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## **Ackerman and the Sparkling Wine from Saumur: a local winemaking innovation and his consequences on the industrial development of a rural territory around the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century**

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### **Introduction**

The actual landscape of vineyard's Loire valley, beyond statistics<sup>1</sup>, shows a wine diversity, which is more than the agronomic terroir<sup>2</sup> defended by the “*interprofession des Vins du Val de Loire*”<sup>3</sup>, isn't only a natural fact/ but a social building and so, historical. The acceptation of the Val de Loire, from the east of Orleans/ to the west of Angers and a great part of the vineyard from the Loire Valley, in the UNESCO list of World heritage sites in 2000 (two thousands) is maybe the higher official grateful<sup>4</sup>.

From an historiographical point of view, the Val de Loire has been the first dependent on Roger Dion who have studied an “ regional geography study”/ published in 1934 (nineteen thirty four), his Ph.D., before his pioneer work on the geography and *History of the vineyard and wine*<sup>5</sup>. But, as Jean Robert Pitte has noticed “*Pour lui, le val de Loire a été le laboratoire d'une méthode aboutissant à une conclusion pouvant se résumer ainsi: la géographie de la vigne et du vin repose sur la volonté des hommes de produire, boire et vendre du vin beaucoup plus que les potentialités de*

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<sup>1</sup> Voir les chiffres clés 2016. Chambre Régionale d'Agriculture des Pays de la Loire, *Vins de Loire, Food's*, juillet 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Jean-Claude Hinnewinkel, *Les terroirs viticoles. Origines et devenirs*, Bordeaux, éd. Féret, 2004.

<sup>3</sup> « Tous les vins sont dans sa nature » est le slogan d'Interloire, l'interprofession des vignerons et négociants du vignoble de la Loire.

<sup>4</sup> Voir le site du Val de Loire, <http://www.valdeloire.org>, Publié en novembre 2010, mise à jour le 24 février 2017, consulté le lundi 21 août 2017.

<sup>5</sup> Roger Dion, *Le Val de Loire, étude de géographie régionale*, 1<sup>ère</sup> édition, Arrault et Cie imprimeurs éditeurs, Tours, 1934 ; Roger Dion, *Histoire de La Vigne et Du Vin En France Des Origines Au XIXe Siècle*, 1<sup>ère</sup> édition 1959, 2 éd. Paris, CNRS Editions, 2010.

*l'environnement* »<sup>6</sup>. Roger Dion provided a social and historical conception in the vineyard's identities/ by taking off the terroir from an agronomic definition.

The term of terroir has been created like a concept and explained by Jacques Maby, more recently take over and developed by Jean-Claude Hinnewinkel and Philippe Roudié<sup>7</sup>. The terroir as a “concept” increased the investigation's fields and the knowledge,/ because they focus on actors and factors of the wine terroir construction and constitution, since the seventies and eighties<sup>8</sup>. The terroir, becoming a tool to create knowledge is used like a methodological framework of the knowledge construction in human and social sciences on the vineyards. The case studies mainly/ have been focused on Bordeaux, Burgundy and Champagne vineyards<sup>9</sup>. The presence of Research Department on the wine thematic is a first explicative factor of the high numbers and diversity of the case studies.// The social imagination proposed on those vineyards/ and the economic income of those wine territories face to the terroir issue/ maybe is a second explanation<sup>10</sup>. After reading some papers, I can see the terroir seem to be far away from an agronomical definition only/ and in a French acceptance, in the social sciences for sure. The globalisation of the terroir give the opportunity to found processes of distinction inside of them/ and to found the modern birth of original identities, more on social than agronomical roots, which are in the terroir DNA<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> Jean-Robert Pitte, « Roger Dion et le vignoble ligérien », p.9 in *303 arts, recherches et créations : « De la vigne au vin »*, dir. éd. Thierry Pelloquet, n°139, novembre 2015.

<sup>7</sup> Philippe Roudié, « Vous avez dit terroir ? Essai sur l'évolution d'un concept ambigu », *Journal international des sciences de la vigne et du vin*, éd. Vignes et vins publications internationales, Bordeaux, Hors-série, juillet 2001 ; Jean-Claude Hinnewinkel, *op. cit.*, les principales références bibliographiques sur les terroirs sont tirées de l'ouvrage de Jean-Claude Hinnewinkel.

