to the University of Bordeaux mentioned practices intended to deceive consumers. It could be accepted that a few newcomers in the industry might borrow these names as an homage to French quality products, but not on a larger scale, for the reputation of the French districts would be compromised.⁸⁶ Champagne houses were also impacted, as the consular correspondence reveals. In January 1885, the French consul of Sydney, M. Delcourt, sent a letter to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs Jules Ferry in which he warned against counterfeited champagne brands in New South Wales and the other Australian colonies. The consul advised adopting the same policy as the Krug company; their

⁸⁴ Sempé, *Etude sur les vins exotiques*, 187.

⁸⁵ Letter of E. Jaboneau to the secretary of the South Australian Vigneron's Society, 20 September 1895, published in the *Australian Vigneron*, vol. 6, October 1895, 300. The report of the jury can be found in Dossier de participation des vigneron victoriens à l'exposition, Ministère du commerce, missions commerciales, XIXe siècle, Série F/12, 5046 : Exposition de Bordeaux, 1895.

⁸⁶ Henri Sempé, "Régime économique du vin" (Thèse de doctorat, Université de Bordeaux, 1898), 236.

local agents Messrs. Curcier and Adet protected the Krug name by suing any fraud.⁸⁷ The importance of the transnational trade for Bordeaux and Champagne made this subject particularly sensitive. On the contrary, French wine professionals in other districts did not consider Australia a threat. In fact, most French vineyards – and the booming Languedoc wine district in particular⁸⁸ – were inward-looking and relied on domestic consumption where Australian wines were unseen. To them, Spanish, Italian or Algerian wines represented much more serious competitors.

The first international agreement to regulate international wine trade according to *indications de provenance* was taken in 1883 by article 10 of the *Convention de Paris*. However, as this agreement was considered easily circumvented, the Arrangement of Madrid of 1891 was made to regulate all international wine trade among the associated countries. With this Arrangement, the concept of generic appellations – which allowed the use of geographical names if they were considered “generic” – became obsolete and all types of misnaming were eventually considered fraudulent and reprehensible. However, the government of the countries involved did not always enforce this agreement and many other countries declined to sign it, including Britain, which did not agree to prohibit the distribution of “Australian burgundy” and “Australian Médoc” as long as they clearly indicated the origin of the product.⁸⁹ Thus, the respect for geographical indications on an international scale remained impossible.

This discord soured Franco–Australian relations during international exhibitions for decades, from 1882 in Bordeaux to the Brussel Exhibition of 1910, during which Australia decided not to send any samples, fearing that they would not be examined impartially. In 1908, the exhibition of London celebrated the recently established *Entente cordiale* (1904) between France and Britain. This did not prevent French judges and wine professionals from contesting Australian habits of labelling their bottles with French names. In their report, the British judges ruled that there was no intention of fraud and simply made a recommendation to Australian winegrowers that it would be more profitable to establish their own appellations rather than misusing European district names. Yet this decision was far from mandatory, and French judges

⁸⁷ Lettre du consul de Sydney, Mr Delcourt, au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Jules Ferry, 20 janvier 1885, Correspondance consulaire et commerciale, Sydney, Tome 6 (1878-1890), CADLC.

⁸⁸ Stéphane Le Bras, *Le négoce des vins en Languedoc. L'emprise du marché, 1900-1970* (Tours: Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, 2019), 94-103.

⁸⁹ *La vigne américaine : sa culture, son avenir en Europe*, février 1909, 43. *Semaine nationale du vin. Compte rendu des travaux, Paris 13-18 mars 1922*, (Paris: Association Nationale d'Expansion Économique, 1922), 121-122. Liste des pays signataires de la Convention de Madrid, 1891, Ministère de l'Agriculture, Série F/10, 2203/5, ANF.

ended up refusing to taste any Australian samples.⁹⁰ The British could not directly act, as the Australian colonies had recently acquired their independence and formed a Federation in 1901. Furthermore, the Australians were reluctant to follow this recommendation because they relied on these European denominations to advertise their products. They claimed, also, that by adding the adjective “Australian” before these names, they clearly informed the consumers of the origin of the wine, thereby avoiding any confusion. “Australian Burgundy”, “Australian Claret” or “Australian Champagne” became common appellations on the British market as a way to indicate the origin and the style of the wine to the customers (Figure 15).

Figure 15: “Australian Burgundy, Rubicon brand”, label registered by Messrs. W. and A. Gilbey, Limited, of 173 Oxford Street, London



Source: *Australian Vigneron*, vol. 6, no. 12, April 1896, 413.

This compromise did not satisfy French wine producers and négociants. To make matters worse, the problem occurred in the context of persistent tensions with Australia in the southern Pacific. In the 1890s, the New Hebrides and the convict colony of New Caledonia became a major cause of dispute between France and the Australian colonies. The *Daily*

⁹⁰ C. Charton and A.-M. Desmoulins, *Exposition franco-britannique de Londres 1908* (Paris: Comité français des expositions à l'étranger, 1910), 148-154. Emile Goulet, *Ministère du Commerce et de l'Industrie. Exposition universelle et internationale de Bruxelles 1910. Section française. Groupe X, classe 60 (vins et eaux-de-vie de vin). Rapport par M. Emile Goulet* (Paris: Comité français des expositions à l'étranger, 1912), 100, 244. Misuses of French appellations also concerned Californian winemakers who were forced to respect original brands at the St Louis Exhibition of 1904. See Butel, *Les dynasties bordelaises*, 374, 384. See also Mikaël Pierre, "Bordeaux Across Borders: The Innovative Trading Strategies of J. Calvet & Co. in the First Wave of Wine Globalization", *Global Food History* (2019), accessed 9 March 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1080/20549547.2019.1567211>.

Telegraph of Sydney launched a campaign to boycott the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1900 in response to the Dreyfus Affair. The constitution of an Australian federation independent from Britain also concerned France regarding the future ambitions of the newly established nation in the South Pacific.⁹¹ Among French wine exporters, however, it was hoped that the independence of Australia and the removal of customs duties between the states of the new federation would lead to rising domestic demand and consequently would reduce the volume of wine available for exportation. “*Le commerce de Bordeaux peut ainsi bénéficier sur le marché anglais du nouveau régime politique australien aussi longtemps que les récoltes coloniales resteront à peu près stationnaires ou que leur développement sera limité*” (“If the colonial output remains steady, the Bordeaux trade could take advantage of the new Australian political environment on the English market”).⁹² Yet, as seen in Chapter 7, the contrary occurred. Far from decreasing with the establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia, British imports of wines from their former colonies gradually rose from 1901 to the start of the First World War. Australia also highly increased its customs duties on foreign wines between 1903 and 1908 to support its domestic wine industry.⁹³ Cooperation between the different states of the Federation finally superseded competition. This situation played a role in the rising concern and complaints among French wine merchants involved in the British trade with regard to what were seen as foreign counterfeits during the 1900s.

The misnaming issue was not necessarily linked to the terroir or any desire to respect food product origins. Bordelais négociants had long been blending local wines with wines made in other regions of southern France – *vins du haut-pays* and *vins de l’hermitage*. Moreover, during the wine shortage of the phylloxera crisis, Bordeaux increasingly used foreign wines from Spain, Italy and Algeria as *vins-médecins* to improve the colour and alcohol level of local wines. These blended wines were then re-exported to northern markets as “claret” or “vin de Bordeaux,” with no mention of any blending practices. For the négociants, these denominations were linked to local know-how, commercial matters and market control rather than certification of origin. This issue became increasingly critical as French vineyards were being reconstituted after the phylloxera crisis. Production was rising again from the 1890s, and it became essential to secure overseas outlets to sell surplus wine in the 1900s.

⁹¹ Barko, "French presence in Sydney," 51-52. About French-Australian relations and the reception of the French culture in Australia at the turn of the twentieth century, see in particular Bergantz, "French Connection."

⁹² *Revue des vins*, vol. 25, no. 1, Janvier 1901, 121-122.

⁹³ Dossier : tarifs douaniers avec l’Australie (1903-1908), Ministère du Commerce, missions commerciales, XIXe siècle, Série F/12, 3434, ANF.

Conclusion

The development of a wine industry in Australia led to ambivalent feelings in France. It was mostly curiosity that motivated the first Frenchmen who wrote about viticulture in the Antipodes. However, the outbreak of an international economic crisis worsened by a viticultural crisis and rising nationalism led to increasing disdain towards or concern about the arrival of a new competitor in the world wine industry. Australian winegrowers' ambitions appeared mostly unrealistic to French wine professionals. The quantity produced was too small, the prices too high and the quality uncertain; these were the main obstacles that the Australian wine industry needed to overcome to compete with France. Yet in the outward-looking wine districts of Bordeaux and Champagne, the progress made by the Australian wine trade became a cause of serious concern. It was more clearly observable on the British market, which constituted one of the main outlets for clarets and champagnes. Misappropriation of French districts' names eventually became a major issue at the international exhibitions. This problem revealed the dependence of Australian winegrowers on foreign naming to sell their products in Britain and the rising protectionist feeling in France towards an essential domestic economic sector. Though the cause of this concern among French winegrowers and négociants was primarily economic, it eventually fuelled the concept of terroir towards a more nationalistic aspect. This served two objectives: protecting French wine trade and discrediting foreign competition. Although other burgeoning wine industries (especially in California) provoked concern in France, Australia arguably represented the most dangerous rival from the New Worlds due to the development of its market share in Britain.

Conclusion to Part Three

Transplanting an agricultural model from Europe to Australia brought out the question of its suitability to environmental, geographical, socio-cultural, political and economic conditions. Colonial winegrowers faced difficulties in adapting the production of French-style light wines to the hot climates of Australia. Southern European models appeared more suited. In France, the Languedoc model was considered best suited, though Australian wine connoisseurs preferred fine light wines on the Bordeaux or Burgundy style. The lack of a proper domestic market in Australia also thwarted colonial winegrowers' ambitions. The colonists remained attached to British middle and lower-class patterns of consumption, favouring beer, spirits and fortified wines on the Spanish and Portuguese models. Despite these obstacles, the French concept of terroir reached Australian winegrowers' minds in offering a new organisation for the industry based on local geographical conditions. In the late nineteenth century, several wealthy colonial wine producers promoted the distribution of Australian wines according to local regional names and the making of wines according to local geographical conditions, revealing unique characteristics on the model of French *crus*. This strategy was also influenced by the desire to reach distinguished European consumers looking for unique wines. Thus, the main outlet for Australian winegrowers and traders proved to be found overseas, and particularly in Britain.

Facing French competition, Australian wine exporters used a dual strategy for the British market. They continued using French names to indicate the style of wine to consumers, but they also attempted to take advantage of the falling reputation of French wines during the phylloxera crisis by promoting their own "pure" and unadulterated colonial wines. The marketing of Australian claret, Australian burgundy, Australian champagne and Australian hermitage was designed to serve these two purposes. Though the promotion of specific Australian terroirs and vineyards was thwarted by the control exercised by London importers, Australian brands gradually gain market share. This success may have appeared moderate to most contemporary observers, but the figures show a slight shift in favour of Australian products to the detriment of French wines on the British market from the turn of the twentieth century to the eve of the First World War. Even if the threat of Australian competition was still considered a pipe dream in the 1880s, it started to show its true potential in Britain between the 1900s and the early 1910s. This trend, far from being a mere phase, strengthened after the war. British imports of Australian wines rose drastically during the interwar period, while French wines met with increasing difficulties in crossing the Channel. Australia eventually overtook

France as wine supplier of Britain by the 1930s. At the same time, Portuguese and Spanish exports held steady.¹ In 1933, French négociant Daniel Calvet, member of one of the wealthiest wine companies of Bordeaux, deplored the situation of the business in Britain, pointing out that Australian wines were then in clear vogue.² Thus, Australian and French products competed with each other owing to a strategy which started in the late nineteenth century among colonial Australian wine exporters and London importers.

Franco–Australian rivalries thus illustrate the consequences for international trade of the transfer of European cultivations to the Antipodes. By connecting all the continents, globalisation brought into competition traditional wine producers from the Old World and emerging wine-producing countries of the New Worlds over who would control market share in the British imperial centre.

¹ Anderson, Nelgen, and Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets*, 535.

² Tastet and Lawton, *De l'air du temps. Tome 1. Extraits d'archives: 1900-1944* (Bordeaux: Éditions Confluences, 2007), 402.

Conclusion

Colonisation and globalisation during the nineteenth century led to the transplantation of European farming practices and industries into the New Worlds. In colonial Australia, the transfer of French viti-vinicultural models resulted from the dynamism and initiative of a few wealthy British colonists. To them, French-style light wines were considered a healthy cultural and economic benefit to be added to the colonial societies of the Antipodes. The desire to adopt Mediterranean cultural and agricultural practices first explained the fact that Australian wine advocates often insisted on the agricultural productions of the southern part of France. Observations there, and the collective imaginary, shaped an idealised view of a wine model which could transform an “uncivilised” land. Their intention was to turn this luxury beverage, reserved for a privileged class, into a staple product available to most of the population.

The preference for France over other Mediterranean nations was the result of several factors. The rising reputation of its fine wines made it an attractive model for aspiring winegrowers across the world. During the nineteenth century, the Bordeaux reference influenced the development of wine industries in Spain, California and Argentina. In the British Empire, the growing success of clarets, burgundies, champagnes and hermitages inspired wine instigators, especially in Australia. Finally, the idealisation of the French wine culture and its “temperate” society played an important role as concerns about excessive alcohol consumption grew. Thus, the emulation of French light wines did not come out of imperial rivalries and the British Government’s intention to substitute colonial products for imports across the Channel. Free trade and the rapprochement between Britain and France were not considered a threat to colonial winegrowers, but rather complementary, as they would develop the taste for this kind of wine instead of strong fortified wines in the Portuguese and Spanish styles.

In order to achieve this goal, colonial Australians had to adapt to local conditions. This issue was common to all New World countries attempting to secure economic development and close the gap with Europe. In Australia, Francophile aspiring winegrowers could not count on French emigration to supply suitable labour. Although they were highly sought after, French wine experts were scarce in the antipodean colonies. A few French semi-skilled vigneron spontaneously settled in Australia, chiefly in Victoria during the gold rush. Fewer experts were hired from France to work in important colonial wine companies in the last quarter of the

century. These viticulturists and winemakers arguably influenced Australian winegrowing and played a role in shaping the colonial wine industry. But they also faced difficulties in adapting their knowledge to local natural conditions and sometimes had to compete with other European migrants and agricultural models. In the end, with some exceptions, they did not leave a clear and permanent mark in this sector. They were generally hired by British-owned wine companies as managers and lacked capital to maintain their own vineyards in the long term. As a result, none of the main wine companies created in the nineteenth century bears the name of a French vigneron today.

In fact, the French influence in colonial Australia chiefly occurred through the role of British instigators. A few wealthy farmers and wine boosters from the upper middle class undertook tours of investigation in France, visiting the wine regions where their favourite beverages were produced. In doing so, they observed local methods of vine-dressing and winemaking, collected vine stocks and cuttings, and acquired skills and technologies to be transferred to the Antipodes. They were also instrumental in translating French wine literature and adapting it to the Australian environment. This long-distance transfer took place across imperial boundaries beneath overarching political rivalries. Also, in the absence of government involvement in a context of *laissez faire*, private correspondences, publications and distributions of vine cuttings constituted the best means of diffusing wine models through the colonies. This process allowed the adoption of French *cépages* and methods to aspiring vignerons unacquainted with them. A handful of British pioneers acted as intermediaries to ensure the circulation of the French influence in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. This allowed the overall success of French varieties such as shiraz (syrah), cabernet sauvignon, chardonnay and sémillon. It led to the production and advertisement of Australian-made hermitages, clarets, sauternes, burgundies, chablis, champagnes and so on, though their tastes could be very different from the originals.

