

A 'civilized' drink and
a 'civilizing' industry:
wine growing and cultural imagining
in colonial New South Wales

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Abstract

My starting point for this thesis was the absence of a foundation history of Australian wine growing conducted by an historian rather than researchers in other disciplines or the media. I have used existing work on wine history in New South Wales from 1788 to 1901 alongside a significant body of new research to create an historical argument suitable for incorporation into more broadly-themed narratives of Australian history and to inform studies of wine growing in other academic fields.

My main argument is that although wine growing proved of little economic value in colonial primary production compared with nation-building commodities - such as pastoralism, wheat growing and gold - advocates of the cultivation of wine grapes believed wine growing embodied beneficial, even transformative, cultural value so they persisted in attempting to create a 'civilizing' industry producing a 'civilized' drink despite lacklustre consumption of their product and very modest profits. Several times, from 1788 to 1901, these advocates spoke out or wrote about wine and wine growing as capable of creating order in a wild or 'savage' landscape and within a settler society shaped culturally by shifting adaptations to both imported and 'native' influences in agriculture as well as alcohol production, consumption and distribution.

While the methodological framework employed here falls mainly within social and economic history, sociological theories have contributed to findings on causation. The result is a comprehensive narrative of colonial wine growing in New South Wales enriched by links to key developments in Australian colonial history and with reference to wine growing in other British colonies or former territories.

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Wine, said the Greeks, is a civilized drink.

Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, *History of Food*, Trans. Anthea Bell (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 261.

How soon our refreshing, exhilarating and restorative wine will take the place of poisonous spirits. We shall then rapidly become a sober instead of a drunken community... and when the law will allow wine to become our national beverage, thousands of acres now encumbered with the "dreary eucalyptus", will smile with the vine, and another civilising industry will spring up in our midst to employ thousands of families in the light and pleasing labour it requires, and to attract a desirable class of immigrant to our shore.

Henry Lindeman to the Editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 December 1867.

Of all the cultivations [grape vines] is the most Colonisatrice...

Swiss colonist Hubert De Castella, from Victoria, describing grape growing as the most 'colonising' of crops; De Castella to Henry Parkes, 29 October 1881, Parkes Correspondence, ML A920.

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A note on liquid and land measurements relating to colonial wine growing

Measurements of wine quantity have historically been unreliable. As Jan Todd pointed out, the four different gallon measures in England were only standardized in 1824 after at least 800 years of confusion.¹ The most oft-mentioned quantity measures for wine in colonial New South Wales were gallons, pipes and hogsheads. Change from imperial to metric measurement in Australia is recent enough that only a conversion is provided on this page for the gallon but ‘pipe’ also requires explanation. According to an entry in the *Oxford Companion to Wine*, the ‘pipe’ originated as a wine trade term from the Portuguese *pipa* or barrel. Madeira and Marsala, common Portuguese fortified wine exports, were measured in pipes but measurements varied from 534 to 630 litres depending on use and region. The shipping measure was usually closest to 534 litres, so that is used here to understand the quantities described by colonial growers.² References to land in this thesis use the contemporary colonial measurement of acres but the metric conversion is supplied below.

1 gallon = 4.55 litres 26.5 gallons = 1 hectolitre

1 gallon = six bottles of wine of 750mls

1 hogshead = 63 gallons of wine, 285 litres (equiv. 378 bottles of wine; 31.5 cases of wine)

1 hogshead = 2 barrels

1 pipe = (approx.) 534 litres, also equal to 117 gallons.

1 pipe = (approx.) 712 bottles of wine of 750 mls or almost 60 cases of wine where a case equals a dozen bottles.

1 acre = 0.405 hectares

1 mile = 1.6 kilometres

¹ Jan Todd, *For Good Measure, the Making of Australia's Measurement System* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2004), 1.

² Jancis Robinson, ed, *The Oxford Companion to Wine*, Third ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 532.

Introduction

Blumenbach's Bottle

In 1794, six years after the establishment of the British colony of New South Wales, wealthy and influential botanist Joseph Banks opened a letter from German scientist Johann Frederich Blumenbach, University of Gottingen. Banks and Blumenbach corresponded regularly as part of the robust intellectual conversation that took place across ethnic and geographic borders in Europe. And while Banks made a remarkable and enduring contribution to scientific exploration and knowledge, Blumenbach's contribution to European thinking had the greater socio-cultural impact. He developed the theory of human categories of Caucasian, Mongolian, Malayan, Negro and American. These categories were later joined with Darwinism in 'social Darwinism' to create an imagined hierarchy of 'race' used to defend late nineteenth century European colonisation and the colonial discourse of the 'civilising mission'.¹

Part of the letter sent by Blumenbach to Banks read:

Yesterday I received from a friend of mine a Divine at Buckeburg a curious present of a small bottle of a strong red wine from Rosehill near Sydney Cove...(as he says) he had received from a friend in London. He adds that the wine was brought over by Captn Phillips a. 92. Though I know that Vines flourish now in New South Wales & also that my good Clergyman himself will not play me a trick, I take however the Liberty of requesting Your kind information with a few words, if you know, that Cptn Phillips really brought with him wine from there to England?²

¹ Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1989), 271. Inverted commas are used to indicate the problematic nature of the terms enclosed.

² Johann Frederich Blumenbach to Joseph Banks, 28 December 1794, Banks Papers, Mitchell Library Manuscript (ML) M1192, State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW). Note that only some of the ML manuscripts used in this thesis have page numbers. Blumenbach's underline in letter.

Blumenbach's query is much more significant than it first seems and the implications of his bottle of wine have not been considered before now.

Wine in the British Empire

If the wine Blumenbach referred to in his letter was indeed brought by Governor Arthur Phillip from New South Wales to England in 1792 this would have been the first wine produced in the colony to be transported to Europe at a time when Britain had no commercial wine industry of its own anywhere in its expanding empire. Britain depended on substantial imports of wine from Portugal, Spain, France and Germany, as well as naval supplies of wine from victualling stations at the European colonial ports of Madeira, the Canary Islands, Rio de Janeiro and the Cape of Good Hope, none of which were British possessions.³

Though not a life necessity, wine for millennia belonged to the crucial Mediterranean exchange of 'sacramental foods': oil, bread and wine. Indeed, 'with the exception of grain and fish... "no other comestible product was more indispensable to medieval diet, or was carried in larger quantities than wine"'.⁴ In addition to the sacramental importance of wine, water could often not be safely consumed without the addition of wine. As such, its production and distribution has received due historical attention in Europe.⁵ Wine also became a luxury beverage with secular importance for

³ Wine played a significant role in British trade despite not being strictly required for survival. It had been shipped to Britain long before survival foods; 'some imports of grain and dairy produce were necessary from the 1770s', G.E. Fussell, 'Science and Practice in Eighteenth Century British Agriculture', *Agricultural History* 43, no. 1 (1969): 17. The Cape colony was not annexed by the British until 1806.

⁴ Cited in Tim Unwin, *Wine and the Vine: An Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade* (London: Routledge, 1991), 180.

⁵ The most valuable is Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*. Very useful on the more distant past is Patrick McGovern, Stuart J. Fleming, and Solomon H. Katz, eds., *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine* (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1996). See also Rod Phillips, *A Short History of Wine* (London: Allen Lane Penguin Press, 2000). Very recently, scholars of ancient history and philosophy (mainly in the United States) have discussed issues dealt with anecdotally in the media, such as wine tasting, in Fritz Allhoff, ed.,

the British as they assumed greater control of resources and wealth. In the early eighteenth century, enterprising British merchants made the famous ‘wine for cloth’ deal with Portugal which ensured access to ‘port’ wine when rivalries with France held up supplies of ‘claret’ from Bordeaux. This master stroke claimed cloth manufacture for Britain; a key development in industrialisation and therefore modernisation.⁶ Wine from Portugal in the eighteenth century fitted into the same British practice of importing primary products from dependent economies as did wool from Australia in the early nineteenth century.⁷

By the late eighteenth century the acquisition of new territories, such as New South Wales, opened up new possibilities for the production of an increasing number of food and beverage plants including wine grapes, eating or table grapes and grapes for drying. Blumenbach’s bottle, arriving in Europe from New South Wales in 1792, so soon after the creation of the newest British colony in 1788, seemed to represent a success in efforts to grow grapes and potentially make wine under the Union Jack that promised new commercial opportunities for investors. It also implied the rapid transplantation of a centuries-old form of notoriously difficult and regional European farming into a scientifically mysterious part of the world. No wonder Blumenbach expressed an urgent sense of curiosity about the origin of his bottle of wine. But, as the German scientist

Wine & Philosophy, a Symposium on Thinking and Drinking (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008). See also Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food*, trans. Anthea Bell (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 247-90. International scholarship on wine history foregrounds the European industry’s long and ancient history with only passing reference to the establishment of wine growing in Australia and other New World countries due to the paucity of New World research, as discussed below.