<sup>8</sup> Serge Wolikow note dans l'avant-propos un tournant dans l'historiographie avec le renouvellement et la multiplication des champs de recherche sur les terroirs, après le livre d'Eugen Weber, *La fin des terroirs*, 1876 : Serge Wolikow, Olivier Jacquet (dir.), *Territoires et terroirs du vin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> au XXI<sup>e</sup> siècles : approche internationale d'une construction historique*, Dijon, EUD, 2011, p. 6. La publication de Jean-Claude Hinnewinkel, *op. cit.*, repose sur l'étude des terroirs des vignobles de Bordeaux, de la Rioja, du Chianti et de Porto par exemple, montrant l'utilisation internationale du terme.

<sup>9</sup> Benoit Musset, *Vignobles de Champagne et Vins Mousseux. Histoire D'un Mariage de Raison, 1650-1830*, Paris, Fayard, 2008 ; Patrick Demiuy et Marie-Hélène Morell (dir.), *de la vigne en champagne au vin de Champagne. De l'âge du bronze à l'âge industriel*, Dijon, EUD, 2013 ; Serge Wolikow, *La construction des territoires du Champagnes (1811-1911-2011)*, Dijon, EUD, 2015.

<sup>10</sup> Jean-Claude Hinnewinkel, *Les terroirs viticoles. Origines et devenirs*, Bordeaux, éd. Féret, 2004

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

With a view of the paper, I take for me the definition given by Serge Wolikow of terroir: “*Le terroir vitivinicole en tant qu’espace identifié et reconnu constitue une réalité socio historique complexe qui appelle des efforts d’observation et de réflexion théorique faisant appel à diverses sciences humaines et sociales qui abordent la formation et le développement des activités humaines des territoires*”<sup>12</sup>.

However, the Loire Valley is today a neglected vineyard/ by the researches in human and social sciences/ and doesn’t appear on papers and articles, despite of the *European Institute for Food Culture and History*, at the University of Tours<sup>13</sup>. Roger Dion himself in his Ph.D. on “*le Val de Loire*”, and in his subsequent publications on the vineyard and wine, didn’t focus his attention on the vineyard of the Loire Valley. At the Sparkling wines genesis,/ Roger Dion has been directed on Champagne terroir, the poor Champagne. The *post-mortem* large effect from Roger Dion on the wine studies/ maybe put a silence on the sparkling wine researches out from Champagne for few years, despite of an actual present in some vineyards<sup>14</sup>. But since few years, researches and posts on the Loire Valley vineyard has been revitalized, by the desire of actors from all disciplines to “exhume” and rethinking the knowledge, like the researches on the Bordeaux or Champagne vineyards, the geographical and historic reality of the vineyard<sup>15</sup>. The work of Benoît Musset on wine at the early modern period and pre industrial age is renewing the issues and the knowledge on the vineyard ~~and~~ wine/ from the Loire Valley by the Sparkling wine point of view, after his Ph.D. on Champagne<sup>16</sup>. The interest of that researches in human and social sciences Loire Valley vineyard is real since the Sparkling wine are included in the wine and a cultural legacy landscape in Anjou, Saumur and Tours territories, from the vine plant production for the “*prise de mousse*” to the architecture of Wine

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<sup>12</sup> Serge Wolikow, Olivier Jacquet (dir.), *op. cit*, p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> <http://iehca.eu/fr/qui-sommes-nous>.

<sup>14</sup> Pour exemples, Crémant de Bourgogne, de Bordeaux et d’Alsace ou encore Blanquette de Limoux.

<sup>15</sup> Yves Denéchère, Cristiana Oghina Pavie (dir.), « Histoire du végétal en Anjou », *Archives d’Anjou*, n°14, numéro spécial, 2010 ; Thierry Pelloquet (dir. éd), « De La vigne au vin », *303 arts, recherches et créations*, n°139, novembre 2015.

<sup>16</sup> Benoît Musset, *Vignobles de Champagne et Vins Mousseux. Histoire D’un Mariage de Raison, 1650-1830*, Paris, Fayard, 2008 ; Benoît Musset, « La Consommation Des Vins d’Anjou, Des Années 1600 Aux Années 1820 », *Archives d’Anjou, L’Anjou à table !*, 2013.

House<sup>17</sup>, and by the oenotouristic marketing.// Jean Baptiste Ackerman still is seen in the scientific posts, magazines and marketing papers as the founder of the Sparkling wine industry in Saumur, but no one case study has been asked the question of the part and try to evaluate the incidence level of Sparkling wine production and marketing on the wine terroir of Saumur, and in general on the physical, economical and social landscape evolution, in a rural space in mutation.