Other European wine models were used as well. Spanish grapes and practices were transferred by British colonists, not necessarily in competition with the French ones but rather complementary to them, as the pioneers were eager to produce a large variety of wines renowned in Europe. German migrants brought their influence to the Hunter Valley, New South Wales, and the Barossa Valley, South Australia, while Swiss migrants transferred a mixed model of Swiss and French practices into the south of Victoria. In the late part of the century, Italian vignerons and experts arrived and brought their own vision of the industry. These

different models clashed at times, but European – British and non-British – growers usually worked together to determine the best methods to be practised in these exotic environments.

From the 1870s, collective and public institutions gradually replaced individual initiatives. The Australian economic and demographic boom of the 1870s–80s stimulated the colonial wine industry by providing capital to be invested in agriculture and notably in viticulture. This in turn increased the demand for winegrowing knowledge and technologies and the establishment of viticultural organisations. Like in the previous period, Europe, and France in particular, constituted the main source of transfers. Associations and journals facilitated and formalised the trans-imperial circulation of information by spreading the latest advancements in the field from Europe and North Africa to Australia. At the same time, the development of agricultural institutions in Europe provided new models for the diffusion of scientific knowledge and technical skills to trainee farmers. Similar institutions were eventually created in Australia with the cooperation of private and public interests.

The shaping of transnational academic exchanges through European agricultural institutions extended to the Antipodes in the late nineteenth century. Both in the Old World and the New Worlds, the agricultural sector was looking for formal teaching and research. This led to the establishment of an intercontinental academic network interconnecting viticultural institutions all over the world – in France, Germany, Italy, Algeria, California and Australia. Globalisation facilitated and accelerated exchanges of agricultural progress, but it also caused an international ecological crisis. While phylloxera dramatically impacted France's and Australia's vineyards, it also stimulated the sharing of scientific research and practical experiences to find solutions internationally. The French disaster served as a warning as well as a model of treatment to deal with the insect in Australia. However, academic and scientific transfers were also designed to close the technological gap between the New Worlds and Europe. Rising economic integration on global scale led to growing competition in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the European settler colonies, these transfers were to improve agricultural and industrial productions and thus become more impactful in the growing world markets.

Regarding the Australian wine industry, economic considerations were intertwined with geographical, political, and socio-cultural issues. Environmental conditions prevented Australian winegrowers from reproducing French-style wines as they expected to do. Thus,

they tended to opt for Iberian techniques and grape varieties. However, French *cépages* did not disappear and remained the main types of grape cultivated in Australia to this day. Their acclimatisation and the use of locally-adapted methods enabled their continuous presence during the development of the wine industry in Australia. Political and socio-cultural limits also thwarted the development of a French wine model in the Antipodes. The British protectionist policy against French wines shaped British consumers' taste in favour of spirits, beer and fortified wines like port and sherry. This taste was imported by British colonists to Australia as well, where, as in Britain, the drinking of light wines was reserved to a small portion of the colonial society among the upper classes. Social distinctions in choice of alcoholic beverage directly impacted the success of new industries and trade commodities in this new society.

The influence of the French concept of terroir also led to a paradoxical result in emancipating the Australian wine industry from the French influence and in determining distinct tastes and representations. Terroir was used as a mark of distinction in the context of the global homogenisation caused by the integration of world economies. As a result, Australian exporters attempted to reshape the French wine model to advertise authentic and unique wines representing antipodean environmental and socio-cultural characteristics. Cross-cultural commodities like "Australian hermitage", "Australian claret", "Australian burgundy" and "Australian champagne" were associated with the name of the district and the specific property where they were made, resulting from a paradoxical process of transnational merging in the context of rising nationalism. These wine names highlighted both the origin of the product and the foreign style they sought to emulate. The example of wine brings out a characteristic of agricultural and industrial strategy in the New Worlds to compete on world markets against European commodities. These "new" countries were involved in a process of nation-building and emancipation from their imperial centres, but they also found themselves filling the gap with European references. Australia's "French" wines complicated this process in a rich example of trans-imperial catch-up and competition.

French and Australian wines were competing in Britain particularly to reach top-end customers. This new rivalry brought out the increasing integration of world markets and the emergence of new producers and exporters from the New Worlds competing with traditional exporters from Europe. Indeed, facing the failure to turn the colonies themselves into wine-drinking societies, elite Australian growers undertook to introduce their products into Britain, which was considered a natural imperial outlet for colonial production. From the mid-1880s,

Australian wine lobbyists managed to obtain the implementation of a new customs system facilitating the introduction of their products in Britain. They also attempted to develop terroir wines to meet the British demand for uniqueness and compete more efficiently against French clarets, burgundies, hermitages and champagnes. This strategy was partly thwarted by the control exercised by the main London importers, who focused on the distribution of blended wines with no regard for their origin. Yet British imports of Australian wines gradually rose from the 1880s to the 1900s. Australia's success in Britain relied on the new customs system but also on a specific marketing strategy. In order to gain market share, London traders insisted especially on the "purity" of Australian wines in comparison with French wines, which were accused of adulteration during the shortages caused by the phylloxera crisis. Growing concerns about the quality of food and alcoholic beverages increasingly influenced customers' choices. While French wines saw their reputation deteriorate, Australian wines could appear as a healthy and imperial – and thus patriotic – alternative.

The growing Australian wine industry led to diverse reactions in France. Early curiosity from the middle of the nineteenth century was gradually replaced by a form of disdain regarding a burgeoning industry which entertained the unrealistic ambition of overtaking European producers. The situation in the British market was, however, more concerning and alarmed Bordeaux and Champagne wine exporters. In these two regions, the use of French geographical names by Australian producers was denounced as a misappropriation of the reputation of French wine. This disagreement weakened French–Australian trade relations during the twentieth century and was only to be solved with the trade agreement signed between the European Union and Australia in 1994.¹

This case of antipodean rivalries reveals the increasing integration of the global economy, and particularly the British world-economy, at the turn of the twentieth century. The development of free trade and new transport and communication technologies favoured competition between Old World and New World producers for outlets in Britain, the main centre for fine wine imports before the First World War. This new rivalry also reveals how new producers from European settler colonies filled the gap with the imperial centres. A catching-up process was observable in scientific and technical knowledge through teaching and research

¹ *Agreement between Australia and the European Community on Trade in Wine, and Protocol* (Brussels-Canberra, 26-31 January 1994) [1994] ATS 6, see Stephen Stern, "Wine and Place," in *Global Wine Regulation*, ed. Matt Harvey and Vicki Waye (Sydney: Thomson Reuters, 2014), 38-44.

institutions as well as in international trade, shows and exhibitions. New World producers increasingly sought acknowledgement from their peers in Europe and attempted to shape their collective reputation. This process was also the result of rising nationalist ideas which impacted both Europe and the “neo-Europes.” Establishing national industries emancipated from foreign models was increasingly critical for securing independence and international acknowledgment. Ultimately, this process was the fruit of transfers from different origins. These foreign influences were absorbed and reshaped to build new national models adapted to local conditions (political, cultural, economic and geographic).

French–Australian wine-related transfers are just a single example of this transnational process and the unfolding drama of international rivalry. It would be necessary to investigate other types of transfers from Europe to better encapsulate the multi-faceted aspect of the Australian wine industry to the present day. In addition, the French impact on the international wine sector should be considered on a broader scale in other areas, including Europe, the Americas, South Africa and New Zealand, along with the transversal connections between these regions. Such studies would enrich our understanding of the world wine industry and global commodity trade.

In view of its results in sheer quantity, the plan to create the “France of the southern hemisphere” – that is, to turn the whole of Australia into a wine-producing and wine-drinking country on the French model – largely failed. By the eve of the First World War, light wine production and consumption remained a niche market among the elites. However, this process has left some marks in the present. The best evidence of the French influence on the Australian wine industry today is to be found in the main grape varieties used: for the reds, these are shiraz (syrah), cabernet sauvignon, merlot and pinot noir, and for the whites, chardonnay, sémillon, sauvignon blanc and riesling.² All but the last were introduced directly or indirectly from France in the nineteenth century. These choices are the legacy of a long history of Franco–Australian transfers with the aim in Australia of producing light dry wines, although other European grape varieties are now gaining more attention.³ Australia’s wine industry since then has shaped its own model of organisation, marketing and winegrowing, continuing a process that began in the late nineteenth century as the gap in wine skills and science between Australia and Europe was gradually closed. Producers in the Antipodes increasingly highlighted

² Organisation Internationale de la Vigne et du Vin, *Focus OIV 2017. Distribution variétale du vignoble dans le monde*, (Paris: OIV, 2017), <http://www.oiv.int/public/medias/5861/fr-distribution-vari-tale-du-vignoble-dans-le-monde.pdf>. 36-37.

³ Riesling and verdeilho for the whites, sangiovese and tempranillo for the reds.

Australian style as a strategy for competing with French fine wines on the British market. However, the use of European geographical denominations as generic names continued throughout the twentieth century. Since the 1990s, the Australian wine industry has been forced to abandon this practice and thus has chosen to focus on the production and marketing of single varietal wines and branded wines. This would indicate a growing divergence between France's strict model of Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée and Australia's liberal model of brands.

Despite the overall failure to generalise the terroir system at the turn of the twentieth century, the production of *vin de cru* never completely disappeared in Australia. Recently, the promotion of terroir was renewed to highlight the specificities of Australia's environments and meet with a specific demand. In contrast, French négociants and exporters have expressed an interest in developing branded wines like those in Australia, as this strategy appears more successful on international markets. It is thus difficult to talk today about exclusive models, one from the Old World and the other from the New Worlds. The current globalisation and the stimulation of oenological progress have maintained mutual exchanges and transfers between France and Australia. The process of catching up, scientifically and technologically, that unfolded between Europe and its settler colonies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also challenges the pattern of "new" countries following European models. It is in fact necessary to rethink the nature of these transnational transfers of knowledge and technologies by acknowledging more mutual influences, interconnections and bilateral exchanges. The first cases of viti-vinicultural transfers from Australia to France occurred as early as the 1880s–1890s. This inverted circulation of knowledge grew in importance during the course of the twentieth century.

It is, indeed, worth noting that some French viticulturists now draw on Australian techniques to adapt to climate change and higher temperatures; they have instituted light pruning and the use of muslin veils to protect the vines from the sun, both measures used in Australia since the nineteenth century. Furthermore, in winemaking, new chemical techniques allow the winemaker to limit the level of alcohol by reducing the sugar content in the must.⁴ The advent of the recent wave of globalisation has also facilitated the new phenomenon of "flying winemakers" who advise several wineries in different parts of the world. The term "flying winemakers" was first coined by British wine merchant Tony Laithwaite to designate his programme of exchanges of ideas and expertise between Australia and France in the late

⁴ Matthieu Lecoutre, *Le goût de l'ivresse. Boire en France depuis le Moyen Age (Ve-XXIe siècle)* (Paris: Belin, 2017), 411-412.

1980s, notably the hiring of well-trained Australian winemakers to work in French cooperatives.⁵ In fact, the current phase of globalisation, involving new communication technologies and further integration of the world markets, favours multilateral initiatives for sharing knowledge and techniques.

⁵ "Flying Winemakers," in *The Oxford Companion to Wine*, ed. Jancis Robinson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 287. See also Gavin Hubble, "Flying Winemakers," *The Wine Guy*, <https://www.wineguy.co.nz/index.php/glossary-articles-hidden/293-flying-winemakers>.

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Appendix 1: Wine tours and studies in France by colonial Australians

Last name	First name	Birth-death	Place of birth	Years of trip	Places visited in France	Settlement in Australia
Macarthur	John	1767-1834	Devon, England	1815-1816	Paris, Burgundy, Lyon, Rhône valley, Languedoc, Provence	Camden, NSW
Macarthur	James	1798-1867	Paramatta, NSW	1815-1816	Paris, Burgundy, Lyon, Rhône valley, Languedoc, Provence	Camden, NSW
Macarthur	William	1800-1882	Parramatta, NSW	1815-1816, 1855-1856, 1862	Paris, Burgundy, Lyon, Rhône valley, Languedoc, Provence, Loire valley, Poitiers, Bordeaux	Camden, NSW
Pilcher	Henry		England	c1820		Telarah, NSW
Busby	James	1801-1871	Edinburgh, Scotland	1825, 1831	Bordeaux, Montpellier, Marseille, Rhône valley, Burgundy, Champagne	Kirkton, NSW
Wyndham	George	1801-1870	Wiltshire, England	1825-1826		Dalwood, NSW
Lindeman	Henry John	1811-1881	Surrey, England	1830s		Cawarra, NSW
Keene	William	1798-1872	Bath, England	1827-1848	Paris, Orléans, Poitiers, Toulouse, Rhône valley, Bayonne, Bordeaux	Hunter Valley, NSW
Robertson	John	1816-1891	Bow, England	1833		Plashett, NSW
Reynell	John	1809-1873	Devon, England	1830s	Southern France	Reynella, SA

Suttor	George	1774-1859	Chelsea, England	1840-1842	Paris, Orléans, Bourgogne, Champagne, Poitiers, Charentes, Bordeaux, Toulouse	Castle Hill, NSW
Davenport	Samuel	1818-1906	Oxfordshire England	1839-1841, 1863	Montpellier, Roussillon	Beaumont, SA
Kelly	Alexander	1811-1877	Leith, Scotland	1846-1847	Bordeaux	Trinity, SA
Anderson	William Acland	1829-1882	Lancashire, England	1859	Bordeaux, Burgundy	Yering, VIC
Wilkinson	Frederick Albert	1841-1883	Lancashire, England	1860s	Burgundy	Cote d'or, NSW
Klemm	Frederick Christian	1830-1878	Prussia	1865, 1873	Champagne	Bendigo, VIC
Fallon	James Thomas	1823-1886	Athlone, Ireland	1873	Bordeaux, Burgundy	Albury, NSW
Bear	John Pinney	1823-1889	Devon, England	1870s		Tahbilk, VIC
Villanis	Paolo	?-1886	Piedmont, Italy	1874-1876	Bordeaux	Oaklands Vineyards, SA
Bonnard	Henry Edward	1849-1896	France	1882	Bordeaux	NSW
De Castella	François	1867-1953	Melbourne, Victoria	1883	Bordeaux, Burgundy, Montpellier	St Hubert's, VIC
Hardy	Thomas	1830-1912	Devon, England	1883	Roussillon, Montpellier, Bordeaux, Cognac, Burgundy, Champagne	Tintara, SA

Morris	Charles Hughes	1859-1944	Wirral, England	1887	Bordeaux, Champagne	Browns Plains, VIC
Morris	Frederick		Wirral, England	1889	Paris	Browns Plains, VIC
Perkins	Arthur James	1871-1944	Ramleh, Egypt	1887-1889, 1910	Montpellier, Paris, Nice, Bordeaux, Bayonne, Tunisia	Roseworthy, SA
Despeissis	Jean Marie Adrian	1860-1927	Mapou, Mauritius	1889-1890	Paris, Bordeaux, Montpellier	NSW/WA
Irvine	Hans	1856-1922	Melbourne, Victoria	1891	Champagne, Bordeaux, Montpellier	Great Western, VIC
Basedow	Bernhard	1870-1930	Tanunda, SA	1891-.1893	Strasbourg, Lyon, Montpellier, Cette, Bordeaux, Bayonne, Biarritz, Bordeaux, Paris, Marseille, Nice.	SA
Graham	George	1838-1922	West Lothian, Scotland	1890s	Southern France, Bordeaux, Montpellier	Goulburn Valley, VIC
Smith	Louis Lawrence	1830-1910	London, England	1893	Moselle	Melbourne, VIC
Young	Edward Burney	1859-1922	Walkerville, SA	1894, 1898	Champagne, Burgundy, Bordeaux	SA and England
Buring	Leo	1876-1961	Tarnma, SA	1896, 1898	Bordeaux, Montpellier	VIC/SA

Appendix 2: Frenchmen and women involved in the colonial Australian wine industry

Source: Victoria, Australia, Index to Naturalization Certificates, 1851-1928 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015, <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/60711/>; New South Wales, Australia, Certificates of Naturalization, 1849-1903 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2009, <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/1549/>; Australia, Marriage Index, 1788-1950 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010, <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/1780/>; Victoria, Australia, Rate Books, 1855-1963 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com, 2015, <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/60706/>.