⁶ The Methuen Treaty of 1703 led to enormous British investment in port wine production in Portugal and the winding down of the Portuguese cloth industry, a shift in production which defined British-Portuguese trade for more than a century. See Pierre Spahni, *The International Wine Trade* (Cambridge: Woodhead, 1998), ix.

⁷ Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire, an Economic History of Britain since 1750* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), 112.

asked, did Phillip really bring the bottle back from New South Wales? If so, a further question would be: who had produced the wine?

Wine growing in colonial New South Wales

Details of Blumenbach's 'curious present' may never be known but this thesis will show that, despite the early potential allegedly contained in the 'small bottle of a strong red wine', wine grapes were much harder to cultivate in New South Wales than grain crops or other orchard fruits. Geographical conditions in the colony closely resembled wine producing regions of similar latitude in the northern hemisphere, inferring the potential for rapid success in transplanting viticulture and viniculture (vine growing and wine making) but it proved to be a long and faltering process to create a drinkable and marketable colonial wine. An early disincentive to the creation of a demand for 'colonial wine' was that wine could be, and continues to be, readily imported. Co-existing with this disincentive were obstacles such as the lack of viticultural knowledge among British colonists, the lack of knowledge of colonial microclimates and soils, problems with access to reliable plant stock, the slow arrival of private capital before the 1840s then the lack of a domestic market for colonial wine despite healthy economic growth post-1840s.

Wine growing made minimal economic impact in New South Wales during the nineteenth century. The graph of exports in Appendix One demonstrates the dramatic extent to which wool exports dominated production and trade as the colony took on its economic and cultural shape. By way of a stark example: wool earned more than £11million in exports by 1901 whereas New South Wales wine production had not yet reached a million gallons per annum. Export earnings were insufficient to be listed in

Produce Exported and it was officially concluded in the year of Federation that ‘we may be said to have no [wine] export trade’.⁸ Yet, colonial wine growing consistently attracted attention from private investors and policy makers.

Ian Tyrell has shown that Californian horticulture ‘was not established for economic reasons alone’ but was influenced by ‘the old inheritance of an agrarian dream’, forming part of Californians’ vision for an ideal society in partnership with “civilising” influences like temperance, monogamy, and thrift’.⁹ These same themes of creating a ‘civilized’ society; of moderate temperance, health and ambitions to dignify the ‘native’ landscape emerge very strongly in the persistence of efforts to develop a wine industry in colonial New South Wales.¹⁰ Both American and Australian wine producers faced prejudices about the quality of their product, however, and in the nineteenth century shared none of the ‘copy-book success story’ enjoyed in fruit growing, including raisins.¹¹

This thesis shows that colonists persisted in wine growing endeavours less for commercial gain, which was minimal, than for the perceived ‘civilizing’ benefits of wine growing. Distinct from other more readily profitable primary products - nation-builders such as wool and minerals - wine growing did not represent a path to wealth but a desire by colonists to follow the blueprint for progress prescribed by Enlightenment

⁸ F. B. Kyngdon, ‘Wine-culture in New South Wales’, *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 10, May 1899: 367.

⁹ Ian Tyrell, *True Gardens of the Gods, Californian-Australian Environmental Reform 1860-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 4.

¹⁰ These themes converge in the writing of Henry Lindeman. See *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 December 1867 and W.T. (Henry James) Lindeman, ‘Pure Wine as a Therapeutic Agent, and Why it Should Become Our National Beverage’, *New South Wales Medical Gazette*, July 1872, in Lindeman (Holdings) Ltd Papers, Z418/Box 157, Noel Butlin Archives Centre (NBAC).

¹¹ Tyrell, *True Gardens of the Gods*, 44, 124, 78.

philosophies of the link between commerce and ‘civilization’.¹² Pre-1850s pastoralists who experimented with wine growing were often drawn to its cultural meaning as an exemplary state of settled agriculture - a higher state of existence and achievement than grazing sheep and cattle - in Adam Smith’s ‘four stages theory’ from hunting, to pastoralism, the agricultural to the commercial.¹³ In the second half of the century wine growing matured from a hobby to a habit but not a profitable one which makes the persistence of growers all the more intriguing.

The story of colonial wine growing complicates the Australian historical focus on convicts and the development of staple products. It emphasizes that colonial gaolers and their charges were not expected to use ‘native’ means of survival. Implicit in the colony’s establishment, whether as gaol or settler society (or combination of the two), was the need for it to be transformed by ecological invasion into a ‘neo-Europe’ and conceivably a victualling station for expanding British naval trade routes.¹⁴ An analysis of the development of a commodity, such as wine, would seem to fit most readily into economic history but experiments with wine growing preceded by several decades the keeping of economic data such as government statistics or rudimentary company records.

¹² Commerce is defined here as the exchange of goods or services for material gain. ‘Civilization’ (and terms such as ‘civilized’, ‘civilizing’ and ‘civilizer’) is more problematic in meaning, representing as it does a perceived and contestable contrast with a so-called ‘savage’ state of being. The colonial conception of the creation of ‘civilization’ implied an ideological rising above or superiority to, rather than simple distinction from, the economic and cultural practices of Indigenous Australians. For example, the change of skin colour from white to black was seen by at least one colonist migrating to Hobart as a result of the ‘effects of civilization’, cited in John Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 149.

¹³ A description of Smith’s theory and the link between the ideas of Scottish Enlightenment and an emerging colonial nationalism is explored in Robert Dixon, *The Course of Empire, Neo-Classical Culture in New South Wales 1788-1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), esp. 1.

¹⁴ The concept of creating a ‘neo-Europe’ comes from Alfred Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), 1. See, too, the argument on agriculture in the foundations of the colony of New South Wales in Angus R. McGilivray, ‘Convict Settlers, Seamen’s Greens, and Imperial Designs at Port Jackson: A Maritime Perspective of British Settler Agriculture’, *Agricultural History* 78, no. 3 (2004), 261-288.

A purely economic historical approach would be unsatisfactory so it has been combined here with a social and cultural historical analysis including frameworks provided by the study of agricultural history.

Historiography: Australian agriculture and wine growing

The history of the production, distribution and consumption of wine in Australia, in contrast to wine history in Europe, has not been well attended to by historians. As Tyrell argues, horticulture (of which viticulture is part) ‘has been a neglected theme in both Californian and Australian history, probably because it lacks the drama of gold and the romance of vast pastoral runs’.¹⁵ The neglect described by Tyrell has extended beyond fruit growing to small-scale agriculture generally and viticulture and viniculture lacked economic and cultural impact in Australia. The small number of North American histories of wine growing has also been commented on in the United States due to low economic and cultural impact until recent decades and perhaps prejudices related to wine as alcohol.¹⁶ Yet the United States, a formerly British settler-society like Australia, does have a rich tradition of agricultural – if not horticultural and viticultural – history since its farming has been so economically, and therefore socially and culturally, formative. In Australia, by contrast, agriculture has never been a significant pursuit of the people.¹⁷ In 1891, for example, a quarter of the Australian labour force worked in farming and grazing, forestry or trapping compared with forty per cent of (the proportionately much larger) population in the United States where rural dwellers outnumbered urban until as

¹⁵ Tyrell, *True Gardens of the Gods*, 8.

¹⁶ Victor W. Geraci, ‘The Family Wine-Farm: Vintibusiness Style’, *Agricultural History* 74, no. 2 (2000), 419-432; Victor W. Geraci, ‘Fermenting a Twenty-First Century California Wine Industry’, *Agricultural History* 78, no. 4 (2004), 438-465.

¹⁷ John Hirst, ‘Agriculture’, in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, ed. Graeme Davison, John Hirst, and Stuart Macintyre (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2001), 19-20.

late as the first World War.¹⁸ In these circumstances, Australian wine history has been even more unlikely to have been a subject for historical research.

While the history of land use and farming in Australia might have fallen under the banner of agricultural history, as it does in the United States (providing a nascent sub-disciplinary home for New South Wales wine history), this was prevented by the coinciding of the beginning of academic studies in Australian history with revisionist approaches to agricultural history in the 1950s. A detour away from researching land *use* and farming and towards analysis of land *abuse* can be traced back to historian Keith Hancock's return from Britain, also in the 1950s. After repatriation, Hancock's work in Australian history began with wool but with that industry in decline he veered instead into what has become known as environmental history.¹⁹ The focus on conservation inherent in environmental history - as opposed to economic history - was certainly well overdue after the concentration on progress at any cost during the establishment of colonial pastoralism and broadacre grain cropping.²⁰ But with studies of agricultural history falling out of favour and most Australians living in cities on the coast, social and cultural historical studies of rural Australia since the 1950s have been few, with the

¹⁸ R.V. Jackson, 'The Colonial Economies: An Introduction', *Australian Economic History Review* 38, no. 1 (1998): 8; Everett E. Edwards, 'Agricultural Records: Their Nature and Value for Research', *Agricultural History* 13, no. 1 (1939): 1. This comparison is important as the United States has experienced similar interest in wine growing and is a former settler society New World wine producer, like Australia but with the benefit of earlier European colonisation and significantly greater fertile soil for agriculture. As such connections are made, when relevant, to developments in the United States.