The paper is a study of a wine making process innovation consequences on the terroir vitivini of Saumur as factor of evolution. The work on the sources guided to reduce the chronology and the scale of my study, because I can't today deal with all the endogenous and exogenous incidences on the Sparkling wine origins by Ackerman. But I offer to you a writing study case, based on reports, officials documents and the speeches of the own landers and wine merchants on the wine production as "champagne wine", give it to me the possibility to analyse the receipt and the perception of new wine making process through the speeches which make his apology (I), before the reality of a vineyard world in crisis, very conservative to the middle of the century (II). To conclude, the multiplication of manufacturer, the increase in sales by Ackerman and the competition have consequences on the wine terroir and the economic life in Saumur district since 1860 (**eighteen sixty**) (III). This work is included at my Ph.D.<sup>18</sup> researches and has been written through the Wine House Ackerman-Laurance, on sources based on the Ackerman's private archives (Personal and Trade letters, Accounting books, Notarial Record) and on a lot of public's archives on agricultural, industrial and economical recording on the Saumur territory and on wine's and trade history view (wine production, wine factory, trade and networks).

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<sup>17</sup> Je renvoie pour la seconde moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et dans une perspective architecturale à la communication de Thierry Pelloquet.

<sup>18</sup> « Ackerman : stratégie, innovation et ancrage territorial d'une entreprise familiale », Thèse de doctorat en cours, sous la direction d'Yves Denéchère et la co-direction de Cristiana Oghina-Pavie, CIFRE, FRE CERHIO, Université d'Angers.

## **Speeches, representations and consequences of the Sparkling Wine introduced by Ackerman-Laurance on the wine terroir of Saumur**

### **I. The defence of sparkling wine by Ackerman for a renewal in the economic wine market**

The gold medal of the wine merchant Ackerman-Laurance for his wines “as champagne” produced in 1836 (**eighteen thirty six**), submitted to the Industrial exposition of Angers in 1838 (**eighteen thirty eight**), gave it to him a public reputation after the oenological and chemical detailed analysis<sup>19</sup>. Ackerman-Laurance combined with his wine merchant activity, the first position of “*fabricant de vin champagnisé de Saumur/ manufacturer of wine like champagne in Saumur*”. He’s a wine merchant and a manufacturer. In 1838 (**eighteen thirty eight**), he’s also the President of the Commerce Court in Saumur and a member of the Consultative Chamber for Arts and Factories<sup>20</sup>. Certain of the natural origin and the quality of his Sparkling wine, he informs the deputy prefect of the gold medal given by the Industrial Committee to his work in a letter and report on the commercial, industrial and agricultural status written the first August 1838... before the official deliberation! He says to the deputy prefect “*le résultat a prouvé d’une manière incontestable par les expériences faites dans le sein de la commission nommée par la société industrielle d’Angers. (...) Puisqu’il (le rapport) constate que mon vin ne contient aucune substance étrangère, qu’il contient toutes et les mêmes substances que le vin de champagne et à de faibles fractions près, dans les mêmes proportions*”<sup>21</sup>. In the same letter, Ackerman is grateful for the support / from the district administrator “*permettez moi en attendant de vous remercier des expressions flatteuses pour moi que renferme votre lettre ; votre*

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<sup>19</sup> « Méthode d’analyse des vins blancs d’Anjou par M. Sébille-Auger, de Saumur, présentée en séance du 11 août 1838 faisant suite au Rapport du comité d’œnologie, sur les vins champanisés, par M. Ackermann-Laurance (sic), manufacturier à Saumur, en séances des 28 et 29 août 1838 », dans *Bulletin de la Société Industrielle d’Angers et du département de Maine-et-Loire*, éd. Imprimerie Cosnier et Lachèse, 1838, pp. 432-446. Bibliothèque municipale d’Angers, H3746.

<sup>20</sup> Il est président du Tribunal de commerce de Saumur en 1837, 1838 et 1839. Voir Archives départementales de Maine-et-Loire, 64M2, élections du tribunal de commerce de Saumur, An XI-1847.

<sup>21</sup> Archives municipales de Saumur, 4 Z 59, lettre du président du tribunal de commerce Ackerman-Laurance au sous-préfet en date du 1<sup>er</sup> août 1838.

*approbation, votre bienveillance seront toujours des titres précieux à mes yeux ”*, he’s emphasizing the extreme consideration he have/ with an official from the government at a local scale.