Victoria

Last name	Other names	Birth-death	Birthplace	Year of arrival	Place of settlement
Marie	Ludovic	1832-1897	Commissey, Yonne	1850s	Goulburn Valley
Fleischauer	Charles			1850s	Ballarat
Bladier	James Joseph	1824-1897	Gourdan, Haute-Garonne	1850s	Bendigo
Loridan	Jean-Baptiste	1827-1897	Roncq, Nord	1850s	Bendigo
Deravin	Jean Théodore	1833-1911	St Barthélémy, Caribbean	1852	Bendigo
L'Huillier	Félix		Mirecourt, Vosges	1850s	Bendigo
Réau	Camille	1836-1912	Bordeaux		Wahgunyah

Metzger	Louis	1820-1903	Mollkrich, Bas-Rhin	c.1851	Great Western
Trouette (née Blampied)	Anne-Marie	1825-1905	Burthecourt-aux-Chênes, Meurthe	1853	Great Western
Blampied	Émile Pierre Nicolas	1837-1914	Burthecourt-aux-Chênes, Meurthe	1853	Great Western
Blampied (née Metzger)	Louise Marie	1853-1939	Montélimar, Drôme	1850s	Great Western
Trouette	Jean-Pierre	1833-1885	Estampes, Gers	1850s	Great Western
Trouette	Marie-Françoise	1857-1927	VIC	Birth	Great Western
Trouette	Nicolas Barthelemy	1859-1886	Ararat, VIC	Birth	Great Western
Durand				1860s	Great Western
Mellon	Francis (François)	1826-1902	Thiel, Allier	1860s	Dunolly
Ruyer	Michel	1822-1867	Lorraine	1855	
Ruyer	Joseph	1826-?	Lorraine	1855	
Ruyer	Blaise	1828-?	Lorraine	1855	

Reymond	M.	1834-1918		1857	Forbes
Coueslant	François	1841-1892	Dolo, Côtes d'Armor	1870s	Goulburn valley
Garrigues	Benoit André	1815-1875	Fanjeaux, Aude	After 1853	Dunolly
Argent	Auguste d'	1827-1884	Champagne	1877	Melbourne
Pierlot	Charles	1854-1918	Marne	1886	Great Western
Gassies	Joseph	1863-?	Barsac, Gironde	1880s	Goulburn valley
Guillerme	Pierre				Lilydale
Clerico	Charles	1847-1930	Antey-Saint-André, Italy		Lilydale
Champlin	C. D.			Before 1891	Great Western
Fortin	Henri	1865-1918	Rezé, Loire-Atlantique	1890	Goulburn valley
Aigon-Bène	Émile		Bordeaux	1890s	Melbourne
Aigon-Bène	M.			1890s	Melbourne

Guyot	Alexis Etienne			c.1883	Rutherglen
Moreau	Joseph			c.1890	Goulburn valley
Landrat	Propser			1890s	St Kilda
Leroy	Léon	1842-1911	Vimoutiers, Orne	1872	Rutherglen
Leroy	François Léon	1883-1955	Rutherglen, VIC	Birth	Rutherglen
Drouet	Louis	1866-1923	Épernay, Marne	1891	Great Western

New South Wales

Last name	Other names	Birth-death	Birthplace	Year of arrival	Place of settlement
Joubert	Didier Numa	1818-1881	Angoulême, Charente	1837	Sydney
Serisier	Jean Émile de	1824-1880	Bordeaux	1839	Sydney and Dubbo
Despointes	Michel Thomas	1817-1865		1840	Dubbo
Bertheau	Charles Zacharie	1814-1897	Merry-sur-Yonne, Yonne	1842	Regentville and North Richmond
Terrier	Philobert		Burgundy	c.1855	Hunter valley
Ségol	Louis (Lewis) Rémi	1833-1898	Sauwillanges, Puy-de-Dôme	1859	Inverell
Frère	Léonce François Gaston	1837-1909	Barbésieux-St Hilaire, Charente	1875	Albury and Georges River
Frère (née Lacombe)	Marthe	1842-1922	Barbésieux-St Hilaire, Charente	1875	Albury and Georges River

Frère	Gustave Jacques		Barbésieux-St Hilaire, Charente	1876	Albury and Georges River
Frère	Georges (George) Pierre	1866-1951	Barbésieux-St Hilaire, Charente	1875	Albury and Georges River

South Australia

Last name	Other names	Birth-death	Birthplace	Year of arrival	Place of settlement
Aubert	Thelisma	1816-1881		1840	Salisbury
Dubois	Jean Émile Michel	1812-1899		1840s	Adelaide
Bourbaud	Louis Edouard	1838-1883	Cognac, Charente	1875	Adelaide
Foureur	Joseph Hyppolyte	1842-1935	Hautvillers, Marne	1880	Brompton
Gelly	Joseph Charles	1855-1920	Florensac, Hérault	1882	Beaumont and Barossa valley
Mazouan	Pierre "Peter" Marie Joseph	1855-1925	Hérault	1884	Beaumont
Mazure	Léon Edmond	1860-1939	Coulommès, Seine-et-Marne	1884	Beaumont, Kanmantoo and Auldana

Appendix 3: Prizes obtained by the Australian colonies during the Bordeaux International Wine Exhibition of 1882

Victoria

Source: *Bordeaux International Wine Exhibition 1882. Report of the Commissioners for the Colony of Victoria* (Melbourne: John Ferries, Government Printer, 1883), 16-17.

Diploma of Honour

The Government of Victoria

Gold Medal of Progress

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The Australian Land and Produce Company, Limited, Château Tahbilk, Melbourne

Messrs. A. and R. Caughey, Melbourne

Albert Bruhn, Esq., Sandhurst

Frederick Grosse, Esq., Melbourne

The Honorable James Stewart Johnston, Sunbury

Francis Mellon, Esq., Dunolly

Messrs. Ritchie Brothers, Murgheboluc

Silver Medals of Progress

Messrs. Braché and Co., Melbourne

Joseph Best, Esq., Great Western

Frederick F. Dear, Esq., Dunolly

Messrs. E. Graham Fulton and Co., Melbourne

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Duncan Logan, Esq., Rutherglen

Robert McBean, Esq., Benalla

Dr. Augustus Mueller, Yackandandah

Carl Pohl, Esq., Sandhurst

G. de Pury, Esq., Yeringberg
Camille Réau, Esq., Wahgunyah
Victoria Champagne Company, Limited (Dr. L. L. Smith), Melbourne

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Hugh Fraser, Esq., Brown's Plains
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George Sutherland Smith, Esq., Wahgunyah
Ehrenfried Schroeder, Esq., Castlemaine
Messrs. Trouette and Blampied, Great Western

Honorable Mention of Progress

P. H. Costello, Esq., Dunolly
August Fischer, Esq., Sandhurst
William Jones, Esq., Wedderburn
Franz Schmitt, Esq., Berwick, Esq., Dunolly

New South Wales

Source: Bonnard, Henry, *Report of the Executive Secretary on the Bordeaux International Exhibition of Wines, 1882* (Sydney: Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1884), 11-13.

Gold Medals of Progress

Carl Brecht, Rosemount, Hunter River
James Kelman, Kirkton, Hunter River
Alexander Munro, Bebeah, Hunter River
Philobert Terrier, St. Helena, Hunter River
John Wyndham, Dalwood, Hunter River

Silver Medals of Progress

F. J. Bouffier, Marcobrunner, Hunter River

Theophilus Cooper, Oswald, Hunter River

James Doyle, Kaludah, Hunter River

J. T. Fallon, Murray Valley, Albury

George Francis, Douglas Vale, Port Macquarie

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Messrs. Harbottle, Biddulph and Alsop, Ettamogah, Albury

John Hill, Hannahton, Hunter River

Henry J. Lindeman, Cawarra, Hunter River and Murrabayana, Albury

John A. Wilkinson, Coolalta, Hunter River

Bronze Medals of Progress

G. T. and J. B. Carmichael, Porphyry, Hunter River

A. E. Davies, Mount Huntley, Hunter River

George F. Fleming, Hauteville, Albury

Honorable Wm. Macleay, Wolonjerie, Murrumbidgee

T. Maher, Roselyn, Inverell

Dr. McKay, Minchinbury, Penrith

T. Vivian Rauch, Sydney

Collin Ross, Rosenstein, Inverell

G. H. Stephen and Co., Ivanhoe, Hunter River

Wadham Wyndham, Bukkulla, Inverell

Honorable Mention

Mme Barker, Steinburg, Penrith

Andrew Murray, Bannockburn, Inverell

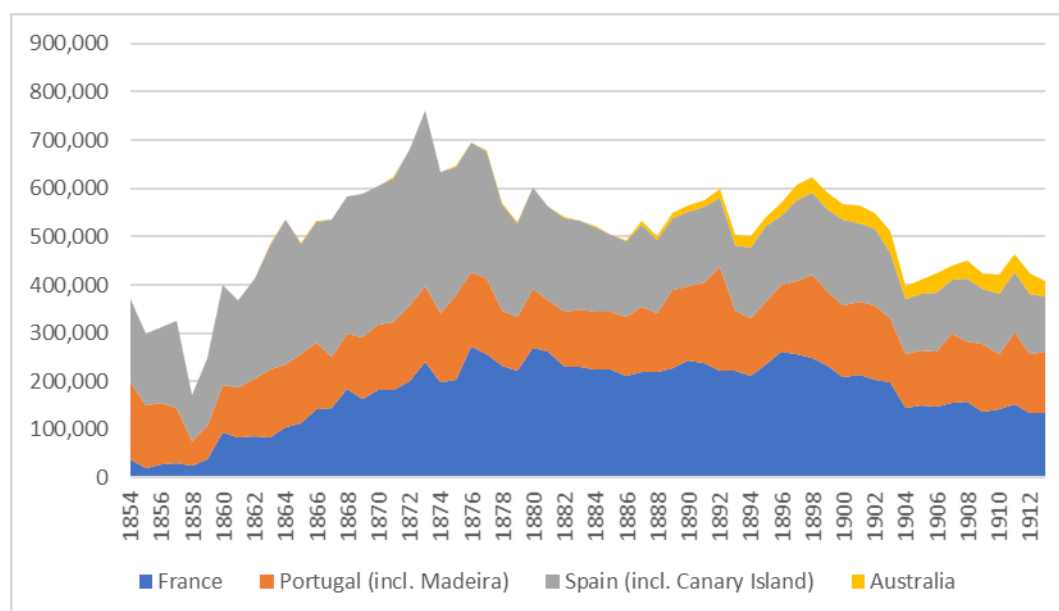
Appendix 4: Volume of annual wine production and consumption in France and Australia, 1860–1909 (in hectolitres)

Source of data: Anderson, Kym, Signe Nelgen, and Vicente Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets, 1860 to 2016: A Statistical Compendium* (Adelaide: The University of Adelaide Press, 2018), 180, 188.

Years	Production		Consumption	
	<i>France</i>	<i>Australia</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>Australia</i>
1860–1869	50,630,000	50,000	45,710,000	60,000
1870–1879	53,160,000	80,000	53,740,000	90,000
1880–1889	30,770,000	100,000	38,440,000	110,000
1890–1899	37,030,000	190,000	41,790,000	170,000
1900–1909	56,950,000	240,000	59,850,000	190,000

Appendix 5: Volume of British wine imports by source from 1854 to 1913 (in hectolitres)

Source of data: Anderson, Kym, Signe Nelgen, and Vicente Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets, 1860 to 2016: A Statistical Compendium* (Adelaide: The University of Adelaide Press, 2018), 534-535.

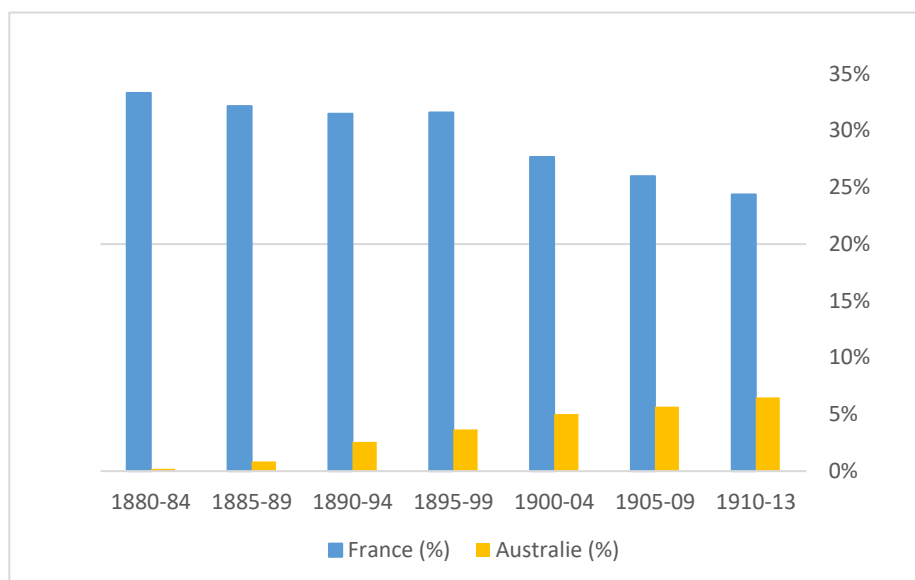


Year	France	Portugal (incl. Madeira)	Spain (incl. Canary Island)	Australia	Total
1854	38,870	160,030	172,370	0	494,420
1855	20,740	128,550	149,420	60	406,730
1856	27,540	127,070	156,620	1,130	431,050
1857	30,830	114,680	179,090	210	469,920
1858	24,450	51,330	95,190	310	263,290
1859	39,110	69,560	140,420	330	372,570
1860	94,600	98,110	206,060	110	567,120
1861	84,640	103,750	179,370	40	502,450
1862	86,850	117,950	207,600	320	543,740
1863	84,600	139,090	259,830	360	644,870
1864	105,360	129,410	301,440	330	702,460
1865	112,800	144,720	227,950	1,440	648,710
1866	141,950	137,010	250,340	2,320	696,500
1867	145,910	105,410	283,610	840	700,670
1868	183,600	114,750	283,670	1,110	770,710
1869	164,650	126,240	297,610	510	781,210
1870	182,970	133,780	287,610	1,180	808,050
1871	181,430	141,050	298,180	1,640	828,510
1872	201,140	156,430	323,340	1,420	893,760

1873	241,540	156,220	363,280	1,140	985,690
1874	197,530	145,000	290,050	1,690	828,970
1875	204,320	173,260	266,640	1,820	837,810
1876	273,260	153,930	266,780	1,150	906,970
1877	256,730	157,450	263,240	2,250	889,610
1878	233,640	112,990	221,110	910	747,940
1879	220,820	111,750	195,770	1,040	689,310
1880	270,690	121,680	208,740	780	790,360
1881	260,930	108,290	192,060	1,100	740,870
1882	228,580	116,100	194,450	970	714,450
1883	228,810	120,010	183,040	1,100	707,360
1884	223,750	119,220	176,050	3,140	686,690
1885	223,700	119,690	158,880	2,400	665,080
1886	210,200	124,230	156,360	2,760	661,580
1887	219,920	133,600	171,460	6,620	699,350
1888	218,340	122,400	151,940	7,410	670,320
1889	227,860	162,510	147,150	10,430	722,860
1890	242,310	154,430	155,040	14,170	736,190
1891	237,040	167,500	157,330	14,330	762,950
1892	222,880	215,140	143,890	17,590	787,350
1893	223,100	123,110	137,290	21,120	667,140
1894	210,550	119,810	145,360	25,430	653,180
1895	234,490	130,130	156,970	18,120	721,200
1896	260,650	138,180	144,060	27,860	758,980
1897	255,550	153,120	165,710	31,990	798,260
1898	247,170	173,000	170,680	32,450	824,640
1899	232,240	153,410	172,230	32,620	790,460
1900	208,260	149,420	176,950	33,850	763,920
1901	213,490	151,230	161,900	37,380	752,210
1902	203,400	152,900	159,460	33,490	746,940
1903	197,410	133,270	135,360	45,040	668,760
1904	143,790	112,050	116,020	26,030	561,310
1905	149,380	114,250	118,630	29,470	578,760
1906	146,510	115,470	123,250	39,320	595,690
1907	155,530	144,560	111,630	28,490	599,120
1908	158,550	124,860	129,890	35,950	539,950
1909	137,170	139,650	115,580	30,250	560,740
1910	141,110	115,230	125,830	39,440	624,300
1911	153,450	146,840	126,210	36,190	571,460
1912	133,790	123,870	122,740	43,800	554,220
1913	135,030	127,930	113,230	30,540	560,670

Appendix 6: Share of British wine imports in volume from France and Australia, 1880–1913 (percentage of total)

Source of data: Anderson, Kym, Signe Nelgen, and Vicente Pinilla, *Global Wine Markets, 1860 to 2016: A Statistical Compendium* (Adelaide: The University of Adelaide Press, 2018), 534-535.