¹⁹ Geoffrey Bolton, 'Rediscovering Australia: Hancock and the Wool Seminar', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 62 (1999), 160, 165, 167-168.

²⁰ This is argued in Geoffrey Bolton, *Spoils and Spoilers, Australians Make Their Environment 1788-1980* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), 11, 19, 22.

notable exception of research by Kate Darian-Smith and Richard Waterhouse's *The Vision Splendid*.²¹

To return to the notion of historical research being dominated by economic significant commodities: studies of wine growing were unlikely in the scholarly climate in which as, Alan Atkinson observed, 'historians in Australia have ignored the difference between great gentlemen and smaller ones'.²² This has been the case because the 'smaller' were perceived as lesser for not improving the wealth of the nation by creating successful industries. Perceptions that early colonial farmers were failures for not more rapidly adapting technology in their European agricultural practices have been only recently revised.²³ In short,

early small-scale farmers of New South Wales are not written into traditional historical narratives either as nation-builders of the colonial era or as pioneer cultural heroes like swaggies and bushmen. They tend, instead, to be dismissed as 'failures' within the Enlightenment view of progress that framed both colonial development and representations of the growth of the colony.²⁴

But, limiting historical study to commodities - and people linked to them - that contributed to economic growth in turn limits an understanding of the subtleties of social and cultural development.

²¹ See, for example, Kate Darian-Smith, 'Up the Country, Histories and Communities', *Australian Historical Studies* 32, 118 (2002): especially 92 and 96 on the dearth of rural history. Richard Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid: A Social and Cultural History of Rural Australia* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2005).

²² Alan Atkinson, *Camden: Farm and Village Life in Early New South Wales* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1988), 68.

²³ Geoff Raby, *Making Rural Australia: An Economic History of Technical and Institutional Creativity, 1788-1860* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996), esp. chapter one. Angus R. McGillivray, 'From Sods to Seed-Beds: Cultivating a Familiar Field at Port Jackson', *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 5 (2004): 2.

²⁴ Julie McIntyre, 'Not Rich and Not British: Philip Schaeffer, "Failed" Colonial Farmer', *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 11 (2009): 1-20.

The small field of Australian historical scholarship on wine history includes David Dunstan's excellent account of the Victorian industry which explores major characters and events in New South Wales production until the separation of the colonies in the mid-nineteenth century.²⁵ Newcastle scholar W.P. Driscoll explored the beginnings of the wine industry in Sydney and the Hunter Valley to 1850.²⁶ British finance writer, Nicholas Faith, who trained as an historian, has written what he called 'the story of Australian wine and its makers' to give an account of the Australian wine boom in the early 1990s. While he used some published colonial works such as the books of James Busby, he relied largely on published work by wine critics and growers which itself cover narrow aspects of colonial wine history.²⁷ 'Popular' wine histories and comments on wine history in wine magazines represent a large body of work and some are well-researched but serve mainly to outline the growth of the industry in the twentieth century and inform wine investment and consumption. None offer historical interpretation that could be incorporated into wider historical debates within the academy.²⁸ Wine critic (and popular wine historian) James Halliday has said, for example, that

²⁵ David Dunstan, *Better Than Pommard!: A History of Wine in Victoria* (Kew: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1994).

²⁶ W.P. Driscoll, *The Beginnings of the Wine Industry in the Hunter Valley*, Newcastle History Monographs No. 5 (Newcastle: Newcastle Public Library, The Council of the City of Newcastle, 1969), 62-64.

²⁷ Nicholas Faith, *Liquid Gold, the Story of Australian Wine and its Makers* (Sydney: PanMacmillan, 2002), 421-26. Faith did not use the work of either Dunstan or Driscoll. He relied more on wine writers or growers who have published histories such as Max Lake, Len Evans, James Halliday and John Beeston.

²⁸ One of the most useful is H.E. Laffer, *The Wine Industry of Australia* (Adelaide: Australian Wine Board, 1949). Laffer's book gives only a brief account of colonial wine growing but has been used in many subsequent popular wine histories. Medical doctor Philip Norrie revisited archives to correct errors he perceived in popular wine histories: Philip Norrie, 'A Study of the Original Documents on Viticulture in Early New South Wales and the Role of the Macleay Family 1788 to 1883' (Master of Science, University of Sydney, 1992), 1. This research focused principally on the Macleays and the Sydney region; see also Philip Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney, Cradle of the Australian Wine Industry* (Sydney: Apollo Books, 1990). More recent popular works include John Beeston, *A Concise History of Australian Wine* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1994), and, Charles Gent, *Mixed Dozen: The Story of Australian Winemaking from 1788* (Sydney:

It was inevitable that grape vines would figure in the inventory of plants carried by the First Fleet, and not surprising that right from the outset attention would be paid to vine propagation and winemaking,²⁹

yet there is no historical explanation for this ‘inevitability’. An explanation is offered in Chapter One of this thesis.

The lack of a foundation study of wine growing in New South Wales, or indeed the other wine growing colonies, meant that when South Australian, George Bell, sought to present his findings on early wine exports to Britain, he first had to publish his own brief history of the industry.³⁰ Julie Tolbrook Holley has begun to address the absence of research into women in Australia wine growing though she focuses principally on South Australia.³¹ Research on the Australian wine show system has also centred on South Australia.³²

Historian Lloyd Evans attempted to address the lack of a foundation study in Australian wine history by conducting a meticulous study of the development of colonial wine growing, particularly in New South Wales. At the time of his death, in 2004, he had

Duffy & Snellgrove, 2003). The phenomenon of the boom in Australian wine exports from the late twentieth century has been explored by a British finance journalist: Faith, *Liquid Gold*. Among the best known of the earlier encyclopedic Australian works which incorporate research from secondary sources on wine are James Halliday, *Australian Wine Compendium* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1985), Len Evans, *Australia and New Zealand Complete Book of Wine* (Sydney: Books for Pleasure, 1976).

²⁹ Halliday, *Australian Wine Compendium*, 7.

³⁰ George Bell, ‘The South Australian Wine Industry, 1858-1876’, *Journal of Wine Research* 4, no. 3 (1993), George Bell, ‘The London Market for Australian Wines 1851-1901: A South Australian Perspective’, *Journal of Wine Research* 5, no. 1 (1994). This journal is sponsored by the Institute of the Masters of Wine which is not an academic institution.

³¹ Julie Holbrook Tolley, ‘“Gustav Got the Winery and Sophie Got the Soup Tureen”, the Contribution of Women to the Barossa Valley Wine Industry 1836-2003’, *History Australia* 2, no. 3 (2005), 86.81-86.88. See also the section on Mary Penfold from South Australia in Ann B. Matasar, *Women of Wine, the Rise of Women in the Global Wine Industry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 35-36. The handful of women who contributed to wine growing in colonial New South Wales were usually ‘wine widows’ like so many other women described by Matasar. They have no historical profile outside of local histories of the Hunter, the Riverina and Port Macquarie. A popular history of women in Australian and New Zealand wine with little to offer scholars is Jeni Port, *Crushed by Women, Women and Wine* (Melbourne: Arcadia, 2000).

³² R. Dunphy and L. Lockshin, ‘A History of the Australian Wine Show System’, *Journal of Wine Research* 9, no. 2 (1998), 87-105.

accumulated material that forms a substantial portion of the thirteen metres of his papers held at the State Library of South Australia. Notes in the papers suggest, however, that Evans was struggling to decide how to structure and interpret his impressive research.³³ In listing existing literature, mention should also be made of Jack Sullivan, a local historian with several publications detailing colonial wine growing on the Paterson River in the Hunter region of New South Wales.³⁴

The diversity of approaches in scholarly treatment of Australian wine history points to another issue: the limits of traditional historical boundaries. While the history of cultivation of wine grapes lacks an anchor due to the absence of an Australian tradition of agricultural history, a further complication is that, in Australia, government policies less draconian than Prohibition in the United States have led to limited interest in the social and cultural (and political) issues of temperance versus intemperance.³⁵ Recent research into wine history has tended to fit more readily into emerging studies of the history of food and history of alcohol while histories of alcohol in Australia often focus on consumption rather than production.³⁶ In the story of colonial wine, its production,

³³ Evans' papers have been consulted at the recommendation of David Dunstan. While impressive they contained little not already viewed for this thesis. The papers are a fine collection of valuable material on Australian wine growing generally and on the McWilliams family enterprise in particular, which likely sent Evans on the journey to create a foundational history of wine growing in New South Wales. His unpublished work on the McWilliams family is: Lloyd Evans, 'Proud of their Age', Unpublished Manuscript, Lloyd Evans Papers, PRG1453/1/47, State Library of South Australia (SLSA).

³⁴ His most recent work is Jack Sullivan, *Patch and Glennie of Orindinna, Gresford* (Paterson: Paterson Historical Society, 2006).

³⁵ A survey of American histories is given in Joseph F. Kett, 'Temperance and Intemperance as Historical Problems', *Journal of American History* 67, no. 4 (1981), 878-885.