Ten years after,/ another man from Saumur and owner, Paul Desvarannes,/ writes a report to the Consultative Chamber of Commerce of Angers, which has been send to “*Monsieur le Ministre/ Mister the Minister*”. If the vision of Paul Desvarannes is call into question by a noble member of the Agricultural Committee of Angers,/ as we will see after,/ the report wants to demonstrate that the sparkling wines are the solution to rebuild the production and restart the wine market in the Saumur vineyard, recommending the replant of grape-varieties from Champagne or from Joué-les-Tours, a little quality terroir where Ackerman-Laurance have his suppliers for his still wine and to make Sparkling wine:

*“(…) Il ne faut pas songer aux débouchés lointains, le commerce d’exportations maritimes, en France, n’existe pas; la tout est à refaire ou à créer, mais c’est une question immense, dans laquelle je ne veux pas entrer (...) Mais j’ai l’intime conviction, que nos vins de Champagne d’Anjou, ont un brillant avenir devant eux, et que dans un temps donné, des millions de bouteilles de vin s’expédieront de la Loire comme de la Marne; seulement, il faut du temps, et beaucoup de temps, pour que les habitudes se prennent et que les préventions disparaissent. Je conseillerais donc aux propriétaires qui auraient des vignes à remplacer, de replanter, non pas du pineau blanc mais les cépages que l’on cultive à Joué près Tours, qui sont les mêmes que l’on cultive en Champagne, notamment l’Orléans, l’arnaison noir et le Malvaisie gris. Ces cépages produisent à volonté, soit de très bon vin rouge lorsque l’on fait cuver le raisin, soit de très bon vin blanc à champagne quand on le presse sans le faire cuver ; ce sont certainement les cépages qui conviennent le mieux au climat de la Loire puisqu’ils murissent un moins plus tôt que nos raisins blancs. (...)Vous avez déjà nommé, messieurs, Mr Ackerman Laurence, de Saumur, le créateur dans nos pays, du vin champagnisé. Notre mission est aussi*

*d'encourager celui qui trouve un nouveau débouché à nos produits, à celui qui fait progresser l'industrie (...) »<sup>22</sup>.*

The author,/ after some considerations on the bad quality of vineyard and wines/ and the end of historic exportations by the sea,/ asks finally a politic and financial support at the “*champagne industry*”, convicted that they are “*a new trade opportunity*”. Desvarannes doesn't say in his report/ to support the vineyard from Joué, near Tours,/ but he recommends replanting the Saumur vineyard in grape-varieties for the new industry. But the “*new industry*” doesn't appear in the speeches and the writings out from Ackerman-Laurance, at this time. In 1849 (**eighteen forty nine**), he's the single manufacturer who can pretend to be, and the support asked by Desvarannes seems to be for Ackerman-Laurance only. (Paul Desvarannes is an old support in business: Desvarannes Laurance)

The real consequence of the wine making “like a champagne”, despite of the gold medal in 1838 (**eighteen thirty eight**), the politic support and an presence at a national scale at the Universal Exposition in 1859 (**eighteen fifty nine**)<sup>23</sup>, is very relative and dependant from the activity of the wine merchant and manufacturer Ackerman. An industrial activity with many barriers to slow down the development.

## **II. ... But a real consequence on the terroir to relativize and very near to Ackerman before the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century**

The production of Sparkling wine by Ackerman-Laurance isn't an independent activity from his wine merchant work. The sustainability of his innovation is based on/ the possibility to seduce and convince. Paul Desvarannes doesn't say any less when he admits the necessity to need of time “*que les habitudes se prennent et que les preventions disparaissent*”<sup>24</sup>. Moreover, it's a Sparkling wine and

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<sup>22</sup> Archives municipales de Saumur, 3F2, Rapport sur le commerce des vins d'Anjou, fait à la chambre consultative le 9 mars 1849 par Mr Desvarannes.

<sup>23</sup> Bnf, [www.Gallica.fr](http://www.Gallica.fr), *Compte rendu de l'exposition des produits vinicoles du département de Maine et Loire : 1849-1850. Précédé de quelques généralités sur la viticulture et l'oenologie de l'Anjou*, Travaux du comice horticole de Maine-et-Loire, Société nationale d'agriculture, sciences et arts d'Angers, 1851, p. 80.