Years	France (hl)	Australia (hl)	Total (hl)	France (%)	Australia (%)
1880–1884	242,552	1,418	727,946	33%	0%
1885–1889	220,004	5,924	683,838	32%	1%
1890–1894	227,176	18,528	721,362	31%	3%
1895–1899	246,020	28,608	778,708	32%	4%
1900–1904	193,270	35,158	698,628	28%	5%
1905–1909	149,428	32,696	574,852	26%	6%
1910–1913	140,845	37,493	577,663	24%	6%

Appendix 7: Australia's courts at the Paris Universal Exhibition, 1878

Source: Davenport family papers, PRG 40/61, SLSA.

South Australia



New South Wales



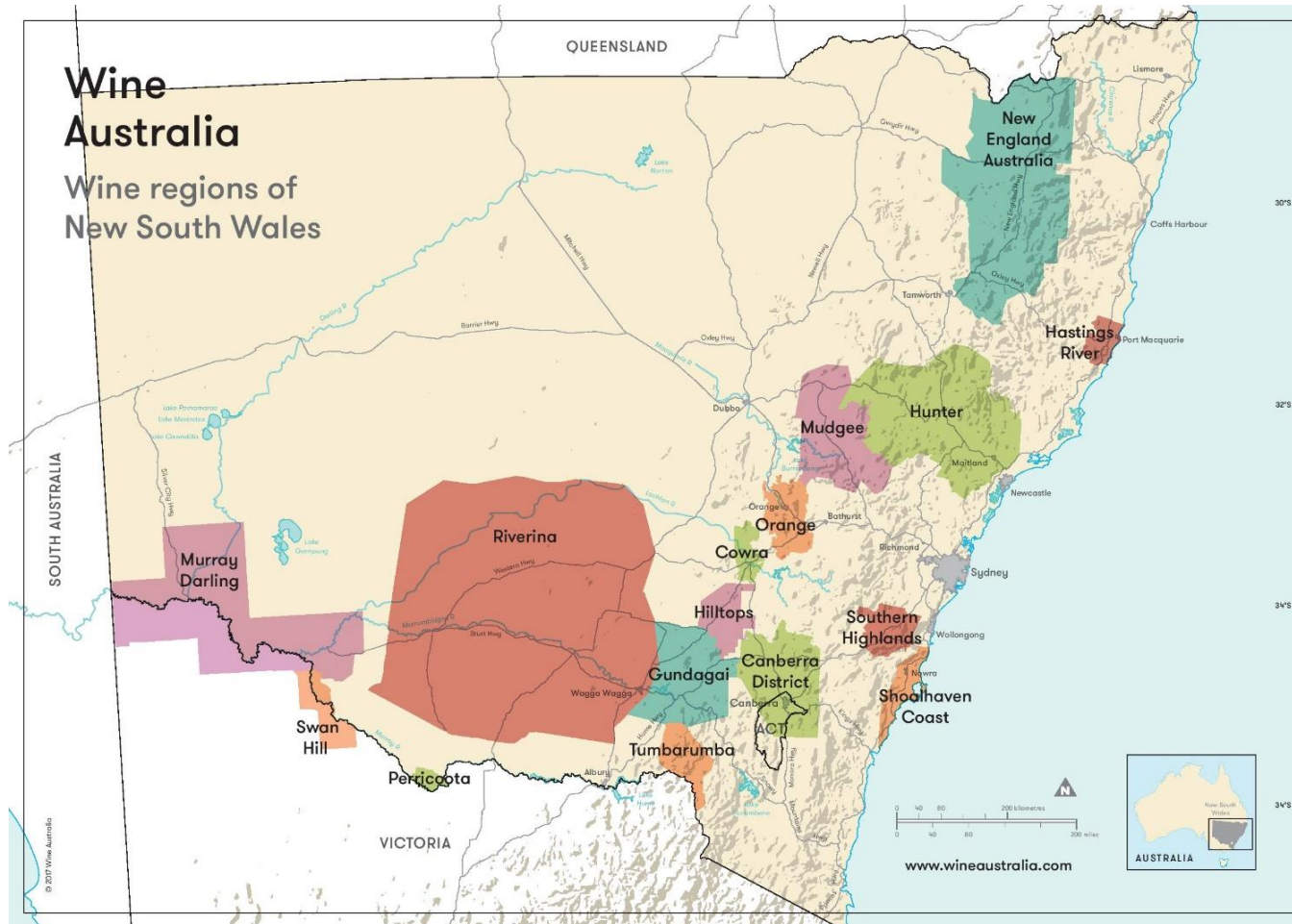
New South Wales e Paris

Victoria



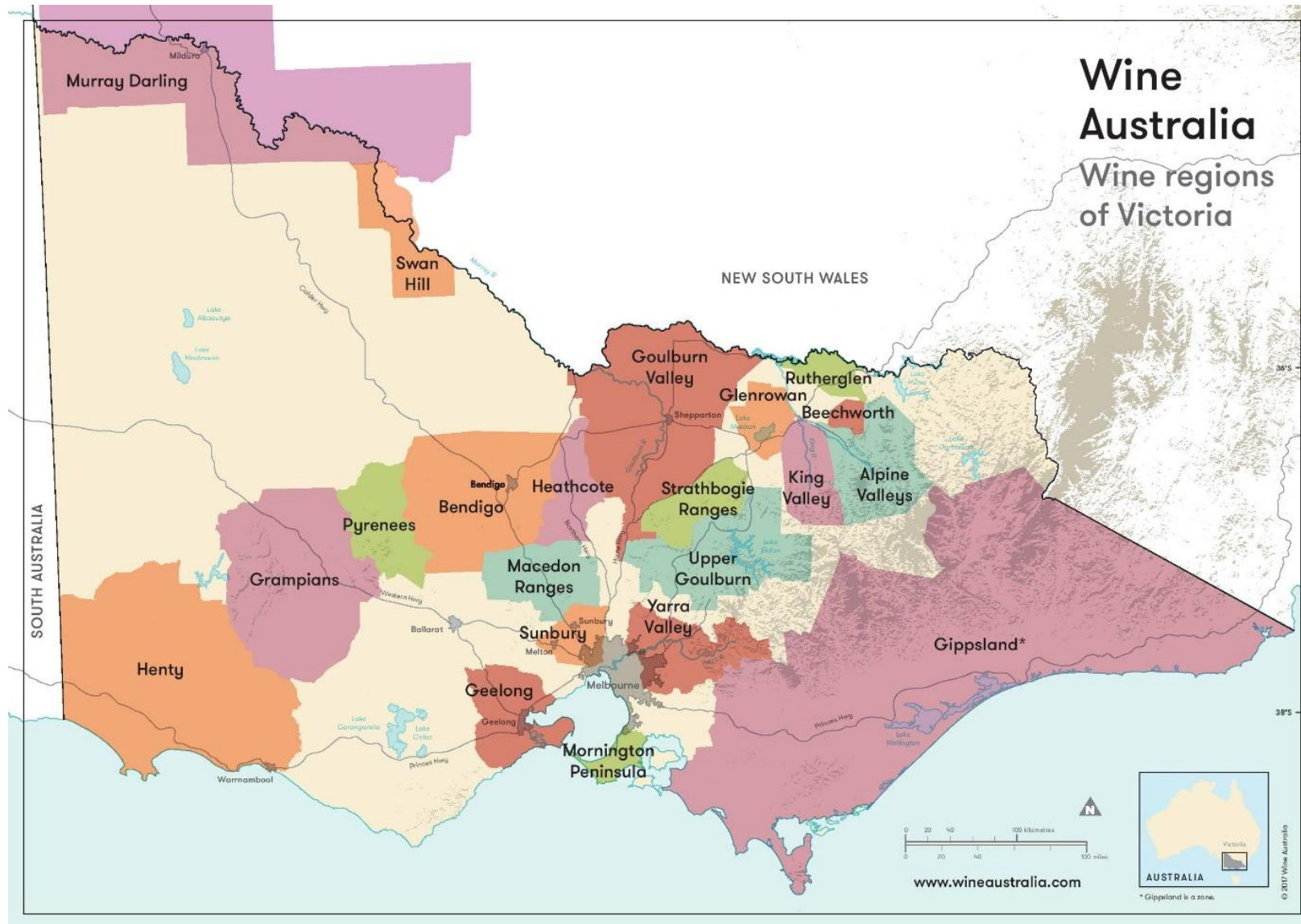
Appendix 8: Contemporary wine regions of Australia¹

Appendix 8.1: New South Wales

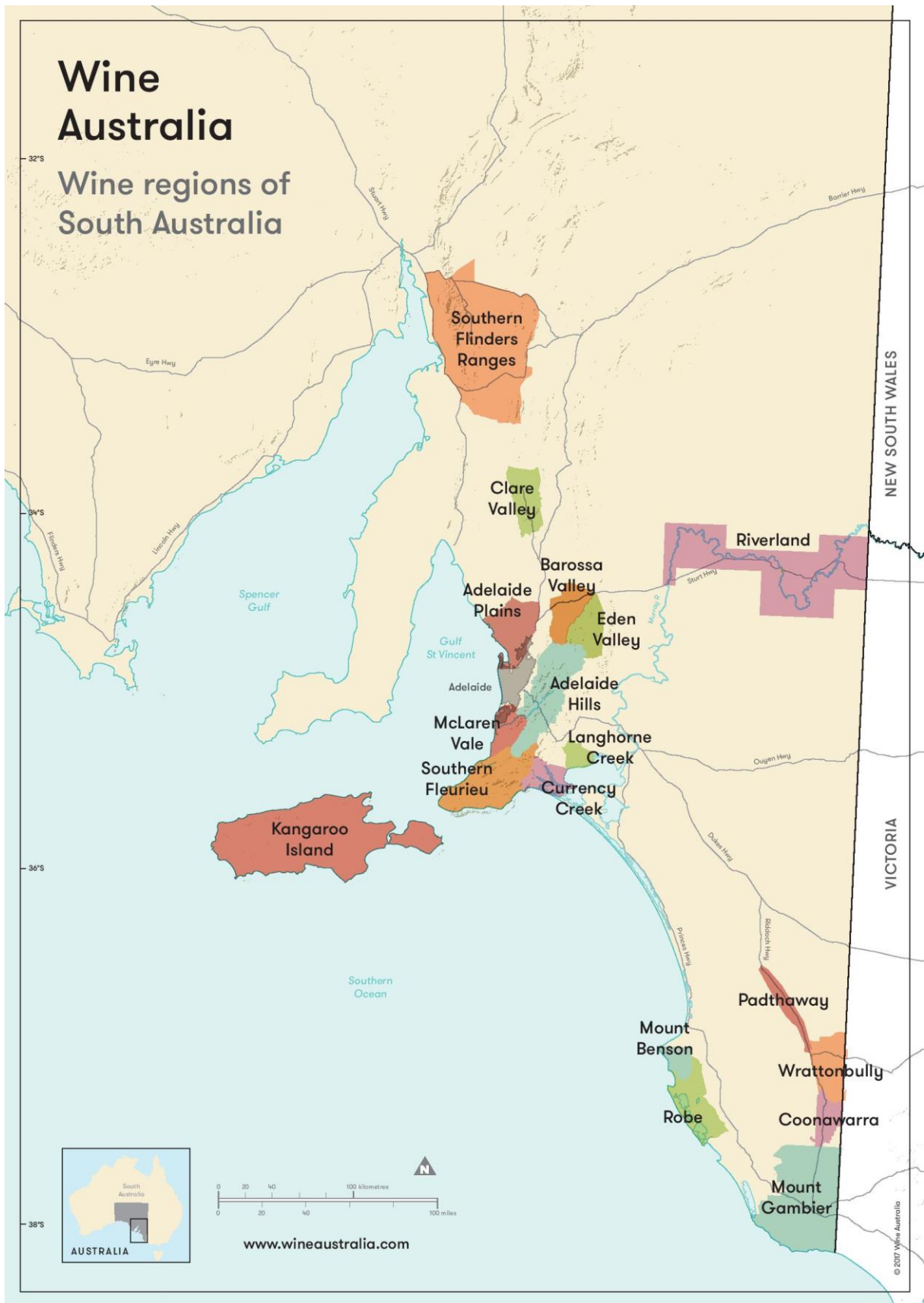


¹ Source: Courtesy of Wine Australia, "Geographical Indications," Wine Australia, <https://www.wineaustralia.com/labeling/register-of-protected-gis-and-other-terms/geographical-indications>.

Appendix 8.2: Victoria



Appendix 8.3: South Australia



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Résumé en français

La « France de l'hémisphère sud »

Transférer un modèle viti-vinicole européen en Australie au XIXe siècle

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Thèse de doctorat en Histoire, en cotutelle internationale entre l'Université Bordeaux
Montaigne (France) et l'Université de Newcastle (Australie)

Sous la direction de Julie MCINTYRE, Corinne MARACHE et John GERMOV

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Introduction

L'expression « France de l'hémisphère sud » a été utilisée à plusieurs reprises dans des journaux australiens dans la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle pour désigner l'Australie et son ambition de créer une industrie vinicole sur le modèle français. Un certain nombre de colons britanniques issus des classes moyennes et supérieures espéraient ainsi développer économiquement et culturellement les colonies des antipodes, en transplantant la production et la consommation de vin sur un territoire saisi aux populations aborigènes auxquelles la culture du vin était entièrement étrangère.

Cette thèse se concentre sur les transferts de compétences, technologies, personnes et cépages de la France vers l'Australie. Ces transferts ont eu lieu grâce à des échanges entre vigneron, marchands, entrepreneurs, administrateurs, scientifiques et institutions, entre différentes régions viticoles françaises, (essentiellement le Bordelais, Montpellier, la Bourgogne, la vallée du Rhône et la Champagne) et les colonies australiennes de Nouvelle-Galles du Sud, Victoria et Australie-Méridionale.