³⁶ See for example, John Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures, A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1999), 141-159. Wine is discussed in 'Alcohol' in Graeme Davison, John Hirst, and Stuart Macintyre, eds., *The Oxford Companion to Australian History* (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2001), 20-21. Faith has also noted the lack of an entry on wine in the *Oxford Companion*; Faith, *Liquid Gold*, 10. He found that the lack of historical scholarship on wine was related to the absence of government regulation of its production which presumably implies that Australian history has focused primarily on government and its actions.

See Toussaint-Samat, *History of Food*, 247-90. Works on alcohol used in this thesis includes A.E. Dingle, ' "The Truly Magnificent Thirst": An Historical Survey of Australian Drinking Habits', *Historical Studies*

distribution and consumption are so closely linked that to consider one without the others would make for an incomplete account.

Although there is no natural corner in History for colonial wine growing in New South Wales its study reaches into a diverse range of established areas including Aboriginal-settler relations, convict history, gardening history and migration. The many colonial books on wine growing and thousands of column inches in colonial newspapers and journals on the romance as well as practicalities of wine growing also represent a valuable but forgotten contribution to the history of ideas in the colonial era. The history of official involvement in colonial wine growing from 1788 to 1901 ranges from the growth, decline and re-birth of government farms and the ongoing contribution of the Botanic Garden in Sydney to the enactment of legislation on liquor licensing, tariffs and control of vine disease. In terms of gender, wine growing continued to be largely conducted by men but also involved women at estate gardens in the first half of the colonial century and a few commercial vineyards after the 1850s. With respect to class: British-born or native-born British wine growers were usually elites until later in the nineteenth century in contrast with the German skilled labourers they imported to work their vines and who then established their own small vineyards. Some themes relating to ethnicity arise from the study of colonial wine growing in New South Wales, linked mainly with the migration of skilled vineyard workers.³⁷

19, no. 75 (1980), 229-249; Diane Erica Kirkby, 'Drinking "The Good Life"', in *Alcohol: A Social and Cultural History*, ed. Mack P. Holt (New York: Berg, 2006), 203-223.

³⁷ Metacategories in historical analysis are now considered to be 'race, gender, class and sexual orientation' but sexual orientation does not figure as an identifiable theme in colonial wine growing. The list of metacategories appears in Dominick LaCapra, *History and Reading: Tocqueville, Foucault, French Studies* (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press: 2000), 30.

Ultimately (to return to the economic argument for the value of studying colonial wine growing): the impact of viticulture and viniculture is no longer small. The industry has grown so dramatically that Australian wine exports exceeded \$A3billion in 2007.³⁸ This makes a history of colonial wine growing in New South Wales - the first Australian colony - very timely.

A point now on periodisation. The 'long nineteenth century' in Australian history is usually defined as extending from the beginning of European colonisation to the First World War, that watershed of national identity and change. But the greater change for the wine industry in New South Wales came in 1901 not between 1914 and 1918. When Federation brought the lowering of tariff barriers between the Australian colonies, New South Wales was flooded with wine from South Australia where the industry was stronger due to higher local consumption, greater investment in wine export and less exposure to the devastating vine pest, phylloxera. Victoria's wine industry, by contrast, had floundered dramatically by the turn of the century because of the eradicationist vine-pull policy aimed at controlling the outbreak of phylloxera, first detected in Australia near Geelong in the 1870s.³⁹ Assuming the periodisation of history should be marked by points of change rather than continuity then 1901 - when Federation ended the era of distinct economic, legislative and cultural developments in viticulture and viniculture in each wine growing colony - is the best end point for this project. Moreover, while this thesis builds on valuable work already undertaken on colonial wine history in New South

³⁸ 'Wine Exports Reach \$3 Billion for the First Time', Media Release, Australian Wine and Brandy Corporation, 2007 and statistical confirmation at www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@nsf/mf/1329.0 [accessed 10 November 2008].

³⁹ Dunstan, *Better Than Pommard!*, xi-xiii.

Wales, it covers a significant expanse of otherwise unexplored territory and broader parameters would have undermined its veracity.

Analytical framework: Sexauer on agriculture

An evaluation of the earliest efforts to grow wine grapes in New South Wales depends on an understanding of the agricultural, commercial and cultural importance of wine to an embryonic European colony perceived as ripe to be transformed to a state of European ‘civility’ through colonial practices such as plant introduction.⁴⁰ In addition to understanding the basic requirements for viticulture and viniculture it is necessary to note their acquisition as separate factors and consider how the convergence of these factors - presence or absence of each in particular quantities - has resulted in progress, regression or stasis in specific time periods and under certain economic and cultural circumstances. Or, as Raymond Williams argues, to understand production (in his study, the production of popular culture) it is necessary to look not for the ‘components of a product’ but the ‘conditions of a practice’ which can be seen as analogous to Karl Marx’s idea of the ‘conditions of production’.⁴¹ A list of basic requirements or conditions of practice (or production) in wine growing can be adapted from work by United States-based agricultural economist Benjamin Sexauer, who described the ‘inputs’ necessary for eighteenth century agricultural output in Britain and France as ‘land, labor, capital, technology, and agricultural organisation’.⁴² In this thesis, developments relating to ‘inputs’ for colonial viticulture have been monitored as markers of change. It took much

⁴⁰ Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*, 1.

⁴¹ Raymond Williams, ‘Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory’ in Chandra Mukerji and Michael Schudson, eds, *Rethinking Popular Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 422.

⁴² Benjamin Sexauer, ‘English and French Agriculture in the Late Eighteenth Century’, *Agricultural History* 50, no. 3 (1976): 492-93.

longer to put these inputs in place for colonial wine growing than for the production of other commodities which had largely been adapted to New South Wales conditions by 1821.⁴³ The complexity of producing a drinkable barrel or bottle of wine adds to the requirements of capital input but also creates a mystique about the product that is better measured using measures of cultural analysis.

Bourdieu and socio-cultural analysis

In the same way as Joyce Chaplin has identified a distinction between external (or structural) factors and ‘human agency’ in the creation of a ‘cotton south’ in the United States between 1730 and 1815, there existed intention and action among colonists who created and shaped colonial wine growing in New South Wales.⁴⁴ While it is not intended that this thesis should be framed by a Bourdieuan analysis, Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts enrich the analysis used here to explain the process of ‘creation’ that took place from the first planting of European grape plant stock in New South Wales to the existence of an embedded practice of colonial viticulture and viniculture that existed - albeit on a small scale – by 1901.

Historians no longer disregard details of everyday life and social behaviour such as ‘table manners, sexual etiquette, attitudes toward bodily function and use of language’; for cultural historians they can be ‘essential for understanding the civilising process’.⁴⁵ In the colonial context, where cultural legitimacy could be perceived as depending on compulsive perpetuation of social mores from the metropole, for example, eating certain

⁴³ Raby, *Making Rural Australia*, 21.

⁴⁴ Joyce E. Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit, Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South, 1730-1815* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 280. Chaplin does not expressly use social theory.

⁴⁵ Patrick H. Hutton, ‘The History of Mentalities: The New Map of Cultural History’, *History and Theory* 20, no. 3 (1981): 247.

foods in certain ways (and by extension, producing, distributing and drinking certain wines) regulated ‘what it meant to be European’. This ‘performance of Europeaness’ influenced ‘membership in elite colonial society’ and revealed ‘how Europeans imagined themselves in the colonies’.⁴⁶ The way in which New South Wales’ colonial wine growers imagined themselves influenced the way they used wine grapes, not only in their estate gardens and then to produce semi-commercial crops, but how they perceived grape vines as a ‘civilizing’ plant and wine as a ‘civilizing’ product. As Dunstan observed, vines were perceived as spreading an Enlightenment-inspired ‘improving “civilising” influence over the raw colonial society’.⁴⁷ The seemingly puzzling colonial belief in the power of grape vines to not only create order in the landscape (with straight rows of tidy vines) but vines and wine as providers of stability within a disordered society can be explained using Pierre Bourdieu’s notions of ‘distinction’ and ‘habitus’.

The notion of ‘distinction’ arose from Bourdieu’s research into the differing cultural tastes of the French middle and working classes. ‘Distinction’ is practiced and embodied by ‘expressing the higher values of refinement and effortless superiority’.⁴⁸ Consumption of cultural artefacts, including food and wine, is ‘predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfill a social function of legitimating social differences’.⁴⁹ ‘Cultural consecration’ could, for example, render nudity legitimate and beautiful in ballet but disgraceful and demeaning in a public place without the trappings of

⁴⁶ Susie Protschky, ‘The Colonial Table: Food, Culture and Dutch Identity in Colonial Indonesia’, *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 54, no. 3 (2008): 346-48. Protschky’s argument on eating in colonial Indonesia, a ‘subject colony’, has important resonances still in the ‘settler colony’ of New South Wales.

⁴⁷ Dunstan, *Better Than Pommard!*, xiii.

⁴⁸ Jen Webb, Tony Schirato, and Geoff Danaher, *Understanding Bourdieu* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2002), 135.