<sup>24</sup> Archives municipales de Saumur, 3F2, Rapport sur le commerce des vins d'Anjou, fait à la chambre consultative le 9 mars 1849 par Mr Desvarannes.

not a Champagne, despite of his chemical quality. Ackerman have to work on the acceptance of his Sparkling wine. He have the experience of the commercial networks in wine with England and others country in North Europe,/ and he can based on the far away exportation in stranger country but he have to conquer an important market place: Paris. In confidential notes on the market and the industry asked by the deputy prefect, Ackerman gives his fears on the trade opportunities in the capital:

“La médaille que j’ai obtenu à Angers a dissipé beaucoup de préventions (...) Malheureusement l’importance de cette industrie bien sentie dans le département ne paroît pas être comprise à Paris; j’ai tout lieu de craindre que mes pauvres vins n’y passent inaperçus (sic) et que l’on ne se donne pas la peine de s’en occuper; ce seroit pour moi très fâcheux, car le public qui ne peut pas croire à une espèce de déni de justice, prendra nécessairement le silence pour un échec ”<sup>25</sup>.

The great success of his wines are based on the circulation of information,/ word on mouth. The review by Ackerman-Laurance suggest that only a large publicity can give it to him/ a commercial success in Paris and in consequence in France and few markets places in the North European space.

In facts, daily commercial correspondence from the wine merchant between 1846 (**eighteen forty six**) and 1848 (**eighteen forty eight**), demonstrates a shipping’s volume of Sparkling wines bottles most important to London/ and to Merchants cities in Holland and Belgium ~~mainly~~ than in France: “*mes débouchés augmentent sans que je jusqu’ici je me sois beaucoup remué (...)*”<sup>26</sup>. Without the opportunity to deliver a statistic review of the volume and values sending in details/, I note however that hundreds bottles of his “*First quality for 2 french francs and Second quality for 1,75 (one point seventy five) french francs by bottle, cost packing and shipping included*” are sending. So he sends bottles and half-bottles in wicker basket,/ from the ports of *Nantes* and *Le Havre* to London, Roosendaal, Ostend, Anvers, Bruges, Leuven and Brussels. In a letter writting the 8 November 1847 (**eighteen forty seven**), he sends to Hermans Dresselaers, a merchant in Brussels, a note about the shipping the 15 (Fifteen) October by “*roulage pour être remis au chemin de fer à Tours & dirigé*

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<sup>25</sup> Archives municipales de Saumur, 4 Z 59, Lettre d’Ackerman-Laurance au sous-préfet, daté du 11 juillet 1839.

<sup>26</sup> *Idem*.



*directement sur l'entrepôt de Bruxelles, 200 Belles Champe (two hundreds bottles) qui je pense doivent être depuis long temps à votre disposition*<sup>27</sup>, and he adds a bill with a total amount of 400 (**Four hundreds**) french francs. We can note the use by Ackerman-Laurance to send his bottles of sparkling wine in foreign countries/ because he decides on the shipping forms (by railways, choose the delivery point).

Another barrier limits the development of sparkling wine production and the mutation of the wine terroir in a new industry/ is the lake of financial resources and mainly of a public support at a general improvement of the vineyard quality for a sparkling wine production. Ackerman-Laurance buys in 1840 (**eighteen forty**) cellars in “tuffeau” in Saint-Hilaire-Saint-Florent, on the Thouet, a river near to Saumur,/ to develop his merchant activity and his production of sparkling wine in a enabling environment. But he goes bankrupt two years later. A syndic is created called “*syndic des créanciers de la liquidation Ackerman-Laurance*”<sup>28</sup>. The financial help from his family/ and his determination to sell his sparkling wine/ give it to him to refund and avoid the bankrupt. The lake of improvement can be see by an invisibility of the new activity in the officials and administrative reports/ and sometimes I note a personal hostility from the authors. The General Olivier de Laleux, member of the Agricultural Society of Angers, call in question the objectivity of the report written By Desvarannes in a letter of 29 (**Twenty nine**) June 1849 (**eighteen forty nine**), send to the President of the Consultative Chamber of Arts and Factories of Saumur, under the influence by the merchant and manufacturer Ackerman: “*Il paraît que Mr Desvarannes a contacté Mr Ackerman et qu’il a un peu subi la manière de voir comme vous en serez convaincu à la lecture. On s’est un peu trop placé au point de vue commercial et industriel à ce qu’il me semble ; ce qui pour moi, est une nouvelle preuve de la nécessité d’émanciper l’agriculture – ce à quoi nous parviendrons j’espère*”<sup>29</sup>. But, in apparent paradox, Olivier de Laleux come back on his opinion in a *post-scriptum* on the production of sparkling

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<sup>27</sup> Archives départementales de Maine et Loire, 222 J 1043, Livre de copies de correspondances commerciales Ackerman-Laurance, 1846-1848. Lettre du 8 novembre 1847 Ackerman-Laurance à Hermans Dresselaers.