Le terme de « modèle » viti-vinicole est compris comme l'ensemble des processus touchant la production, la distribution et la consommation du vin. Les transferts impliquent quant à eux une circulation entre une région d'origine et une région d'accueil.

Cette étude démarre en 1815 avec le premier tour vinicole entrepris par des colons australiens en France, au lendemain des guerres napoléoniennes, dans le but de collecter des informations, des compétences et des pieds de vignes ou boutures pour développer la viticulture sur leur propriété de Nouvelle-Galles du Sud. La période étudiée se termine à la veille de la Première Guerre mondiale qui désorganisa le commerce mondial et les transferts technologiques, y compris vinicoles.

Les trois principales colonies australiennes productrices de vin au XIXe siècle sont intégrées à cette étude : Nouvelle-Galles du Sud, Victoria et Australie du Sud. Ces trois États représentent encore aujourd'hui l'essentiel de la production vinicole australienne aujourd'hui et ont été influencés par des transferts venus de France. Dans ce pays, les principales régions concernées sont le Bordelais, la Bourgogne, la vallée du Rhône, la Champagne et le Languedoc. Les quatre premières pour leurs modèles de production et de distribution de vins fins, et la dernière pour son modèle d'enseignement et de recherche viti-vinicole à Montpellier.

Il s'agit ainsi de comprendre comment le transfert de modèles viti-vinicoles français par des colons britanniques a influencé le développement de l'industrie du vin en Australie et le commerce vinicole mondial au XIXe siècle.

Cette thèse s'inscrit dans une histoire des transferts transnationaux se focalisant sur la circulation de savoir-faire, technologies, idées et personnes entre deux régions du monde très éloignées. Il s'agit avant tout d'étudier les mouvements qui s'opèrent entre ces deux ensembles et non de comparer deux modèles distincts. L'enjeu est également d'adopter un regard critique sur la nature de ces transferts en questionnant la représentation de ces modèles dans le pays d'accueil et les phénomènes de transformation s'opérant durant leur adaptation à la manière d'une histoire croisée. Cet enchevêtrement d'influences réciproques pose également la question de leur impact sur le pays d'origine. La transplantation de modèles viti-vinicoles français a ainsi été traversée par de multiples transformations par un processus d'idéalisation et d'adaptation côté australien. À l'inverse, côté français, ces transferts impliquent des problèmes d'acceptation et de concurrence vis-à-vis d'une industrie vinicole se développant dans une colonie appartenant à un empire concurrent.

Il faudrait d'ailleurs plutôt parler de transferts « trans-impériaux », car il nous faut étudier des échanges entre une métropole européenne et une colonie appartenant à un autre empire. Ce type de sujets a longtemps été négligé par rapport aux échanges au sein d'un même empire colonial ou entre nations indépendantes. Ce sujet est donc l'occasion de mettre en relief des échanges économiques, culturels et technologiques transversaux.

Cette thèse repose sur des sources à la fois australiennes et françaises afin de mettre en relief ces regards croisés. En Australie, une large partie des documents sont composés de publications de livres, manuels, brochures et articles de revues sur le thème du vin, de sa culture, de sa distribution et sa consommation, par des colons, le plus souvent britanniques, mais aussi français, allemands, suisses et italiens. Ces publications révèlent les motivations pour implanter la viti-viniculture en Australie et les moyens mis en œuvre pour y arriver. Ces textes sont soit de nature promotionnelle et incitative, soit de nature académique et scientifique. La presse australienne fournit le second groupe de sources le plus important. Très développée dès le milieu du XIXe siècle, aussi bien au niveau local qu'au niveau colonial ou national, elle permet de récolter des informations sur l'évolution des activités vinicoles des colons, le rôle des

associations et autres institutions liées au vin et la perception de cette industrie et de la France en Australie. La numérisation de la plupart des titres de journaux de l'ère coloniale par la National Library of Australia offre un formidable outil de recherche rapide et complet. Les archives privées familiales sont plus éparpillées mais, pour certaines, contiennent une importante collection de lettres, carnets de notes et autres manuscrits concernant l'activité des entreprises viticoles et les échanges interpersonnels de connaissances. Enfin, certaines archives publiques donnent un aperçu de l'implication des gouvernements coloniaux dans le secteur viti-vinicole, surtout à la fin du XIX^e siècle.

En France, les sources sont plus limitées et se composent surtout de la correspondance consulaire, entre des individus privés et les consulats français de Sydney et de Melbourne d'une part, et entre ces mêmes consulats et les ministères du commerce, de l'agriculture et des affaires étrangères en France, d'autre part. Cette correspondance donne un bon aperçu des relations économiques, politiques et culturelles franco-australiennes. Les publications de voyageurs ou professionnels du vin, surtout à la fin du siècle, donnent également des éléments sur la connaissance de l'industrie vinicole australienne en France.

Cette thèse cherche à montrer que l'influence française dans l'industrie vinicole australienne au XIX^e siècle reposait essentiellement sur la volonté de colons britanniques de reproduire des vins français pour alimenter les marchés intérieurs et extérieurs. Sa structure se fonde sur trois parties. La première entend analyser et recontextualiser les enjeux culturels, politiques et économiques de la diffusion de la viti-viniculture au sein de l'empire britannique et plus spécifiquement vers l'Australie au regard des relations franco-britanniques. Il est notamment question de la particularité de l'idéalisation de la culture française du vin parmi les colons australiens. La seconde partie se concentre sur les moyens mis en œuvre pour transférer des modèles viti-vinicoles depuis la France vers l'Australie autour de trois axes : les initiatives privées et les échanges interpersonnels de 1815 aux années 1870, le rôle limité des migrants français dans le développement de cette industrie vinicole des antipodes, et l'institutionnalisation des échanges scientifiques et technologiques des années 1870 aux années 1910. Enfin, la dernière partie se propose de questionner les impacts de ces transferts et leurs perceptions croisées à travers des processus de remise en cause, transformations et concurrences aux échelles locales et internationales.

Partie I

L'empire britannique et l'influence de la culture vinicole française

Chapitre 1. La diffusion mondiale de la viti-viniculture et les relations franco-britanniques

La viticulture et la production du vin se sont développées au Moyen-Orient, dans le Bassin méditerranéen et en Europe pendant des siècles, voire des millénaires. Mais ces deux activités liées entre elles n'atteignirent le Nouveau Monde qu'à partir du XVI^e siècle, à la suite de l'expansion coloniale européenne sur des territoires habités par des populations indigènes non accoutumées à ce type de production. La vigne et le vin n'arrivèrent en Australie qu'à partir de la fin du XVIII^e siècle avec la colonisation britannique.

D'autres cultures que la vigne et d'autres produits que le vin ont accompagné la colonisation européenne comme le blé, mais ce dernier fournissait une faible valeur ajoutée. D'autres boissons comme le chocolat, le café et le thé ont été l'enjeu du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme européens mais elles étaient issues de plantes exotiques inadaptées aux climats européens. La vigne et le vin furent à l'origine apportés par les colons comme la perpétuation d'une pratique culturelle ancienne pour civiliser des territoires nouvellement contrôlés. En ce sens, ils formèrent un impérialisme écologique, agricole et industriel. Mais il s'agissait également d'un article prisé alimentant le commerce international. Ce commerce, qui concernait essentiellement l'Europe jusqu'au XVI^e siècle, s'étendit ensuite à l'ensemble des continents pour alimenter les colons, mais aussi, en sens inverse, pour approvisionner les métropoles depuis les colonies. À ce titre, il impacta les relations internationales à travers le contrôle et la régulation de ce produit, mais aussi les relations intra et inter-impériales en mettant en concurrence produits de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Monde.

Il faut cependant distinguer deux types de colonisations. Le premier concernait les pays méditerranéens habitués à la viticulture et à la production de vin. Le second fut le fait de pays d'Europe du nord qui ne pouvaient que consommer le vin. Pour les Pays-Bas et l'Angleterre, développer la viti-viniculture dans les colonies comportait une donnée économique et politique éminemment plus importante car cela permettait de combler les lacunes dues aux climats nordiques, et limiter la dépendance vis-à-vis des pays du Sud. Des essais ont été tentés dès le XVII^e siècle dans les colonies britanniques d'Amérique du Nord et la colonie du Cap en Afrique du Sud par les Hollandais. Souvent, il fallait faire appel à des colons d'Europe

méditerranéenne accoutumés à ces pratiques, ainsi qu'à des techniques et des cépages, très souvent venus de France.

Pour la Grande-Bretagne, les transferts viti-vinicoles avec la France intervenaient dans un contexte d'influences culturelles mutuelles, mais aussi de rivalités politiques, militaires et économiques. La tradition du Grand Tour au XVIIIe siècle était l'occasion pour les jeunes de la gentry et de l'aristocratie britanniques de venir goûter aux charmes du voisin français, mais aussi de mieux connaître le rival d'outre-Manche. Le vin devint à ce titre un marqueur politique en Grande-Bretagne. Les porto et sherry étaient préférés par les classes moyennes supérieures et les milieux francophobes en général, là où le claret de Bordeaux restait la boisson de prédilection d'une aristocratie francophile. Le XIXe siècle fut marqué par un long débat concernant la possibilité d'instaurer un libre-échange entre les deux pays et notamment de faciliter l'importation de vins français en Grande-Bretagne. En parallèle, le cas de l'Australie devait représenter un objet de rivalité et contentieux dans le Pacifique Sud.

Britanniques et Français avaient relancé les explorations dans cette région du monde à partir du milieu du XVIIIe siècle. Malgré l'absence d'un véritable plan pour coloniser le continent austral par le gouvernement français, les Britanniques décidèrent d'accélérer l'appropriation du continent qu'ils renommèrent Nouvelle-Galles du Sud. Après la perte des colonies d'Amérique du Nord en 1783, la nouvelle colonie des antipodes servit à accueillir les bagnards dès 1788. Des vignes et du vin furent transportés également dans cette « First Fleet » chargée de lancer la colonisation du continent. Mais les tentatives pour adapter la viticulture et produire du vin en Australie relevaient d'une volonté de développer économiquement la colonie et civiliser cette « nouvelle » terre et ses habitants, plutôt que d'un désir de substitution des importations françaises. Mais, comme pour les débuts de la viti-viniculture en Amérique du Nord et au Cap, les transferts technologiques et humains depuis la France s'avérèrent essentiels en Australie au XIX siècle.

Chapitre 2. Le vin à la française : un modèle thérapeutique, culturel et économique pour les colonies australiennes

Bien que la colonisation de l'Australie ait eue lieu durant une phase d'expansionnisme européen et d'augmentation de l'importance des flux de capitaux, le développement de la viticulture en Australie ne répond pas à une logique capitaliste mais plutôt à la détermination d'une poignée d'individus attachés à implanter la culture du vin, sa production et sa consommation au sein des

sociétés en construction. Ainsi, en apportant avec eux ce « désir du vin », les colons britanniques ont suivi une logique tant culturelle qu'économique. En effet, ils pensaient que le vin – sa production et sa consommation – amènerait santé et prospérité à la société en façonnant ce « nouveau » monde à leur image, ou une image idéalisée d'européanité.

Au début de la colonisation, les premiers producteurs australiens de vin n'avaient pas de préférence particulière pour le modèle vinicole français et s'adonnaient à la production ou imitation d'une large variété de vins européens alors commercialisés en Grande-Bretagne. L'intériorisation de la supériorité des vins français ne s'est imposée que progressivement au cours du XIXe siècle, notamment grâce au célèbre classement des vins de Bordeaux de 1855. La hiérarchisation des vins et les inquiétudes liées à la consommation excessive d'alcool ont favorisé la promotion de vins de qualité et léger sur le modèle français.

L'implantation de ce modèle en Australie reposait en grande partie sur les aspects bénéfiques attachés à ce type de vin et, notamment sur sa capacité à favoriser la sobriété. Cet argument est avancé dès les années 1830 par le migrants écossais James Busby, auteur d'un manuel s'adressant aux colons souhaitant développer la production vinicole. Bien que Busby ait eu une préférence personnelle pour les vins français, son attachement à la viticulture reposait surtout sur son idéalisation des cultures méditerranéennes. Les colons anglais George Suttor et William Keene reprirent cet argumentaire dans les années 1840-1860 en mettant l'accent sur les bienfaits des vins légers et français en particulier. Keene regrettait même les habitudes toutes britanniques de la consommation du thé qu'il considérait comme « plus à même de rendre une personne malade que le vin ». En outre, en favorisant une consommation journalière de vins légers comme en France, on espérait éloigner la population coloniale des spiritueux et autres alcools jugés dangereux.

Au XIXe siècle, tout un courant médical se mit à promouvoir les qualités vertueuses du vin, à la fois en Grande-Bretagne et en France. Ce mouvement influença plusieurs médecins australiens qui se mirent à recommander une consommation régulière de vin et même à en prescrire à leurs patients. Henry Lindeman, après avoir planté ses premières vignes dans la Hunter Valley en Nouvelle-Galles du Sud en 1843, recommandait les hocks d'Allemagne et les clarets de France à ses compatriotes. Le médecin anglais Christopher Penfold et sa femme Mary s'associèrent à leur domaine « Grange » en Australie méridionale. Mary produisait du vin sur la propriété avec des vignes de Grenache et Christopher y recevait ses patients, leur prescrivant parfois du vin. Toujours en Australie du Sud, Samuel Davenport, influencé par sa lecture des

Etudes des vignobles de France par Jules Guyot, pensait que la santé de la population passait par la reproduction d'une tradition viti-vinicole française fondée sur la production, assurant prospérité économique, et sur la consommation journalière de vin léger, assurant la santé. La disponibilité constante et à peu de frais étant une condition indispensable pour éviter que les habitants ne se tournent vers d'autres alcools. Son compatriote Alexander Charles Kelly alla plus loin en posant une distinction claire entre les vins légers français bons pour la santé et les vins fortifiés portugais ou espagnols considérés comme malsains. Cette distinction faisait écho à un débat de plus en plus virulent en Grande-Bretagne sur ce même sujet et renvoyait à des discussions sur l'abaissement des droits de douanes sur les produits français. Les partisans du libre-échange avec la France obtinrent finalement gain de cause. Richard Cobden, l'architecte britannique du traité de 1860 avança les mêmes arguments que Kelly pour faciliter l'entrée des vins français sur le marché britannique.

La volonté d'adopter le modèle viti-vinicole français reposait en outre sur l'idéalisation de la société française vue comme sobre et, à l'inverse, une vision exagérément dégradée d'une Australie intoxiquée et dépravée par l'alcool. En réalité, des années 1830 aux années 1900, la consommation d'alcool est restée bien plus élevée en France qu'en Australie. L'écart allait même en s'accroissant dans la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle. Aux antipodes, la consommation des spiritueux diminuait en même temps que la proportion des bagnards dans la société s'amoindrissait. À la fin du siècle, une nette préférence pour la bière finit par s'imposer. En France, cependant, l'industrialisation et l'urbanisation engendrait une hausse certaine de la consommation alcoolique – surtout de vins, mais aussi de bières et d'alcools forts. Alors que les deux pays observaient un niveau de consommation proche dans les années 1830, l'écart explosa à la fin du siècle avec une consommation quatre à cinq fois plus élevée en France dans les années 1900. Malgré cet état de fait, l'image d'une France sobre grâce au vin ne disparut pas en Australie. Cela était dû en partie aux observations de colons australiens ayant visité la France au cours du siècle. Se focalisant sur les régions rurales viticoles et peu sur les villes, ils ont rapidement assimilé la présence de la vigne à une consommation limitée d'alcool. Leur vision idéalisée des cultures méditerranéenne a également produit une image romantique des pays de vignes en mettant de côté les difficultés économiques de ces régions. En réalité, les vignerons pauvres ne pouvaient parfois pas se permettre de boire du vin – ou seulement en très petite quantité – et vendait l'essentiel de leur production sur le marché. Un autre problème découlait de la définition de l'intoxication alcoolique souvent associée à l'époque aux seuls cas d'ébriété. Le terme d'alcoolisme est apparu au milieu du XIXe siècle pour désigner plus

particulièrement une consommation excessive quotidienne d'alcool. Or, ce phénomène était souvent imperceptible par les voyageurs australiens qui ne s'attardaient que peu de temps dans chaque région. À la fin du siècle, les promoteurs du vin australiens mettaient toujours en avant le modèle français de « sobriété » mais cela relevait plus particulièrement de l'assimilation de discours scientifiques et médicaux favorables au vin. D'autre part, il convient de noter que les aspects culturels étaient, dès les origines, complétés de considérations purement économiques.