⁴⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 7.

performance; ‘nothing could be obscene on the stage of our premier theatre’.⁵⁰ By the late eighteenth century, wine as an intoxicant was firmly associated with British middle and upper classes rather than the working class. This was distinct from cultural associations in European wine producing countries, where wine of varying qualities was consumed across social strata.⁵¹ Wealthy British men drank wine to excess in private rather than public houses, without losing dignity or status, the combined ‘distinction’ of wealth and wine offered social protection. This protection appears effortless but is actually the result of complicity among members of a specific social or cultural ‘field’.⁵²

Bourdieu argues the social world is made up of multiple and inter-related ‘fields’ in which humans negotiate their position and authority. The hierarchy within these fields is determined by access to capital - financial or material and non-material - which manifests as power, prestige and status (and links back to ‘distinction’).⁵³ Non-material capital can be ‘symbolic’ or ‘cultural’. The difference between the two is that symbolic capital relates to material gain (objects related to the dedicated use of wine, for example); cultural capital is certainly linked to wealth but not dependent on it. A practice with cultural capital has social value, it is connected more with fitting into a specific cultural ‘field’ than with financial gain.⁵⁴

When Penny Russell argued that in colonial New South Wales, ‘manners mattered, as contested currency in the organisation of a society where the growing

⁵⁰ Bourdieu uses this quote to demonstrate the way in which ‘cultural consecration does indeed confer on the objects, persons and situations it touches, a sort of ontological promotion akin to transubstantiation’, in Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 7.

⁵¹ See the argument in Chapter One.

⁵² Webb, Schirato, and Danaher, *Understanding Bourdieu*, 173.

⁵³ Emily Phillips and Ian Gray, ‘Farming “Practice” as Temporally and Spatially Situated Intersections of Biography, Culture and Social Structure’, *Australian Geographer* 26, no. 2 (1995): 129.

⁵⁴ For a succinct, Australian interpretation of these concepts from Bourdieu, see Webb, Schirato, and Danaher, *Understanding Bourdieu*, 21-45.

fluidities of the English class system were reproduced and intensified' she could be describing not only the emerging 'distinction' in colonial society but the habitus of colonists for whom 'manners' were 'contested currency' within their social field using non-material capital imported from Britain and adapted within the colony.⁵⁵ Cultural capital can also be linked to cultural representation in colonial self-fashioning and expressions of colonial selfhood.⁵⁶ These manifestations of cultural representation became particularly evident in the exhibition of colonial wine at the international and intercolonial exhibitions of the second half of the nineteenth century which played a key role in developing colonial nationalism.⁵⁷

Bourdieu devised the concept of 'habitus' to describe how humans live within social structures (such as those that perpetuate 'distinction') but also effect change (altering, for example, the cultural practices understood to have 'distinction'). Habitus is defined as a body of 'meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions'; action in and attitudes to the material world that create and re-create structures of behaviour and action over time.⁵⁸ Habitus as a means of assisting explanations of historical causation can be detected in both the public and private spheres from the 'gentle, but powerful

⁵⁵ Penny Russell, 'The Brash Colonial: Class and Comportment in Nineteenth-Century Australia', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 433.

⁵⁶ The definition of cultural representation used here is the constructionist approach to meaning in language described by Stuart Hall. Alternatives are: one, the reflective approach - that language has inherent meaning, independent of the users of language - or, two, the intentional approach, that meaning comes only from authorial intention; Stuart Hall, 'The Work of Representation', in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 15. 'Culture' is understood to mean a 'way of life' composed of material and non-material artefacts and practices rather than a description of so-called 'high arts' connected with conceptions of European civilisation; see Raymond Williams, *Culture* (London: Fontana Press, 1981), 13.

⁵⁷ On the role of exhibitions in shaping colonial nationalism see Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (London: University of California Press, 2001), 273.

⁵⁸ Linda Young, ' "Extensive, Economical and Elegant": The Habitus of Gentility in Early Nineteenth Century New South Wales', *Australian Historical Studies* 124 (2004): 202. See also Phillips and Gray, 'Farming "Practice"', 129.

influence of laws and manners' that 'cemented' the first British Empire to the choice of furniture among middle class colonists in early nineteenth century Sydney that signified they were 'of a mind' in recreating bourgeois belonging.⁵⁹ Ironically (and sometimes disastrously), while New South Wales colonists sought to recreate European habits of wine production and consumption, their habitus with respect to wine was limited to the practice of consumption, they had little useful understanding of wine production which had to be gained before commercial scale wine growing could be achieved.

Habitus, as a tool of analysis, presents an opportunity to work with the proposition that '[i]f it is important to know our country intimately then it is important that our acquaintance with the rural past should be deeper than it is now'. The American agricultural historians who wrote this believed that '[w]e all of us are only too familiar with certain political and military events which serve as mileposts in the traditional accounts of our development.' Our work, they continued 'should be something more than an account of agriculture as an economic activity. It is perhaps pretentious to expect a successful recapture of the atmosphere and habits of mind' of farmers, but that should be our ambition.⁶⁰ While a 'successful recapture' may remain elusive, aspects of these 'habits of mind' with respect to colonial wine growers in New South Wales can be discerned through the concept of habitus, also defined elsewhere as 'habits of heart'.⁶¹

⁵⁹ David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1; Young, 'The Habitus of Gentility', 201-20.

⁶⁰ Harry J. Carman and Rexford G. Tugwell, 'The Significance of American Agricultural History', *Agricultural History* 12, no. 2 (1938): 99, 106. This short manifesto can also be seen as similar in purpose to the Annalists' use of social historical methodology to reveal the 'mentalities' (comparable with 'habits of mind') of early modern Europeans peasants. See also F. Roy Willis, 'The Contribution of the Annales School to Agrarian History: A Review Essay', *Agricultural History* 52, no. 4 (1978), 538-539 and 548; and comment on Le Roy Ladurie's testing ideas about climate shifts and preference for alcohol levels in wine, 544.

⁶¹ LaCapra, *History and Reading*, 75.

Blumenbach's bottle

When the German scientist, Blumenbach, received his mysterious bottle of wine, the possibility of making a consistently palatable drink from fermenting grapes grown in New South Wales existed only in the imagination of a few men such as Arthur Phillip and Joseph Banks. If Blumenbach's bottle did indeed contain colonial wine it would have been poorly made, probably by convicts supervised by a colonist with no genuine knowledge of viticulture or viniculture (drawing, perhaps, on experience making other English plant wines or from observing wine making in Europe). As the colony of New South Wales matured, as elite colonists anticipated, towards an expected state of 'civilization', the cultural capital of wine meant an increasing number of British migrants sought to produce grape wine to 'civilize' their 'savage' social and physical surrounds through the creation of a potential staple crop with status or 'distinction' within empire. Certain 'civilized' structures were required to ensure wine growing could become entrenched. These included a diversified economy, a colonial press and publications for disseminating ideas and knowledge, agricultural associations, an established parliament, transport networks and a sufficiently sophisticated understanding of the land itself. Apart from a lack of viticultural knowledge, the main obstacle that had to be overcome was not foreseen by early visionaries such as Phillip and Banks: how to get a colonial population comprised mainly of working class British migrants to consume an alcoholic beverage which neither tasted well nor meant anything to them culturally.

Chapter One

'Habits of Mind': The cultural meaning of wine and wine growing

When the First Fleet arrived on the shores of New South Wales during the stormy mid-summer of 1788 it carried provisions to make the new colony liveable according to late eighteenth century British standards, so its cargo included wine and vine plant stock. Once at anchor off Sydney Cove, out of the holds of the supply ships came casks of 'Canary' wine from Teneriffe in the Canary Islands, 'port' from Brazil's Saint Sebastian on the Rio de Janeiro and 'Constantia' from Table Bay at the Cape of Good Hope - all three ports of call on the nine month journey. Among dozens of foreign species of flora and fauna were vine plants purchased at the Cape; perhaps including 'Constantia', the prized muscatel-based unfortified dessert wine grape.¹ Along with the wine and vines came 'ways of life', habitus; expectations and imaginings about agriculture and daily living intended to not only cultivate the soil but to provide fertile ground for the formation and governance of a civil society influenced by Enlightenment-inspired philosophies of 'civilization'.² Just as legal and social processes enacted by the colonists echoed previous patterns of colonisation, the inclusion of wine and vine cuttings on the First Fleet echoed earlier journeys to the New World.

¹ Governor Arthur Phillip's expression is ambiguous in the relevant passage on the source of the original vine stock. He wrote that he bought vines and other plants from Rio and the Cape; Arthur Phillip to Joseph Banks, 22 August 1790, Banks Papers, Botanical and Horticultural 1789-1796, ML CY3005/68, but there were no vineyards at Rio. Captain David Collins, who traveled to Botany Bay as Judge-Advocate, wrote in his 1798 work that vines were purchased at the Cape but not at Rio: David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, Facsimile edition (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1971), xxviii. For a description of 'Constantia' see Jancis Robinson, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Wine*, Third ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 192-93.