<sup>28</sup> Archives départementales de Maine-et-Loire, 222J1, Fonds Ackerman-Laurance, registre de délibérations du syndic Ackerman-Laurance.

<sup>29</sup> Archives municipales de Saumur, 3F2, Lettre du 29 juin 1849 du Général Olivier de Laleux à « Monsieur et président ».

wines/ and asks the opinion of the chamber to replant grape-varieties for an entire new industry: “*Si vous êtes d’avis, messieurs, d’arracher vos vignes, de la remplacer par des cépages nouveaux pour la contrée, dont les produits ne seraient achetés que par les fabricants de vins de champagne : je vous féliciterai de ce grand parti. On l’a dit, aux grands maux les grands remèdes (...)*”<sup>30</sup>.

The negative assertion in the phrase and the use of an adage presuppose a resignation and not a conviction from the General/ to see new regional grape varieties in the land for an industrial goal.

At the scale of the power, the deputy prefect of Saumur doesn’t mention a “sparkling wine industry” in a document sending to the prefect the 29 (**twenty nine**) March 1850 (**eighteen fifty**), submitted by the *Commission d’enquête sur les boissons* created by the French Parliament in a fiscal aim. At the opposite, the prefect of *Maine-et-Loire*, in the document sending at the *Commission*, shows a double hostility, face to the reduction of the trade opportunities for white wines of first quality: “*Ce changement peut être attribué à deux causes principales (...) 2° à la fabrication des vins dits champanisés, qui sont acceptés pour vins de Champagne, et font concurrence aux vins d’Anjou (...)*”.

The prefect accuses the new industry like a fraud and even more as an unfair competition/ beyond white wines from Anjou “*trouvaient autrefois un écoulement très important sur la Belgique, la Hollande et l’Allemagne*”<sup>31</sup>.

The final note written by the prefect,/ who doesn’t speak about the production of sparkling wine in the evolution of the viticulture, of homestead, agricultural returns and quality, demonstrates at the end that the sparkling wine doesn’t have influence on viticultural methods. But their development since the middle of the century is real and they are the marketing terms of the wines from the country, which begin to change. Despite of reluctance from few owners, vine grower and the administrators, the multiplication of manufacturer of sparkling wine contributes to start the mutation of the wine terroir.

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, fin de lettre.

<sup>31</sup> Archives départementales de Maine-et-Loire, 7 M 72, Renseignements sur la viticulture en Maine et Loire : correspondance et rapports, Lettre du préfet de Maine et Loire à la Commission d’enquête sur les boissons, 11 mai 1850.

### **III. The multiplication of manufacturer of sparkling wines as an actor of the mutation of the wine terroir of Saumur: a wish by Ackerman-Laurance will be realise at the start of 1860 decade**

The sparkling wines produced by Ackerman-Laurance since the start of the 1840-decade (**eighteen forty**) find trade opportunities in other countries, by the same traditional commercial networks for wine produced in Anjou, Saumur and Touraine since the early modern period (17<sup>th</sup> century).

This new production and trade, has been judged by some characters responsible for the crisis of the trade opportunities of white wine and red wine, but accepted as a solution for others in a general context of development, despite of critics. Ackerman increases every year the production of his bottles, from 6000 (**six thousands**) in 1836 (**eighteen thirty six**) to twice one year later. He is planning in 1838 (**eighteen thirty eight**), 30 000 (thirty thousands) bottles on order to “*(se) mettre à mesme (sic) en position de satisfaire à toutes demandes qui me seraient faites*”<sup>32</sup>. He is increasing the offer. In 1840 (**eighteen forty**), he makes 60 000 (**sixty thousands**) bottles<sup>33</sup>.

More precise but imperfect/ the inventory ledger of the cellars in Saint-Hilaire-Saint-Florent, stopped the 2 August 1843 (**eighteen forty three**), register 110 729 bottles (**One hundred and ten thousand seven hundred and Twenty nine**) of sparkling wines (White, Red and Pink with Dry, Extra Dry or natural) with 85 (**eighty-five**) per cent (85%) in entire bottles, others in half-bottles, for a total value of 121 924,9 (**One hundred and twenty one thousand and nine hundred twenty four, point 9**) french francs.

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<sup>32</sup> Archives municipales de Saumur, 4 Z 59, Lettre d’Ackerman-Laurance au sous-préfet, daté du 11 juillet 1839.

<sup>33</sup> Archives municipales de Saumur, 4Z59, Lettre d’Ackerman-Laurance au sous-préfet de Saumur, daté du 12 juillet 1840.