Les colons libres australiens avaient pour objectif de développer leur société par leurs activités individuelles. La viticulture représentait l'un de ces moyens et laissait entrevoir un enrichissement à terme. Or, la culture de la vigne, la fabrication du vin et sa distribution représentaient des dépenses considérables et nécessitaient un capital de départ important, d'autant plus dans un pays « nouveau » dont les conditions environnementales et les possibilités d'adaptation étaient mal connues. Seuls les colons suffisamment aisés pouvaient se permettre de se lancer dans cette aventure. Pour justifier une telle entreprise, les arguments sanitaires ne suffisaient pas et les promoteurs du vin utilisèrent l'exemple français pour convaincre investisseurs et expérimentateurs. Dans les années 1820-1840, Busby et Suttor ont chacun souligné les richesses accumulées par les pays méditerranéens grâce à la vigne. Ils reprenaient en cela les observations d'un Adam Smith dans son fameux livre *Wealth of Nations* ou d'un Arthur Young, resté célèbre pour ses voyages d'études des systèmes agricoles européens, notamment français, juste avant la Révolution. Busby reprenait également les écrits de Jean-Antoine Chaptal, Ministre de l'Intérieur sous Napoléon qui voyait dans la viticulture un moyen de valoriser des terres pauvres impropres à tout autre type de culture. Mais le manque de débouché et les aléas économiques ne permirent pas un développement constant du secteur du vin en Australie qui n'était la priorité ni des gouvernements coloniaux, ni des investisseurs privés.

Pourtant, dans les années 1870-1880, une forte croissance économique et démographique permit d'envisager le développement d'industries « marginales ». Henri Bonnard, représentant de la Nouvelle-Galles du Sud à l'exposition vinicole universelle de Bordeaux en 1882, soulignait les étonnants succès du secteur vinicole en France malgré les effets notables de la crise du phylloxéra faisant diminuer les récoltes. La production de vin était vue comme complémentaire avec la laine, les céréales et les minerais. Hubert de Castella, un franco-suisse établi au Victoria, en suivant l'opinion du célèbre agronome Jules Guyot, voyait dans la vigne une haute « valeur colonisatrice » et un moyen d'employer un grand nombre de personnes pour les différentes tâches nécessaires à la production. Arthur J. Perkins, expert

viticulteur en Australie-Méridionale à partir de 1892, y ajouta l'impact sur les activités complémentaires dans la tonnellerie, le transport et le commerce. En réalité, la création d'une industrie vinicole en Australie reposait essentiellement sur des considérations culturelles et économiques propres aux colonies elles-mêmes et non sur une stratégie impériale pour substituer les importations coloniales aux importations françaises dans la métropole britannique.

Dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle, la réputation grandissante des vins fins français, surtout bordelais, bourguignons et champenois, vint renforcer l'attrait du modèle français par son potentiel commercial. Les vins de certains grands châteaux de Bordeaux ou de grandes marques de Champagne s'arrachaient sur le marché britannique et un peu partout dans le monde. Les vigneron australiens suffisamment aisés cherchèrent donc à produire des vins comparables en visitant les célèbres domaines qui en étaient à l'origine ou en important des boutures de vignes plantées sur les propriétés de châteaux bordelais célèbres.

Partie II

Transférer un modèle viti-vinicole aux antipodes : un processus trans-impérial

Chapitre 3. Échanges interpersonnels et initiatives privées : une migration française désincarnée (1815-1860)

Excepté un essai non concluant en 1800 avec le transfert de deux prisonniers de guerre français employés par les autorités coloniales pour produire du vin en Nouvelle-Galles du Sud, les premières importations effectives de techniques et technologies venant de France débutèrent dans les années 1810-1820 à l'initiative d'une poignée de colons britanniques. Les *wine tours* réalisés en France par John Macarthur et ses deux fils James et William en 1815-1816, puis par James Busby une dizaine d'années plus tard, eurent un impact décisif sur les premières impulsions données à la production vinicole coloniale. Bien que les boutures de cépages qu'ils ramenèrent s'avèrent le plus souvent mal conservées ou impropres à la production de vin, leurs écrits sur leurs expériences en France et les connaissances glanées sur le terrain influencèrent nombre de colons de Nouvelle-Galles du Sud, mais aussi au Victoria et en Australie-Méridionale.

Une seconde vague de transferts eut lieu à l'initiative de colons établis dans ces deux dernières colonies. Au Victoria, l'influence française passa en grande partie par l'intermédiaire de migrants suisses francophones arrivés dans les années 1840-1860. Parmi eux, Hubert de Castella laissa les marques les plus évidentes d'une volonté de reproduire le modèle viti-vinicole français. Son amour pour les bourgognes et les clarets l'amènèrent à planter des pieds de pinot noir et cabernet sauvignon sur sa propriété, à utiliser une presse moderne Mabilie et à organiser son chai à la bordelaise. Il fut également un écrivain prolifique, renseignant en détail la progression de son activité, les auteurs français à lire sur le sujet, notamment Pasteur.

En Australie-Méridionale, l'industrie vinicole fut initiée par des colons britanniques, mais aussi allemands, venus en nombre depuis la Silésie dans les années 1840 pour coloniser la Barossa Valley. Mais parmi les premiers, les méthodes françaises acquirent rapidement une grande importance, notamment chez John Reynell dont les échanges avec W. Macarthur facilitèrent l'importation de cépages français depuis la Nouvelle-Galles du Sud. Le réseau informel établi par les pionniers de la viticulture permit ainsi aux vignes, techniques et connaissances diverses de circuler à travers les propriétés agricoles coloniales éparses d'Australie.

Dans les années 1850-1860, Samuel Davenport et Alexander Kelly se révélèrent parmi les principaux promoteurs de la production et de la consommation dans la colonie, mettant l'accent sur le modèle de la France méridionale. Pour Davenport, cela devait passer par la complémentarité entre différentes cultures (vignes, amandes, olives, vers à soie, etc.). Sa préférence pour les vins secs et légers provenait de sa propre expérience en France et de ses lectures de médecins et scientifiques promouvant ce type de vins tels que l'Anglais Robert Druitt ou les Français Jules Guyot et Louis Pasteur. Kelly, quant à lui, utilisa ses contacts avec Macarthur pour planter des cépages français sur sa propriété. Mais il resta surtout connu pour la publication des premiers livres scientifiques (théoriques et pratiques) sur la production du vin en Australie. Il réalisait ainsi une synthèse des connaissances accumulées depuis l'Europe tout en les adaptant aux conditions particulières du continent austral.

Durant la première partie du XIXe siècle, les transferts viti-vinicoles furent essentiellement fondés sur des initiatives privées et individuelles pour pallier le manque d'implication des autorités coloniales. Pour ce faire, ils utilisèrent plusieurs moyens : tours vinicoles, importation de cépages et traductions d'ouvrages sur la vigne et le vin. Les rencontres et les échanges interpersonnels avec les vigneron et négociants français permirent de façonner

un embryon de savoir viti-vinicole en Australie. L'entraide et les réseaux informels favorisèrent ensuite la diffusion et les tentatives de reproduction du modèle français à travers la Nouvelle-Galles du Sud, le Victoria et l'Australie-Méridionale. Ce processus constitua un exemple de migration française « désincarnée » reposant sur la circulation de compétences, objets et idées plutôt que sur la présence de migrants français, quasi absents de la région jusque dans les années 1850.

Chapitre 4. Rôle et rareté des vignerons français en Australie coloniale

Bien qu'on ait retrouvé des Français impliqués dans les industries viticoles un peu partout à travers le monde au XIXe siècle, il convient de noter leur faible nombre par rapport à d'autres groupes nationaux, que ce soit en Californie, Argentine, Chili ou encore en Australie. La première explication vient de la faiblesse de l'émigration française en général durant cette période par rapport aux autres pays européens. En Australie, ils ont pourtant eu un rôle important dans le développement de certaines régions viticoles, soit comme simples vignerons sur de petits domaines ou comme experts viti-vinicoles auprès de propriétaires aisés. Ces experts ont compensé leur petit nombre par l'apport d'un savoir-faire technique très avancé, influençant parmi les plus grands domaines viticoles.

En Nouvelle-Galles du Sud, la venue de vignerons français était entravée par une législation coloniale restrictive concernant l'immigration non-Britannique jugée inadaptée ou même dangereuse pour la colonie. Mais dans les années 1830, la fin du système de travail pénitentiaire entraîna une pénurie de main-d'œuvre poussant à l'assouplissement de la politique d'immigration. La famille Macarthur fut la première à convaincre les autorités coloniales de faire venir des vignerons européens. Cependant, devant l'impossibilité de trouver des candidats français, ils se tournèrent vers les régions viticoles du sud-ouest de l'Allemagne.

Une centaine de familles de viticulteurs allemands s'établirent dans la colonie, surtout dans la Hunter Valley, contre une poignée seulement de français. William Macarthur tenta à nouveau d'employer des vignerons français après l'exposition universelle de Paris en 1855, notamment par l'entremise du négociant bordelais Pierre-François Guestier, mais sans succès. La même année, la North British Company parvint cependant à engager Philobert Terrier, un vigneron bourguignon pour gérer une propriété dans la Hunter Valley. Terrier réussit à se faire un nom dans le milieu et rejoignit la Hunter River Vineyard Association par laquelle il diffusa

ses connaissances techniques avant de créer son propre vignoble de St Helena en 1867, toujours dans la même région.

En Australie-Méridionale, la situation était proche de celle de la Nouvelle-Galles du Sud. Les vigneron français étaient largement minoritaires comparés aux Britanniques et aux Allemands. Samuel Davenport présenta les avantages à employer des agriculteurs français dans une publication de 1864, mais seule une poignée s'établit dans la colonie jusqu'aux années 1880. Notons, toutefois, l'engagement de Louis Édouard Bourbaud par le gouvernement en 1875 pour promouvoir et améliorer la production vinicole. En tant que conseiller technique, Bourbaud était chargé de rendre visite à différents propriétaires viticoles, y compris d'importants producteurs tel que Thomas Hardy qui louait ses compétences et son rôle dans le milieu. Cet exemple marqua le début de l'implication des pouvoirs publics dans le secteur vinicole.

La présence française en Australie fut beaucoup plus importante dans le Victoria à la suite de la ruée vers l'or débutée en 1851. Alors qu'on ne comptait que 500 Français dans toute l'Australie à cette date, ils étaient 2.500 en 1871. Un petit nombre se reconvertirent en vigneron après leurs déboires dans la collecte d'or. Il est possible de retrouver les traces de ces vigneron au milieu des régions riches en champs aurifères à Bendigo, Great Western, Goulburn Valley, Rutherglen. Malgré leur faible nombre, ces vigneron n'ont pas cherché à se regrouper et se sont éparpillés dans l'ensemble de la colonie. On constate quelques exemples de très petits réseaux viti-vinicoles français, notamment à Bendigo ou à Great Western (région actuelle des Grampians), mais en général ils n'établirent pas de communauté localisée sur une base nationale, comme le firent les Suisses de Geelong près de Melbourne ou les Allemands de la Barossa Valley près d'Adélaïde. À l'inverse, ils se mélangèrent très vite au reste de la population. Cela peut s'expliquer par leur faible nombre et l'impossibilité de créer une véritable communauté, ou par un comportement plus individualiste et une volonté plus forte de s'intégrer à la société coloniale britannique.

Dans l'ensemble, les Français établis au Victoria dans les années 1850-1860, étaient issus des classes populaires ou moyennes inférieures, disposant d'un niveau de qualification faible. Ils purent acheter des propriétés foncières en Australie en raison de leur faible coût. Mais en général, ils ne parvinrent pas à établir une production vinicole à un niveau commercial. La production de vin était complémentaire à d'autres activités, ou simplement abandonnée après quelques années faute de débouchés. De fait, les capitaux investis n'étaient pas suffisants pour

assurer la pérennité de leurs entreprises viticoles qui, le plus souvent, ne survécurent pas à la première génération. D'autres Français eurent plus de succès en tant que manager de grands domaines viticoles.

À partir des années 1870-1880, une nouvelle « vague » de Français intégra le secteur viticole australien. Contrairement à la période précédente, ils étaient le plus souvent hautement qualifiés dans les sciences viti-viticoles et disposaient d'une importante expérience acquise au sein de grands domaines viticoles ou institutions en France, notamment à Bordeaux, en Bourgogne, en Champagne ou à Montpellier. Ils émigrèrent parfois à l'initiative de propriétaires australiens à la recherche d'experts pour améliorer la production, ou de leur propre chef pour trouver une meilleure situation dans le Nouveau Monde suite aux difficultés que rencontrait le secteur viticole français pendant la crise du phylloxéra.

L'emploi d'experts viti-viticoles français devint une pratique traditionnelle dans certaines propriétés désireuses d'atteindre un niveau de qualité comparable aux grands crus de Bordeaux ou de Bourgogne. Ce fut le cas au Château Tahbilk dans le Victoria où quatre Français se succédèrent au poste de manager entre les années 1860 et 1890. Ou encore à Beaumont, propriété de Davenport en Australie-Méridionale où trois familles françaises vinrent s'établir pour gérer le vignoble et la vinification près d'Adélaïde au début des années 1880. La vogue du champagne à l'international influença les producteurs-exportateurs australiens et plusieurs experts français furent employés pour créer des « champagnes australiens » comme Léonce Frère en Nouvelle-Galles du Sud, Charles Pierlot et Auguste d'Argent au Victoria ou encore Joseph Foureux, Edmond Mazure et Edouard Bernier en Australie-Méridionale. Les grands producteurs viticoles se concurrencèrent ainsi pour parvenir à produire le meilleur champagne d'Australie pour le marché intérieur comme pour les marchés extérieurs.

Bien qu'ils aient réussi à être reconnus pour leurs compétences dans l'industrie, ces experts français ne parvinrent pas à créer d'entreprise viticole sur le long terme. Comme pour la génération précédente, leurs noms ne se perpétuèrent pas dans le secteur pour former de grandes marques comme pour les familles britanniques ou certaines familles allemandes. Le manque de capital, de débouchés ou une mauvaise stratégie commerciale étaient souvent en cause. Les difficultés économiques des années 1890 et l'arrivée du phylloxéra en Australie fragilisèrent également le secteur dans son ensemble. En parallèle, une poignée d'experts français se distingua dans les milieux institutionnels de la recherche et de l'enseignement viti-viticole qui se développaient en Australie dans les années 1880-1890.