² The president of the British Agricultural History Society wrote in the late 1960s that during the eighteenth century 'the British farmer made such advances in the technique of his profession that his system became a pattern for the civilized world'; demonstrating British representation of Enlightenment scientific developments and faith in the power of British farming to 'civilize' new colonies; Fussell, 'Science and Practice', 7.

Viticulture (growing grapes) and viniculture (making wine)

First, a few words on growing grapes and making wine. The wine grape - known as *vitis vinifera* in its cultivated form - is not native to Australia. It is smaller and more acidic than grapes used for eating fresh or drying and is believed to have originated in the Transcaucasian region of Georgia.³ Grapes were among the earliest main fruit crops domesticated in the Old World; that is, temperate Europe, the Mediterranean and south-west Asia. Other fruits tamed and cultivated around the same time were olives, dates, figs.⁴ Archaeo-botanical evidence shows that wine production likely occurred from as early as three and a half thousand years before Christ, in the Early Bronze Age, and that wine was being imported to Egypt before 3150BC.⁵

During domestication, grape vines developed deep root systems, making them ideal for poor soils but their roots rot easily so clay and swampy soils are not suitable. As a mid-eighteenth century farming expert wrote:

[t]he best soil is a light mould mixed with stony particles, but this is not the only one that is proper; a poor loam, where there is not too much depth of soil, and where the bottom is dry, will answer the purpose; and if occasionally some rubbish of buildings, or of masons yard be brought in, they will greatly improve it.⁶

Once a suitable site has been selected for planting grapes the soil may be trenched (or dug to loosen the top soil), particularly if it has not previously been cultivated. This allows the young roots greater ease of growth so the plant establishes well. Grapes must be propagated from vine cuttings to ensure new plantings have the characteristics of the

³ McGovern et al, *Origins and Ancient History*, xii.

⁴ Daniel Zohary and Maria Hopf, *Domestication of Plants in the Old World, the Origin and Spread of Cultivated Plants in West Asia, Europe and the Nile Valley*, Third ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 248-49.

⁵ Zohary and Hopf, *Domestication of Plants*, 156-57.

⁶ Thomas Hale, *A compleat body of husbandry* (London: Printed for Thomas Osbourne, Thomas Trye and S. Crowdor, 1759), 5.

parent vine. Using seeds will result in a plant likely to return to its wild (pre-domestication) state which would produce fewer and smaller berries than a cloned plant.⁷ In order to produce grapes with sufficient juice to make wine, vines were (and still are) carefully pruned to control the number of grape bunches produced on each cane. The growth of the leaf canopy can also be controlled to either increase or decrease sunlight on developing grape bunches. Cooler climate ripening of grapes may be improved with a lighter leaf canopy.

Grapes do not bear fruit until the third or fourth year after planting, so there is no quick return on an investment in wine growing. Wine production - even more so than grain growing and vegetable cultivation - requires a settled community, relying as it does on a perennial rather than annual plant. With careful pruning and adequate - but not excessive water - wine grape vines will produce berries of correct ripeness (or acid-sugar balance) to achieve fermentation from naturally-occurring yeasts in the 'bloom' on the skin. The role of these naturally-occurring yeasts became a part of oenological knowledge only during the nineteenth century as a result of work by prominent natural scientists. Yeasts are now added to aid fermentation but colonial wine production usually depended on those occurring naturally.⁸ The colour in red wine comes from the natural dye in grape skins so if the juice to be fermented is strained from the skins soon after crushing and pressing then the wine will be 'white'. Tannins in the skins of red grapes give red wines their potential to age more readily than most white wine varieties.

⁷ Laffer, *Wine Industry of Australia*, 6.

⁸ A newspaper report of the early 1890s explained how wine yeasts were being manufactured, from grape bloom. By artificial means it became possible to eliminate the less effective yeasts for fermentation, The Australian reprinted in the *New York Times*, 22 February 1891. Details on the role of cultured yeasts in viticulture also at Robinson, ed., *Oxford Companion to Wine*, 778-90.

In the eighteenth century grapes were often still pressed by foot soon after harvest and then left to ferment though wine presses were used in France with peasant growers accessing communal presses.⁹ The length of time that the ‘must’ – or grape solids – were left on the liquid determined the length of fermentation; too long and the wine became vinegar. Before refrigeration could be used to cool the must and slow fermentation, the conversion of grape sugars to alcohol was stopped by some rudimentary cooling methods and by straining the liquid away from the grape solids. The process of fining, with substances such as egg whites or milk, attracted and removed some of the remaining vegetable matter to prevent spoilage. Finally, barrels were used to store and transport wine. Wine purchased from Europe by the British was usually transported in wooden barrels to wine merchants, sold bottled or re-barrelled in smaller containers by the merchant then consumed in the year of production, though this began to change with the invention of the cork-stoppered wine bottle in the seventeenth century.¹⁰

Distribution and consumption of wine in Britain

By the late eighteenth century wine consumption was high among the upper and middle classes in Britain and among British naval officers and colonial administrators. The empire lacked a wine industry of its own, mainly due to the development of trade networks with wine producers in countries with a more suitable climate. But this had not always been the case. Wine grapes arrived in England, it is thought, either with the Romans or to make sacramental wine for Catholics who came after the fall of Rome. Even if they did not grow wine in England, the Romans certainly consumed wine there,

⁹ Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food*, 288.

¹⁰ Hugh Johnson, *The World Atlas of Wine* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 1971), 16.

importing it to the British Isles as part of their colonial practice in much the same way as the British colonists brought wine to New South Wales many centuries later.¹¹

The vines in England known to have been maintained by the Catholic Church provided wine for the communion ritual of transubstantiation (wine becoming the blood of Christ), for consumption by the clergy and purchase by the secular nobility.¹² Despite the Domesday Book recording that there were thirty-eight vineyards in England at the time of the Norman Conquest, any English hopes of establishing itself as an export producer in the medieval period were dashed by both the cold, damp climate and the influx of French goods, particularly wine, from 1070.¹³ German wines were even more popular than French until the development of trade links with the French region of Bordeaux when, in 1154, Henry II of England ascended to the throne with his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, whose inheritance included vast wine lands.¹⁴ The Bordeaux surrendered to France in 1451 and the French King Charles VII allowed exports to continue to England but taxed them heavily.¹⁵ Despite the cost, the cultural capital of grape wine, and lack of alternative alcohol for the upper classes, maintained its status.

While wine imported to England was purchased by large royal and noble households, it was also available to many members of the household and to armed forces maintained by the English monarch.¹⁶ It has been said ‘there was probably no import

¹¹ Andre L. Simon, *The History of the Wine Trade in England*, vol. 1 (London: The Holland Press, 1964), 6-7. Simon’s argument on this is persuasive despite being at odds with other sources, such as Harm Jan De Blij, *Wine: A Geographic Appreciation* (Totowa: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983), 45. De Blij, as a geographer, has depended on secondary historical material.

¹² Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 147.

¹³ Simon, *Wine Trade in England*, 42-43.

¹⁴ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, ‘Eleanor of Aquitaine Reconsidered: The Woman and Her Seasons’, in *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 10.

¹⁵ Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 201-02.

¹⁶ Simon, *Wine Trade in England*, 337-38.

with which the medieval Englishman would have dispensed so unwillingly as wine'.¹⁷ Even during periods of scant supply of meat, wine could still be obtained, 'the whole of Europe drank wine: only a part of Europe produced it'.¹⁸ Indeed, wine affected more than the disposition of its consumers: ships were described according to the quantity of wine they could carry.¹⁹ The wine trade in Europe proved remarkably immune to political exigencies and by the seventeenth century wine, 'a basic component of European civilization...was transported uninterruptedly' like blood coursing through veins, across the roads and sea routes of Europe.²⁰

Meanwhile, 'drunkenness increased everywhere in the sixteenth century'.²¹ 'The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as is the twentieth, were drinking centuries'.²² In England, alcohol consumption reached a high point in the eighteenth century.²³ King George III favoured wine: hock from Germany and claret from France but the English generally drank more Portuguese wine than any other, having developed a taste for the strong, fortified wines of Oporto, called generically 'port' as a result of the Methuen Treaty. Of the more than seventeen thousand tons of wine imported into England in 1786, three quarters were from Portugal.²⁴

The loss of access to French wines had not been universally accepted, however; philosopher David Hume remarked in 1752 that

¹⁷ Louis Salzman, *English Trade in the Middle Ages* (London: H. Prodes, 1964), 376.

¹⁸ Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism 15th - 18th Century: The Structures of Everyday Life, the Limits of the Possible*, trans. Sian Reynolds (London: Harper & Row, 1981), 231.

¹⁹ Hugh Johnson, *World Atlas of Wine*, 15.

²⁰ Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th - 18th Century: The Perspective of the World*, trans. Sian Reynolds (London: Harper & Row, 1984), 178.

²¹ Braudel, *Structures of Everyday Life*, 236.

²² Marie Kimball, 'Some Genial Old Drinking Customs', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (1945): 350.

²³ Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, Revised ed. (London: Penguin, 1990), 19-20.