The still wines in bottles are estimated for a total value of 2 576,9 (**twenty five seventy six**) french francs and the wine “en cercles” for 2580 (**twenty five eighty**) french francs, are only for a total of 4,05 per cent (4,05%) of the estimated value of the wine stock<sup>34</sup>. Of course, in August, the real volume and the value of the stock aren't totally representative/ because the great majority of those wines “en cercles” have been send in the year,/ before or after the Winter,/ and because the wine harvest aren't beginning for the year. But the volume of sparkling wine bottles have been more double than three years. I'm not in position to confirm if Ackerman has been increased the general volume of his wines purchases/ or if he has been substitute the production of sparkling wine to his merchant activity. But the purchase of the cellars in 1840 (**eighteen forty**), the maintenance of his wine merchant identity and the volume sending/ when I read the business correspondence at the end of the decade / give me the intuition that he increases his red and white wines purchases beside a merchant activity. The success of his sparkling wines applies for a high quality like “champagne”. This quality factor can be at the origin of mutation of the vine growing methods,/ far away from a quantity culture, to be in position to reply at a growing demand with different tastes.

However, the trade opportunities for convert wines “country” are real/ and in a growing demand context./ Few owners and wine merchants try to become sparkling wine manufacturers/, leading by a better-sold price of those industrials wines and by the trade opportunities in foreign countries. Jean Baptiste Ackerman summarizes to the deputy prefect in 1840 (**eighteen forty**) the development status in others factories: “ (...) *L'industrie des vins de Champagne paraît devoir se développer ; un établissement existe dans les environs de Tours, ses produits laissent encore bien à désirer, mais il a amélioré ; il y en a depuis plusieurs années un autre à Angers, il ne fait malheureusement aucun progrès. A Saumur, Mrs Pineau et Bianquin fabriquent, je n'ai point de notions sur les plus ou moins de qualité de leurs vins ; Mr Boutet Delisle a dit on le projet de monter un établissement en grand pour la récolte prochaine (...)*”<sup>35</sup>. The investors fastly launched the production after 1838 (**eighteen thirty eight**) but Ackerman-Laurance didn't give all his secrets of his

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<sup>34</sup> Archives départementales de Maine-et-Loire, 222J1, Fonds Ackerman-Laurance, Inventaire général de Saint-Florent, 2 août 1843, Tableau D.

<sup>35</sup> Archives municipales de Saumur, 4Z59, Lettre d'Ackerman-Laurance au sous-préfet de Saumur, daté du 12 juillet 1840.

~~manufacturing processes~~. The productions are very hard, costly and the quality of wines cannot be the same as Ackerman./ But the pioneer doesn't fear the competition and found hope to see a development maintain in a high quality sparkling wine production/ to stop the trade opportunities crisis: *“Voilà donc une industrie qui se développe. Ces rivalités ne m’effrayent en aucune façon, tout ce que je puis avoir à craindre, c’est qu’en cas d’insuccès pour les premiers essais on n’ait pas le courage de les sacrifier et que l’on rejette dans le commerce de mauvais vins à bas prix pour s’en défaire. Alors repartirait bientôt cette ancienne prévention, contre les vins de Saumur que j’ai combattu avec tant de peine et ne suis encore parvenu à vaincre qu’en partie (...)”*<sup>36</sup>. In 1851 (**eighteen fifty one**), only another manufacturer seems to obtain a high quality, Antoine Lesourd Deslile<sup>37</sup>.

In 1860 (**eighteen sixty**), the deputy prefect makes a status in a report to the prefect on the industrial situation in his district/. A number of 6 factories are in activity to produce “ wine like champagne” for 150 (**one hundred fifty**) workers employed, a medium of 25 (**twenty five**) workers by factory. Only the rosaries factories in Saumur employed more than 450 (**four hundred fifty**) workers in factory, with a medium of 90 (**nineteen**) by factory and hundreds “ à la façon”. He notes that *“l’état de la production et de la vente est satisfaisante ”*<sup>38</sup>. In another letter written in May and about the impact of a trade treaty with England on the industry<sup>39</sup>, the district prefect is pointing out that *“L’industrie vinicole, en général, est celle de la fabrication des vins champanisés, déjà très considérable doit encore gagner beaucoup à la suppression des droits. D’ici à peu de temps, il sera possible sans doute,*

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Bnf, [www.gallica.fr](http://www.gallica.fr), « Compte rendu de l'exposition des produits vinicoles du département de Maine et Loire : 1849-1850, précédé de quelques généralités sur la viticulture et l'oenologie de l'Anjou », *Travaux du comice horticole de Maine-et-Loire*, Société nationale d'agriculture, Sciences et arts d'Angers, 1851, p. 80.