Chapitre 5. Un rattrapage technologique : la formalisation des transferts viti-vinicoles des années 1870 aux années 1900

À la fin du XIXe siècle, les transferts de connaissances et techniques vers l'Australie furent de plus en plus souvent initiés au sein d'organisations et institutions pour répondre à une demande de diffusion du savoir dans le secteur vinicole. La croissance économique des années 1870-1880, l'augmentation des échanges scientifiques au niveau mondial et le désir de combler le retard sur les pays viticoles européens poussèrent les producteurs australiens à s'organiser au sein d'associations, créer des journaux spécialisés et impliquer les gouvernements coloniaux dans la mise en place de structures de recherche et d'enseignement. Tous ces moyens facilitèrent le transfert des progrès les plus récents depuis la France.

En Nouvelle-Galles du Sud, le secteur vinicole était loin de représenter une priorité. La diffusion du savoir technique concernant l'agriculture en général restait pourtant un enjeu important. En 1890, la revue *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales* (AGNSW) fut créée pour relayer les derniers progrès agricoles réalisés dans le monde aux agriculteurs de la colonie. Le ministre de l'agriculture de la colonie participa au projet en se renseignant sur le fonctionnement des écoles d'agriculture en France dans le but de créer une institution similaire en Nouvelle-Galles du Sud. La même année, le département d'agriculture nouvellement créé par le gouvernement s'offrait les services de l'expert franco-britannique Jean Adrian Despeissis. Ce dernier avait été formé dans divers instituts et domaines viticoles en France et contribua à de nombreuses reprises à l'AGNSW au travers d'articles consacrés à la viticulture. Cependant, la colonie de Sydney ne créa pas d'institutions spécialisées dans ce domaine contrairement à ses voisines.

À Melbourne, la Victorian Vinegrowers' Association (VVA) fut créée en 1883 pour améliorer les échanges de savoir entre producteurs et la promotion des intérêts du secteur dans un contexte d'expansion économique. L'association milita pour la modernisation du secteur et une plus grande coopération avec le gouvernement colonial. Ce dernier avait commencé à s'impliquer dès les années 1860 à travers sa politique de promotion de la consommation de vin pour remplacer les spiritueux. L'un des jeunes membres de la VVA, François de Castella, formé à Montpellier, fut nommé expert viticole par le gouvernement du Victoria en 1890. En parallèle, les vigneron de la colonie discutaient de la formation d'une école de viticulture pour former les futurs acteurs de la filière. À la suite de l'exposition vinicole de Bordeaux en 1882, le gouvernement chargea les représentants de la colonie de visiter les institutions de ce genre en

France, mais aussi en Allemagne, en Autriche et en Italie. En 1888, un bureau de la viticulture fut créé pour centraliser les efforts et faciliter les échanges d'information. Ce bureau participa à la création d'une pépinière sur le modèle du jardin botanique de Montpellier. L'envoi d'étudiants en France pour apprendre les dernières techniques viti-vinicoles était également au centre des débats.

La création d'un collège de viticulture à Rutherglen dans le nord du Victoria fut confiée à deux Italiens Roméo Bragato et G. B. Federli qui apportèrent leur expérience ainsi que des technologies françaises. Les transferts scientifiques agricoles en Europe avaient permis la constitution d'un réseau institutionnel pour la recherche et l'enseignement en France et en Italie. Cette circulation transnationale du savoir impacta ensuite l'Australie par le biais de migrants européens hautement qualifiés. Ce schéma fut particulièrement prolifique en Australie-Méridionale.

Dans la colonie d'Adélaïde, intérêts privés et publics collaborèrent pour soutenir le secteur vinicole toujours en retard par rapport à ses voisins du Victoria et de Nouvelle-Galles du Sud dans les années 1870-1880. En 1875 fut créée la revue *The Garden and The Field* qui promut très tôt l'établissement d'un collège d'agriculture. Ce dernier accueillit ses premiers étudiants en 1885 à Roseworthy au nord d'Adélaïde. La viticulture y acquit une grande importance grâce aux efforts de la South Australian Vinegrowers' Association (SAVA) auprès du gouvernement de la colonie. Le Bureau de l'agriculture en Australie-Méridionale se tourna vers Montpellier et son École nationale d'agriculture très réputée dans le monde, pour créer à Roseworthy un poste de professeur de viticulture hautement qualifié. Arthur J. Perkins, un jeune diplômé britannique de Montpellier fut recruté en 1890. Par son parcours personnel – entre l'Afrique du Nord, la Grande-Bretagne, la France et l'Australie – il parvint à établir en quelques années un véritable réseau trans-impérial académique et professionnel dans le domaine viti-vinicole. En plus de ses connexions entre des institutions françaises et australiennes, il maintint des relations constantes avec les acteurs privés de la filière pour diffuser le progrès scientifique acquis. Son rôle facilita en outre l'envoi d'étudiants australiens en viticulture et œnologie à Montpellier pour finir leur formation. Cette pratique devint quasi systématique dans l'entre-deux-guerres.

Mais l'un des principaux moteurs des échanges institutionnels sur la science de la vigne entre la France et l'Australie découla de la crise internationale causée par le phylloxéra. Ce minuscule insecte venu d'Amérique du Nord commença à dévaster les vignobles français à

partir de la fin des années 1860. Une dizaine d'années plus tard, il s'attaquait à l'Australie. L'impuissance face au fléau poussa les scientifiques des deux pays à chercher des solutions à l'étranger. Des échanges ont eu lieu à ce sujet dès la fin des années 1870. Mais la France ayant été touchée beaucoup plus tôt, son expérience, ses échecs et ses réussites face à la progression de l'insecte servirent de plan de référence à l'Australie.

Dans le Victoria, des hésitations et des relations tourmentées au niveau institutionnel ralentirent l'efficacité des mesures prises contre le phylloxéra. Cette colonie fut la première touchée sur le continent austral. La VVA se mit à rapporter régulièrement l'évolution du fléau en France et alerta le gouvernement colonial. Ce dernier mit en place un Bureau du phylloxéra pour étudier les possibilités de combattre l'insecte. Dans les années 1880, les autorités victoriennes espéraient confiner le phylloxéra dans certaines zones précises. Cette stratégie éviterait de recourir à l'arrachage et au replantage systématique trop coûteux pour de nombreux vigneron de la colonie. Malheureusement, l'insecte parvint à se propager et continua ses dévastations jusqu'à la veille de la Première Guerre mondiale. Dans les années 1890, François de Castella et Raymond Dubois, grâce à leurs expériences en France, recommandèrent l'importation de vignes américaines résistantes au phylloxéra et de greffer les cépages adaptés à la production de vin sur ces dernières. Mais leurs recommandations restèrent lettres mortes. Il faut attendre 1907 et le rappel de F. de Castella comme expert viticole par le gouvernement pour voir se mettre en place une véritable stratégie de greffage sur plants américains importés de France et un replantage massif dans le Victoria.

La situation n'était pas aussi dramatique en Nouvelle-Galles du Sud. Des études avaient déjà été menées en France à la suite de l'exposition de Bordeaux en 1882 par des représentants de la colonie. Le phylloxéra y fut détecté quelques années plus tard et dès 1886 on décréta une interdiction d'importation de vignes étrangères, susceptibles d'être contaminées. Mais des désaccords entre les viticulteurs, les membres du Bureau de l'agriculture et le gouvernement colonial empêchèrent la mise en place d'une stratégie cohérente et l'insecte proliféra durant les années 1890. Comme dans le Victoria, l'expérience française servit de modèle pour combattre le fléau. Les dernières méthodes employées étaient régulièrement diffusées, notamment le greffage sur vignes américaines. Cette solution, d'abord considérée comme trop radicale, fut appliquée à partir de la fin des années 1890. Heureusement pour la colonie, l'insecte resta confiné à certaines zones du sud et de célèbres régions viticoles comme la Hunter Valley en furent préservées.

L’Australie-Méridionale réagit plus rapidement face à la menace. Dès le milieu des années 1870, conscient de la situation critique en France, le gouvernement interdit les importations de vignes étrangères pour prévenir la contamination de la colonie par le phylloxéra. Au début des années 1890, alors même que l’insecte n’avait encore jamais été identifié dans la colonie, Perkins alarma les autorités sur la nécessité de renforcer les mesures de quarantaine. Par la suite, il s’assura que les vigneronns d’Australie-Méridionale aient connaissance des moyens pour éviter une contamination et, si nécessaire, des traitements pratiques pour la combattre, notamment à partir de greffages sur vignes américaines, solution initiée par les travaux de ses anciens professeurs à Montpellier. À la fin des années 1890, de nouvelles inspections sont menées en France et un « Phylloxera Act » est passé pour renforcer les mesures de quarantaine et indemniser les vigneronns touchés par le fléau. Mais, finalement, l’insecte ne toucha jamais l’Australie-Méridionale et ce jusqu’à nos jours. Une meilleure cohésion entre le gouvernement colonial, les agents institutionnels et les vigneronns locaux permit la mise en place d’une stratégie plus efficace. Mais on ne peut négliger une part de chance également, les interdictions d’importation de vignes et boutures étant difficile à appliquer totalement. En définitive, l’Australie-Méridionale ne fut pas contrainte d’organiser le replantage massif et coûteux des vignobles comme dans les colonies voisines et devint durant cette période le premier producteur et exportateur de vin du continent austral.

Partie III

Concurrence et émancipation : une remise en cause du modèle français ?

Chapitre 6. À la recherche des terroirs australiens : limites et paradoxe du modèle français

Les différentes expériences dans la culture de la vigne et la production de vin en Australie amenèrent les colons à questionner la nature et les capacités des environnements locaux. Alors qu’en France, les concepts de terroir et de dénominations viticoles commençaient à se formaliser à la fin du XIXe siècle, les vigneronns australiens très influencés par le modèle français importèrent ces idées en même temps qu’ils se procuraient cépages, équipement et techniques. Mais la transplantation du concept de terroir en Australie poussa paradoxalement les producteurs de vin à s’émanciper de l’exemple français en façonnant leur propre modèle adapté aux conditions locales et en créant un style de vin particulier.

Les conditions environnementales furent les premiers obstacles identifiés par les pionniers de la viticulture en Australie. Dès les années 1840, ils questionnèrent l'adaptabilité du modèle de vins légers à la française aux climats chauds de Nouvelle-Galles du Sud. Les modèles espagnols et portugais se révélèrent plus adaptés. Mais le manque d'information sur ces deux pays, dû à l'absence d'écrits savants et scientifiques sur le sujet, poussa les vigneron coloniaux à se tourner vers les régions les plus méridionales de France pour trouver des conditions de cultures comparables aux leurs. Ils regardèrent ainsi du côté de la vallée du Rhône, du Languedoc, du Roussillon et de l'extrême sud-ouest dans le piémont des Pyrénées, dont les climats plus chauds et secs pouvaient servir d'exemples à la viticulture australienne.

Mais le problème ne concernait pas uniquement le choix d'un modèle. Il relevait également de l'écart entre les connaissances théoriques importées d'Europe et les conditions pratiques dans les colonies des antipodes. Si bien que l'expérience acquise dans les colonies fut progressivement mise en valeur au détriment des compétences développées dans les terroirs européens par une partie des acteurs du secteur vinicole australien. Il devint essentiel d'adapter le savoir acquis en France ou ailleurs en Europe, aux conditions réelles. Alexander Kelly en Australie-Méridionale fut le premier à tenter de comparer scientifiquement les conditions environnementales en Europe et en Australie et à déterminer les meilleures pratiques à appliquer dans cette dernière. Ce débat entre connaissance théorique et connaissance pratique s'accrut à la fin du siècle, parfois même par le biais de vigneron français arrivés récemment en Australie. Ces derniers avouaient les limites de leur savoir et les difficultés qu'ils rencontraient pour tirer profit du sol sans une longue expérience locale. Alors que de nombreux européens étaient engagés au sein d'importantes propriétés vinicoles (Chapitre IV) ou d'institutions agricoles de recherche et d'enseignement (Chapitre V), il fut suggéré qu'il serait plus judicieux d'employer des professionnels locaux, dotés d'une solide connaissance des environnements australiens, quitte à les envoyer quelques années en Europe pour approfondir leurs connaissances théoriques.

Un autre problème de taille concernait la consommation plutôt que la production. Les colons, majoritairement issus des îles britanniques, apportèrent avec eux des habitudes culturelles et gastronomiques propres à leur région d'origine. Du point de vue de la consommation d'alcool, les spiritueux et la bière étaient donc largement préférés au vin. Et concernant ce dernier, les vins doux et forts de type porto ou sherry étaient favorisés. Les vins légers et secs de type français ou allemands n'étaient consommés que par une petite partie de la population issue des classes supérieures et moyennes supérieures.

La préférence pour les alcools forts au début du XIXe siècle était la conséquence d'une plus grande disponibilité de ces alcools qui supportaient plus facilement le voyage jusqu'aux antipodes, contrairement aux alcools légers tels que la bière ou le vin. Dans la seconde moitié du siècle, la bière s'imposa progressivement grâce à l'appui des autorités coloniales pour soutenir l'industrie brassicole et encourager la consommation de bière. Le but était de combattre l'alcoolisme par un breuvage considéré comme plus sain. Cependant, le vin devait servir le même objectif aux yeux de ses promoteurs en Australie. Mais dans un contexte de renforcement des nationalismes, il devenait préférable de promouvoir la consommation d'une boisson considérée comme authentiquement britannique. Il est ainsi possible que le vin ait été associé à la culture du rival français, même si, comme nous l'avons vu dans le chapitre précédent, quelques efforts ont été faits pour soutenir le secteur vinicole à la fin du siècle.

De la même façon, la préférence pour les vins forts et doux résultait d'une longue politique douanière discriminatoire de la Grande-Bretagne envers la France. Depuis la fin du XVIIe siècle, le gouvernement britannique, inquiet des velléités hégémoniques françaises sur le continent européen, avait mis en place des droits de douanes prohibitifs contre les vins de France. À l'inverse, les vins portugais puis espagnols pouvaient entrer avec bien plus de facilités en Grande-Bretagne. Il s'ensuivit une modification du goût britannique vers les vins ibériques. Cette politique commerciale devait être maintenue jusqu'en 1831, date à laquelle les droits sur les vins étrangers fut nivelé pour l'ensemble des pays européens. En 1860, la signature du traité de libre-échange entre le Royaume-Uni et la France devait même favoriser cette dernière. Cette nouvelle politique commerciale était motivée par la recherche d'un rapprochement franco-britannique et la volonté de développer la consommation de vins légers en lieu et place des vins fortifiés ibériques pour des raisons de salubrité publique. Cependant, le goût britannique ne se transforma pas du jour au lendemain et il fallut attendre les années 1880 pour que les vins français dépassent les vins portugais et espagnols. Ce problème était accentué en Australie où la préférence pour les vins doux et forts perdura jusqu'aux années 1950, au grand dam des vignerons francophiles australiens qui peinaient à trouver des débouchés au niveau local pour leurs vins légers. Ces derniers durent ainsi se rabattre sur le marché britannique qui accueillait enfin avec enthousiasme les vins de type claret, bourgogne et champagne.

Tous ces obstacles menèrent finalement à la théorisation d'un modèle vinicole australien. C'est paradoxalement le modèle français basé sur le terroir qui fournit aux vignerons des antipodes un cadre adéquat pour adapter leurs pratiques viticoles aux conditions locales et faire émerger une voie distincte. Cette idée venait de la volonté de mettre en valeur les

spécificités australiennes tant au niveau environnemental qu'au niveau des méthodes de production. Il s'agissait de façonner un style à part, distinct des vins européens et facilement identifiable pour les consommateurs aisés à la recherche de vins uniques.