²⁴ A. D. Francis, *The Wine Trade* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1972), 244.

there are few Englishmen who would not think their country absolutely ruined, were French wines sold in England so cheap and in such abundance as to supplant in some measure all ale and home brewed liquors...[and yet] we transferred the commerce of wine to Spain and Portugal, where we buy worse liquor at a higher price.²⁵

Taste and cultural capital certainly played a part in Hume's complaint.

Wine quality depended on more than country of origin and since it kept without spoiling for less than a year it was often value-added in alarming ways with substances such as animal blood or lead to give the impression of freshness. 'Vintners' (either non-English importers established in a warehouse for a few months after the European grape harvest or English operators of premises licensed to sell wine) had a reputation equivalent to used car salesmen today. An English statute of 1661, declared,

[n]o merchant, Vintner, Wine-Cooper, or other person selling or Retailing Wine, shall mingle, or utter any Spanish Wine, mingled with French, or Rhenish Wine, Sider, Perry, Honey, Sugar, Syrrups of Sugar, Molasses, or other Syrrups whatsoever, not put in any Isinglass, Brimstone, Lime, Raisins, juyce of Raisins, Water, or other Liquor, nor Ingredients, nor any Clary, or other Herb, nor flesh whatsoever.²⁶

Some of these substances, such as the harmless isinglass (a gelatin), were used for fining. But, adding a cocktail of substances to wine dated from at least the mid-fourteenth century and preventing or masking wine spoilage continued at least until the late nineteenth century when Louis Pasteur identified the effects of bacteria.²⁷

²⁵ Cited in Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th - 18th Century: The Wheels of Commerce*, trans. Sian Reynolds (London: Harper Row, 1982), 210.

²⁶ William Hughes, *An Exact Abridgement of All Statutes in Force and Use made in the 16th, 17th, and 18th years of the Reign of King Charles the firft, and in the 12th, 13th, and 14th years of the Reign of K, Charles the fecond* (Printed for J. Starkey and T. Bafset, 1662), 224.

²⁷ Michael R. Best, 'The Mystery of Vintners', *Agricultural History* 50, no. 2 (1976): 365, 370.

Wine was usually named for its origin rather than the grape variety or varieties, a taxonomic practice which caused terrific ampelographic confusion in the earliest experiments with wine growing in New South Wales.²⁸ And, to confuse things further, there were exceptions, as explained in a mid-eighteenth century encyclopedia:

[w]ines are also distinguished with regard to their colour into white wine, red wine, claret wine, pale wine, rose, or black wine; and with regard to their country, or the soil that produces them, into French wines, Spanish wines, Rhenish wines, Hungary wines, Greek wines, Canary wines, &.. and more particularly into Port wine, Madeira wine, Burgundy wine, Champaign wine, Falurnian wine, Tockay wine, Schires wine, &c.²⁹

The last named, 'Schires', probably meant shiraz or syras or later 'Hermitage' wine, because shiraz grapes grew at Hermitage in France. In the Georgian period wines shipped to Britain came not only from all over Europe: those countries already mentioned as well as Spain, Hungary, Alsace-Lorraine (called Rhenish wine) and Italy. British ships also re-supplied, as the First Fleet did, at victualling stations, such as Madeira, the Canaries and the Cape.³⁰

'Wine' in England referred also to fermented liquor made at a cottage level from honey, berries, fruits and vegetables.³¹ Malt liquor, called *Vinum Britannicum* by its apologist Doctor Thomas Short, commanded a certain loyalty too due to its taste and affordability. In 1727 Short claimed it was better for cool climates than grape wine, and

²⁸ Ampelography is the study of vine varieties. Colonial ampelographic confusion will be discussed in later chapters but a fine example is that it is recorded that the same wine once won both the burgundy and claret sections of an Australian wine show; Robinson, ed., *Oxford Companion to Wine*, 172.

²⁹ Author unknown, 'A new universal history of arts and sciences, shewing progress, theory, use and practice, and exhibiting the structure, improvement, and uses of the most', vol. 2 (London, Printed for J. Coote, 1759), 550 and 551.

³⁰ 'Garnsey's New Wine Tables to be had of the Calculator, 1797', *ECCO* [accessed 29 September 2005].

³¹ *Sir Kenelme Digby, The closet of the eminently learned Sir Kenelme Digby Kt. Opened whereby is discovered several ways for making of metheglin, sider... Together with excellent directions for cookery* (London: Printed by E.C. & A.C. for H. Brome, 1671), is a good example of a recipe book that includes traditional fermented wines such as mead.

sufficiently nutritious for people who ate food from fertile soil which, he argued in the spirit of age-old rivalries, European wine producing countries did not.³² His efforts were in vain, though, partly because of the perceived medicinal benefits of wine grapes, especially as an antiscorbutic - or antidote to scurvy - which became very important in an age of increasingly long and frequent sea voyages. According to one writer, scurvy 'will be improved by any Sort of Wine, because every fermented inflammable spirit, prudently diluted and drank with Moderation, invigorates the Constitution, and helps secure it from Corruption, without overheating it'.³³ Never mind that it might be one of the few ways to obtain vitamin-rich foods which usually spoiled quickly on long voyages. Malt was also considered an anti-scorbutic but ale deteriorated more rapidly, like unpreserved food.

There may have been some wine grapes grown in England by the late eighteenth century but certainly not commercially. The damp climate obviously made it difficult to grow wine grapes but, more decisively, as Hugh Barty-King wrote, British wine production became virtually non-existent because of cultural changes from centuries of intra-European trade and 'because its manufacture no longer held a position at the centre of the English way of life as it once had, the practice of viticulture had come to be regarded as eccentric'.³⁴ This did not mean, however, that the British were not open to seeking suitable sites for wine growing in parts of the New World they controlled.

Wine and vine cuttings in the 'pattern of colonisation'

According to Nicholas Canny the process of building a body of knowledge about how to proceed with British colonial projects constituted a 'pattern of colonization'

³² Thomas Short, *Vinum Britannicum: Or an essay on the properties and effects of malt liquor* (London: Printed for D. Midwinter and M. Bryson, 1727), 44-61.

³³ Addington, *An essay on the sea-scurvy*, 35.

³⁴ Hugh Barty-King, *A Tradition of English Wine* (Oxford: Oxford Illustrated Press, 1977), 114. Table grapes, however, were grown in controlled-climate conditions in estate gardens.

dating back to abortive attempts by English lords to take control of Ireland in the late sixteenth century.³⁵ Chaplin referred, too, to ‘hearth cultures’ in the mid-Atlantic British colonies in North America establishing ‘settlement patterns’ about ‘creating an economy dependent on commercial agriculture, the likelihood of using black slaves to do so, and a focus on grain and tobacco as crops likely to fulfill these expectations’.³⁶ Such ‘patterns’ are discernable outside British colonial practice as well. Wine and vine cuttings, for instance, had long been cargo of colonisers of the New World. Christopher Columbus carried grape cuttings from the Canary Islands on his first transatlantic voyage though, as with many early attempts to grow grapes, those few plants did not survive.³⁷ Hernan Cortes took the vine to Mexico in the early 1520s and by 1524 a Spanish regulation ordered that ‘for each grant of land equivalent to 100 Indians, proprietors of these new estates thus had to plant 1000 vines of the best quality available’; it is thought that Pizarro had vine cuttings with him when he sacked the Incan Empire and there are reports of extensive missionary plantings in Peru and Chile by the 1550s.³⁸ By the end of the sixteenth century the Mexican wine industry was so successful that Philip II ordered a halt to further development of vineyards in Spanish America.³⁹

While it is not clear whether there were cuttings on the first English voyage to America in 1589, there was wine in the cargo. Richard Hakluyt wrote of diplomatic exchanges with indigenous Americans: ‘after two or three days the king’s brother came aboard the ships and drank wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked

³⁵ Nicholas P. Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established 1565-76* (Hassocks (Sussex): Harrister Press, 1976), 163.

³⁶ Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit*, 290.

³⁷ Henry Hobhouse, *Seeds of Wealth: Four Plants That Made Men Rich* (London: Macmillan, 2003), 101.

³⁸ Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 216-18., 216-8.

³⁹ De Blij, *Wine*, 57.

exceedingly thereof'.⁴⁰ Later English aspirations to develop a wine industry in the American colonies were fueled by a desire to maintain access to, and create profit from, this necessary luxury. The English gentry imported rare and expensive European wines to colonies in Virginia and New Amsterdam as part of their transplanted lifestyle but still a regulation ordered early Virginian households to plant ten vine cuttings and learn the art of vine cultivation.⁴¹ A few decades later, in the ongoing Virginian search for cash crops, Edward Williams urged colonists to enrich themselves by cultivating silk-worms and wine grapes. But his advice was misleading. Potential settlers 'will be pleased to know', he wrote, 'that the Vine requires (once planted) little more labour than the Hoppe'.⁴² It did not turn out to be as straightforward as growing hops in either North America or New South Wales.