<sup>38</sup> Archives départementales de Maine-et-Loire, 67 M 3, Commerce et industrie, Tableau sur les établissements industriels de l'arrondissement de Saumur, sous-préfet de Saumur au préfet du département, 6 février 1860.

<sup>39</sup> Il s'agit du Traité de commerce franco-britannique dit Traité Cobden-Chevalier signé le 23 janvier 1860. Voir Gabrielle Cadier, « Les conséquences du traité de 1860 sur le commerce franco-britannique », *Histoire, économie et société*, vol. 7, 1988, n° 3, pp. 355-380. [http://www.persee.fr/doc/hes\\_0752-5702\\_1988\\_num\\_7\\_3\\_2357](http://www.persee.fr/doc/hes_0752-5702_1988_num_7_3_2357).

*d'apprécier les avantages que cette industrie peut en retirer* <sup>40</sup>. In 1872 (**eighteen seventy two**), another reports says that the “wines (*the substance*)” are very looking for and the “*rising prices*”. To respond at the question about the origin of an fluctuation in the wine offer and demand, the deputy prefect says it’s the purchases by “les champagniseurs”<sup>41</sup>.

All the officials’ reports from 1859 (**eighteen fifty nine**) to 1873 (**eighteen fifty three**) put in light the importance of sparkling wines as an industry in Saumur, back the roseries factories. The Wine Houses at the start of the seventies are sufficiently many to have an influence on the vineyard economy, from wine making to marketing. But, nothing can confirm that they control the entire production and they have a deeply consequence on the terroir of Saumur. They are so dependent of the foreign trade dynamic and trade opportunities. At this time in the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the sparkling wine industry is at the beginning.

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, Tableau sur les établissements industriels de l’arrondissement de Saumur, sous-préfet de Saumur au préfet du département, 16 mai 1860.

<sup>41</sup> Archives départementales de Maine-et-Loire, 67 M 4, Commerce et industrie, rapport du commissaire de police de la ville de Saumur sur la situation du commerce et de l’industrie au mois d’octobre 1872.

## Conclusion

The communication didn't take the time to treat the bad status where is the vineyard and wines from Saumur and Tours. To resume, the return of historic expeditions is still wished in the reports as a solution. More than innovations, the authors ask the return of an old market status, before the recommendations to improve the vine growing.

The issue on trade opportunities is a first importance and can be found at all the steps of the life of the vineyard. They command the actions of the wine-grower and the wine merchants. Ackerman-Laurance isn't avoid by this markets issues. If I can't demonstrate with precision the origins and the causes of wine-making "as champagne" of wines from Tours and Saumur, the lake of trade opportunities must have been encourage their conversion in an effervescent wine with more added value, trying to reproduce the quality and forms and can be confused as a champagne, thanks to the lake of an efficiency protecting law<sup>42</sup>. The fast trade opportunities for the sparkling wines by Ackerman improve the manufacturer to persist and develop the wine making which is seen as a factor at the origin of a landscape conversion. But at the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century, Ackerman-Laurance is the single Sparkling Wine House. She can't impose on the wine production. Furthermore, a lot of uncertainties and a general conservatism delay the activity development. Only the multiplication of Wine Houses and the opening of a local competition begin to have a real impact on the terroir in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Roger Dion was in the same idea for the Loire Valley in general and added the factor of the proximity of an important transport axis: "*C'est en effet la proximité de la voie navigable plus encore que la nature du sol qui fait la qualité du vignoble. L'espoir de vendre loin et cher encourage à étendre les vignes, à améliorer leurs produits, à chercher des procédés de vinification qui rendent les vins susceptibles d'une longue conservation*"<sup>43</sup>. The profitability of the sparkling wine is one of the factors of conversion of the natural and cultural landscape at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. I say "one" because the elements of explanation of the conversion are various and

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<sup>42</sup> Le code de commerce de 1824 protégeait dans les textes la nature géographique d'un produit mais dans les faits, elle n'était pas respectée.

<sup>43</sup> Roger Dion, *Le Val de Loire, op. cit.*, 2<sup>e</sup> édition, Laffite reprints, Marseille, 1978 p. 623

complementary. Actors and factors require a serious attention that I should to take in for the future. I have to work more on that issue and to complete with the urban territory evolution question that I will test in Bordeaux in November.



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