Dès les années 1840, certains auteurs australiens soulignaient la particularité des terroirs de ce nouveau monde. Dans les années 1860, on commença à insister sur le goût australien et la nécessité d'utiliser des noms locaux pour commercialiser les vins coloniaux. Cependant, cette volonté de distinction renvoyait parfois à la reproduction de stratégies de commercialisation françaises. La mise en valeur du « vin de cru » se retrouva alors à travers l'utilisation du mot « château » par plusieurs propriétés viticoles dans le Victoria et en Australie-Méridionale. En Nouvelle-Galles du Sud, Henry Lindeman n'hésita pas à ajouter la mention « First Growth » (Premier Cru) sur l'étiquette de son vin produit à Cawarra, bien qu'aucun classement n'ait été organisé. Il s'agissait là de l'influence exercée par les grands crus de Bordeaux depuis l'exposition universelle de Paris en 1855.

Si les vigneron des antipodes admettaient l'impossibilité de recréer à l'identique le goût français, ils considéraient cependant que des vins authentiques révélant le caractère de leur terroir pouvaient avoir un grand avenir sur les marchés internationaux. Il fallait pour ce faire réorganiser la filière viti-vinicole en Australie en déterminant les caractéristiques de chaque région productrice de vin et favoriser la production d'un nombre restreint de types de vins dans chacune de ces régions. Il fallait ensuite commercialiser ces vins en mettant en avant les noms locaux et en renonçant aux noms européens et surtout français. Cependant, la stratégie marketing des producteurs et exportateurs australiens s'était longtemps reposée sur des noms géographiques européens, plus facilement reconnaissables par les consommateurs. Il était donc difficile d'abandonner cette pratique au risque de perdre sa clientèle.

Le désir de façonner un modèle australien déboucha ainsi sur une forme hybride largement influencée par le modèle français de terroir et de vin de cru. Mais cela concernait surtout les producteurs aisés cherchant à mettre en avant leur propre style de vins fins pour se distinguer de la production de masse. L'ensemble de l'industrie vinicole s'orientait plutôt vers la production de vins assemblés, le plus souvent fortifiés et distribués sous des noms de marques génériques. Si un « Château Tahbilk » de la Goulburn Valley au Victoria pouvait commercialiser un « claret australien » sous son propre nom, il représentait plutôt une minorité de producteurs qui visait le marché des vins à l'extérieur. Cette stratégie de l'élite vinicole

australienne mena naturellement à une forme de concurrence avec les vins français sur les marchés internationaux.

Chapitre 7. Dépasser le modèle ? Le marché mondial du vin et les ambitions australiennes

À partir des années 1870, la nécessité de trouver des débouchés au-delà du marché domestique trop étroit poussa les principaux producteurs australiens à se tourner vers les marchés internationaux. Cela impliquait une rivalité commerciale avec les vins français, notamment en Grande-Bretagne, le cœur de l'économie mondiale et de l'empire britannique, qui s'ouvrait de plus en plus aux importations du monde. Dans un contexte d'accroissement des échanges intercontinentaux et de rivalités commerciales à l'échelle mondiale, les producteurs de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Monde s'affrontaient désormais pour sécuriser des parts de marchés. Cette concurrence était d'autant plus forte que la consommation globale évoluait moins vite que la production.

La stratégie des exportateurs australiens reposait sur une conception impériale du commerce, voyant dans la métropole britannique un débouché naturel qui avait non seulement le pouvoir, mais aussi le devoir d'absorber les productions coloniales en priorité par rapport aux produits étrangers d'Europe continentale. La crise du phylloxéra en France renforça les espoirs australiens en engendrant une baisse drastique de la production vinicole que les producteurs australiens se proposaient de remplacer. Mais pour atteindre cet objectif, il fallait se faire connaître des importateurs internationaux.

Les producteurs de vins australiens commencèrent à participer aux expositions universelles dès les années 1850 pour faire tester et connaître leurs produits à l'international. Les expositions de Paris en 1855 et 1878 et Bordeaux en 1882 étaient d'une importance toute particulière car elles permettaient de faire évaluer les vins australiens par des spécialistes (négociants, courtiers, producteurs) français dotés d'une grande connaissance de l'industrie à l'échelle internationale en raison du succès grandissant des grands crus bordelais et bourguignons et des grandes marques de champagne. Les producteurs australiens qui cherchaient à reproduire ces styles de vins espéraient ainsi évaluer leurs progrès et leurs perspectives commerciales.

L'exposition de 1882 à Bordeaux fut un tournant en raison du succès rencontré par les vins australiens – surtout ceux de Nouvelles-Galles du Sud et du Victoria – auprès d'un jury

largement dominé par les juges français. Il faut toutefois noter que les récompenses étaient décernées dans deux catégories différentes en fonction de l'origine géographique des vins. L'Ordre du Mérite – la catégorie la plus prestigieuse – était réservée aux vins de France, Rhénanie, Madère et Tokay. L'Ordre du Progrès à tous les autres vins. Cette distinction reposait sur la réputation des régions viticoles et non sur la qualité intrinsèque des vins.

Mais cette exposition de 1882 arrivait également à point nommé au moment où la dévastation des vignobles français par le phylloxéra s'accroissait. Pour les exportateurs australiens, il s'agissait d'une opportunité à saisir pour remplacer la production vinicole hexagonale en berne sur les marchés internationaux. Pour combler ce vide, les négociants français se tournaient vers les producteurs méridionaux, en Espagne, au Portugal, en Italie, ou encore en Algérie. L'Australie espérait ainsi devenir le nouveau fournisseur du négoce vinicole français et même contourner cet intermédiaire en fournissant directement ses clients. Mais cette stratégie tourna court au Victoria et en Nouvelle-Galles du Sud, toutes deux atteintes par le phylloxéra dans les années 1880-1890. Il devenait impossible pour ces deux colonies d'assurer une production suffisante et à un prix compétitif. En Australie-Méridionale cependant – préservée du fléau – il s'agissait à la fois de supplanter les concurrents australiens des colonies voisines et les négociants français en Europe. Mais là encore, la faiblesse de la production totale et le meilleur positionnement des exportateurs européens entravèrent ces ambitions.

C'est en fait le marché britannique qui devait se révéler le meilleur espoir des exportateurs australiens. Première puissance économique et commerciale jusqu'à la fin du XIXe siècle, la Grande-Bretagne pouvait absorber les produits du monde entier. En outre, une solide clientèle de connaisseurs de vins fins s'était développée depuis le XVIIIe siècle. Mais plusieurs obstacles s'opposaient à l'introduction de vins australiens en Grande-Bretagne : la distance, les conditions de transports et le manque d'information entre exportateurs et importateurs rendaient ce commerce incertain. Dans les années 1870, deux agents s'imposèrent à Londres comme principaux représentants des exportateurs australiens : Peter Burgoyne et Walter W. Pownall.

L'enjeu majeur était d'améliorer la réputation des vins coloniaux dans la métropole. L'accent fut mis sur le caractère impérial des vins issus des colonies britanniques. Il s'agissait donc d'un produit patriotique à l'inverse des vins étrangers européens. Les négociants soulignaient également la « pureté » des vins australiens en opposition aux vins français de plus en plus marqués par des affaires de fraudes et de frelatages durant la crise du phylloxéra. Enfin,

pour améliorer leur image de marque, les exportateurs insistaient de plus en plus sur l'origine de leur produit en commercialisant des vins de crus (Chapitre VI), reflétant un terroir particulier, malgré les entraves provoquées par Burgoyne et Pownall qui préféraient la distribution de vins de marques. Par ce moyen, il s'agissait d'atteindre les consommateurs aisés appréciant les grands crus français. Le développement de « champagnes australiens » dans les années 1880-1890 relevait de la même stratégie de marché haut de gamme. Cependant, la persistance de l'utilisation de noms français pour désigner le style de vin entraîna des réactions du côté français.

Chapitre 8. Une menace des antipodes ? Les Français face à l'industrie vinicole australienne

La crise du phylloxéra remit en cause la suprématie de l'industrie vinicole française dans le monde et força les négociants à considérer les productions étrangères comme potentiellement concurrentes. La découverte d'une viticulture australienne provoqua des réactions mitigées en France, certains y voyant une énorme capacité, d'autres une simple curiosité ou même une illusion.

L'intérêt de la France portée au continent austral est très ancien, remontant au XVI^e siècle. Mais après les guerres napoléoniennes, les velléités britanniques et l'absence de projet réaliste pour coloniser le continent reléguèrent l'Australie au second plan des préoccupations françaises. L'intérêt ne réapparut qu'à partir du milieu du XIX^e siècle avec la ruée vers l'or et, surtout, avec l'accroissement rapide des importations de laines australiennes par la France.

Les premières observations de la viticulture en Australie arrivèrent dès 1803 durant l'expédition de Nicolas Baudin. Par la suite, plusieurs voyageurs rendirent compte de l'état de la viticulture et de la production de vin entre les années 1820 et 1880. En général, seuls les vignobles de Camden, propriété de William Macarthur en Nouvelle-Galles du Sud et St Hubert's, propriété de Hubert de Castella au Victoria, impressionnèrent les visiteurs français. On note toutefois quelques commentaires très enthousiastes sur le futur de l'industrie vinicole australienne parmi les voyageurs et experts viticoles.

Les années 1880 virent se multiplier les commentaires de professionnels du vin français face à cette industrie des antipodes en développement. La production vinicole du continent austral est mentionnée de plus en plus fréquemment dans les revues spécialisées et autres ouvrages consacrés à la filière en France. Cela résultait de l'institutionnalisation des sciences,

de l'augmentation de la diffusion du savoir agricole et des échanges internationaux. Ainsi, les professionnels du vin pouvaient avoir une meilleure appréciation de l'évolution du secteur dans le monde. Mais cela découlait également de la crise du phylloxéra et des inquiétudes liées à l'augmentation de la concurrence internationale. Dans ce contexte de mondialisation, l'Australie apparut très vite comme l'une des principales menaces pour les vignobles européens, aux côtés de la Californie, de l'Argentine et de l'Afrique du Sud. Pourtant, la production globale de l'Australie était encore très modeste et ses exportations encore plus. C'est en fait le contexte de crise économique et viticole, ainsi que les incertitudes liées au marché qui exacerbèrent les inquiétudes. La menace concernait surtout les vins ordinaires car l'on ne considérait pas encore l'Australie capable de produire des vins fins. La réputation des vins des antipodes s'améliorait cependant rapidement et, à partir des années 1890-1900, commençait à avoir un véritable impact sur le marché britannique.

Mais cette inquiétude était loin d'être partagée par l'ensemble de la filière. Plusieurs problèmes constituaient de véritables obstacles au développement des exportations de vins australiens. Tout d'abord, un volume de production trop faible ne permettant pas d'avoir un véritable impact sur les marchés mondiaux et donc de se faire une réputation. Ensuite, découlant du premier problème, les prix étaient encore trop élevés. La distance par rapport aux marchés de consommation et une production trop faible en quantité empêchaient de faire des économies d'échelle. Enfin, certains observateurs français relevaient une irrégularité au niveau qualitatif. Tous ces éléments conduisirent parfois au développement d'une forme de mépris côté français pour une industrie balbutiante qui ambitionnait de remplacer la France sur les marchés mondiaux (Chapitre VII).

La prééminence des vins de France était aussi rappelée en soulignant la supériorité de ses terroirs et l'impossibilité de les imiter. Cela conduisit négociants et vignerons à protéger plus strictement l'utilisation de dénominations géographiques françaises (les futurs AOC) au niveau international. Jusqu'aux années 1870, l'utilisation de noms français par les producteurs australiens n'avait pas soulevé de véritables controverses au-delà de quelques interrogations parfois amusées. Mais à partir des années 1880, la diminution des commandes de vins français et l'augmentation de la concurrence étrangère changèrent la donne. Cela impacta surtout les régions viticoles orientées vers l'extérieur comme le Bordelais et la Champagne qui fondaient en grande partie leur succès sur les exportations. L'arrivée de plus en plus flagrante de concurrents étrangers s'appropriant les noms, et donc la réputation de ces régions viticoles, devenait un problème majeur. Malgré les protestations lors des expositions internationales au

tournant du XXe siècle, les producteurs australiens ne pouvaient se résigner à abandonner ces termes français qui, pour eux, servaient uniquement à indiquer le style de vin auprès de la clientèle et non à usurper leur réputation. Cette discordance devait perdurer jusqu'à la signature d'un accord commerciale entre l'Union Européenne et l'Australie en 1994 interdisant l'utilisation des indications géographiques européennes par les producteurs australiens.

Conclusion

Le transfert de modèles viti-vinicoles français s'est en grande partie reposé sur les initiatives privées d'une poignée de colons britanniques d'Australie cherchant à apporter prospérité économique et salubrité publique aux colonies des antipodes. Leurs efforts pour importer cépages, équipement, compétences et savoir, leurs échanges de Sydney à Adelaïde en passant par Melbourne, furent décisifs pour imprégner cette industrie vinicole australienne balbutiante d'une certaine influence française. La migration de vignerons venus de France s'avéra moins importante dans ce processus mais son impact ne peut être négligé, surtout dans le Victoria. À la fin du siècle, ce sont les initiatives collectives à travers associations et institutions agricoles qui prirent le relais pour assurer l'importation des sciences viti-vinicoles françaises. La crise du phylloxéra fut déterminante pour renforcer l'entraide scientifique, académique et professionnelle à l'échelle internationale. Les expériences françaises permirent à l'Australie de faire face au fléau et de sauver l'industrie vinicole au bord de l'effondrement.

Mais au fur et à mesure des progrès réalisés en Australie, le modèle français fut de plus en plus questionné voire concurrencé. Les conditions environnementales, économiques, politiques et socio-culturelles imposaient aux producteurs des antipodes de trouver leur propre voie pour assurer le succès de la filière. On regardait parfois du côté de l'Espagne et du Portugal pour trouver des modèles plus adéquats. Mais ce fut finalement le modèle des terroirs qui fournit à l'élite des producteurs australiens le cadre dont ils avaient besoin pour façonner une industrie vinicole adaptée aux contraintes de l'environnement. On tenta de promouvoir la production de vins révélant les caractéristiques de chaque région pour améliorer la qualité générale et contenter une clientèle à la recherche de vins fins. L'ambition australienne concernait également la vente vers les marchés extérieurs, en premier lieu la Grande Bretagne pour compenser un marché domestique trop limité. Cela conduisit à une forme de concurrence avec les exportateurs français et à des contentieux sur l'utilisation de dénominations européennes. La part des vins australiens sur le marché britannique atteignit jusqu'à six pourcents à la veille

de Première Guerre mondiale. Une hausse, certes modeste, mais qui se faisait au détriment des exportations françaises.

La mondialisation de la fin du XIXe siècle et du début du XXe siècle voyait ainsi se développer de nouvelles formes de concurrences à l'échelle intercontinentale entre producteurs de l'Ancien Monde et ceux du Nouveau Monde. La stratégie de ces derniers faisait resurgir une forme hybride de production transnationale, à la fois issue de l'importation de pratiques européennes, et de la volonté de façonner un modèle distinct promouvant la particularité de ces nations en formation. Le rattrapage technologique et scientifique rapide en Australie aussi bien qu'en Amérique du Nord à la veille de la Première Guerre mondiale pousse ainsi à reconsidérer le schéma de pays « neufs » suivant les « modèles » européens. Il s'agit plutôt d'y voir une reconfiguration des liens d'échanges scientifiques et commerciaux vers plus de réciprocité et d'interconnexions. Les premiers signes d'importations de savoir-faire viti-vinicole australien en France eurent lieu dès les années 1880 durant la crise du phylloxéra. Ces transferts inversés allèrent en s'intensifiant au cours du XXe siècle avec le phénomène des *flying winemakers* à partir des années 1980 et l'observation de plus en plus marquée des pratiques vinicoles australiennes pour servir d'exemple face au réchauffement climatique.