In the late seventeenth century the English parliament pressed investors to set up experimental agriculture in the American colonies to solve the problem of an increased and significant influx of French immigrants to England, including vinedressers. The native American grape was found to be unsuitable for wine production (but good for jam making) and hundreds of thousands of European vines were planted with French expertise over the next hundred years.⁴³ The industry was showing signs of success in the late eighteenth century: a Frenchman won the Royal Society of the Arts gold medal

⁴⁰ Richard Hakluyt, 'The First English Voyage Made to the Coasts of America, 1589', in *Sources and Debates in English History 1485-1714*, ed. Newton Key and Robert Bucholz (Malden: Blackwell, c2004), 89.

⁴¹ Kimball, 'Old Drinking Customs', 354.

⁴² Edward Williams, *Virginia's discovery of silke-worms with their benefit and the implanting of mulberry trees: also the dressing and keeping of vines, for the rich trade of making wines there...* (London: Printed by T.H. for John Stephenson, 1650), 32.

⁴³ Arthur H. Hirsch, 'French Influence on American Agriculture in the Colonial Period with Special Reference to Southern Provinces', *Agricultural History* 4, no. 1 (1930): 1-3.

for wine production in 1772.⁴⁴ In the same year Louis De Saint Pierre published *The Art of Planting and Cultivating the Vine, as also of making, fining, and preserving wines & according to the most approved methods in the Most celebrated wine-countries in France*, aimed at settlers destined for the aptly-named New Bordeaux in South Carolina. He believed that wine growing created employment for vinedressers, coopers, smiths, and even ship-builders because of the mercantile traffic likely to arise out of increased production.⁴⁵ The promise of success in wine growing could no longer benefit the British empire, however, once South Carolina and the other twelve revolutionary colonies of British North America declared their Independence in 1776.

In proposing less than a decade later that a new British colony be established in New South Wales, the American loyalist, sailor and diplomat, James Maria Matra, included grapes on the list of plants to be trialled as a potential cash crop. The loss of the American colonies reduced the collection of taxes by the British, so a new breed of wealthy planters was needed, he argued, to 'atone for the loss of our American colonies'.⁴⁶ Matra may have witnessed efforts to create vineyards in North America prior to Independence and certainly understood the commercial potential as well as cultural capital of wine growing in addition to crops such as grains and tobacco. As Waterhouse argued, British colonists of the late eighteenth century drew on extensive knowledge of colonisation when envisaging the development of New South Wales:

⁴⁴ Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit*, 151.

⁴⁵ Louis De Saint Pierre, *The Art of Planting and Cultivating the Vine; as Also, of Making, Fining, and Preserving Wines, Etc, According to the Most Approved Methods in the Most Celebrated Wine-Countries in France* (London: Printed by J. Wilkie and J. Walter, 1772), xiv-xv.

⁴⁶ James Maria Matra, 'A Proposal for Establishing a Settlement in New South Wales' in Alexander Britton, ed, *Historical Records of New South Wales (HRNSW)*, vol. 1, (Sydney: Charles Potter, 1892), 1. Biographical details for Matra: Alan Frost, 'Matra, James Mario [sic] (1746-1806)' in Douglas Pike, ed., *Australian Dictionary of Biography (ADB)*, suppl. vol. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2006), 265-266.

[t]he formula that seemed to guarantee the permanence and economic success of a settler society: the discovery of a staple that grew in the relevant environment, the existence of a guaranteed and cheap labour supply, and the exercise of economic, political and social hegemony by a relatively small group of merchants and planters.⁴⁷

Matra could not have foreseen, however, that factors such as distance and the distraction of the Napoleonic Wars would interrupt the potential for any but convict migration in the early years and that it would be many decades after 1788 before circumstances led to its development as a viable cash crop in New South Wales. In this respect, there were similarities with the United States experience. But, in a break with a key pattern of colonial practice, once wine growing did become established in New South Wales, the colony became the first wine country in history, including antiquity, not to use imported slave labour (as distinct from convict labour) to cultivate large commercial vineyards.⁴⁸

Creating ‘civilization’ in the colonial context

Biohistorians have defined civilization as ‘all human societies with economies based on farming’.⁴⁹ In the case of the attempted colonisation of Ireland in the late sixteenth century, the claim that the Irish did not cultivate their land – ‘were a semi-nomadic people opposed to all civility’ therefore justifying English control by force to bring settlement, order in law and ‘civilization’ - has bitter echoes in the experience of Indigenous Australians under British rule from 1788.⁵⁰ Cultivation had long been

⁴⁷ Richard Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid, a Social and Cultural History of Rural Australia* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2005), 18.

⁴⁸ Liz Thach and Lillian Bynum, ‘Managing Human Resources in the Wine Industry’, in *Wine, a Global Business*, ed. Liz Thach and Tim Matz (New York: Miranda Press, 2004), 170-71.

⁴⁹ Stephen Boyden, *The Biology of Civilization, Understanding Human Culture as a Force in Nature* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2004), 181.

⁵⁰ Canny, *Conquest of Ireland*, 13-14.

synonymous with the creation of civility in colonial practice.⁵¹ Colonisers perceived that the lack of cultivation in a colonised land offered both prospects for the ‘enrichment and social advancement’ of the coloniser and a justification for taking control of the colonised land and peoples.⁵²

Further, as Michael Adas has shown, prior to the late nineteenth century when ‘industrialisation’ became linked with ‘civilization’, it was perceived that ‘the degree to which a society has mastered its environment reflects the extent to which it has ascended from savagery to civilization’.⁵³ Mastering the environment mainly through agricultural improvement became both reflected in and entrenched by Enlightenment philosophies about progress and advancement; concepts readily imported and adopted by New South Wales colonists.⁵⁴ ‘Civilization’, understood within the emerging Enlightenment framework of British thinking in this period, contained a sense of Bourdieuan distinction. That is, a British colony within empire had to ensure it not only applied its farming practices in a recognised, measurable and progressive manner but that colonists mastered their environment (natural and political) to an extent worthy of the British empire as the self-perceived ideal or apogee of civilization. This, in turn, created the need to legitimate colonial power through measures to ‘civilize the civilizer’, that is: to ensure members of all classes of the colonisers remained at least more ‘civilized’ than the

⁵¹ In Australia, *terra nullius* was the justification manufactured for colonisation in the 1880s using perceived non-cultivation of the land by Indigenous Australians. It was a legal fiction about the lack of ‘settled inhabitants’ prior to 1788. Heather Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy: Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1996), 106.

⁵² Canny, *Conquest of Ireland*, 28.

⁵³ Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men*, 24.

⁵⁴ This is argued by both Dixon and Gascoigne, as mentioned briefly in the Introduction. See Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment*, 2002), 10, especially in reference to the repeated focus on ‘improvement’ in colonial agriculture; Robert Dixon, *The Course of Empire*, 24.

colonised.⁵⁵ In the late eighteenth century the Christian-derived idea of moral economy, in which the individual striving for profit was counter-productive for the community, had been replaced by the more secular political economy in which the material benefit of individuals was seen to benefit a whole society.⁵⁶

The colonisers journey forth

By the time the First Fleet set sail from Portsmouth, the colonisation of New South Wales promised more than commercial benefit; it represented the improvement of ‘civilization’:

[t]he Expedition to Botany Bay comprehends in it more than the mere Banishment of our Felons; it is an Undertaking of Humanity...by the number of Cattle now sending over of various sorts, and all the different Seeds for Vegetation, a capital Improvement will be made in the Southern part of the New World.⁵⁷

The task of undertaking this ‘capital improvement’ remained daunting, befitting both the reality and the perceived gravity of the undertaking. As his ship sailed from Cape Town, on the final leg of the journey to New South Wales, judge-advocate David Collins wrote:

[i]t was natural to indulge at this moment a melancholy reflection which obtruded itself upon the mind. The land behind us was the abode of a civilized people; that before us was the residence of savages...and, as if it had been necessary to imprint this idea more strongly on our minds, and to render the sensation still more poignant, at the close of the evening we spoke a ship from London. The metropolis of our native country, its pleasures, its wealth, and its consequence thus accidentally presented to the mind, sailed not to afford a most striking contrast with the object now principally in our view.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ The notion of ‘civilizing the civilizer’ is inspired by the argument in Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power, Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, c2002), 35.

⁵⁶ Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit*, 26.

⁵⁷ Correspondent to the *St James Chronicle*, cited in Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment*, 69.

⁵⁸ David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1971), xxxiv.

Collins displayed discomfort at the prospect of a destination perceived as ‘backward’ – and requiring the labour of improvement. Captain Watkin Tench, however, viewed the prospect of the labour of improvement with an idiosyncratically positive air:

[w]e weighed anchor and soon left behind every scene of civilization and humanized manners, to explore a remote and barbarous land; and to plant in it those happy arts, which alone constitute the pre-eminence and dignity of other countries.⁵⁹

From the presence of vine stock on the First Fleet, and the significance of viticulture and viniculture in the stockpile of cultural representations imported from the Old World, it was clear that wine growing was among the many ‘happy arts’ imagined as transforming the ‘barbarous’ landscape of New South Wales.⁶⁰

While none of the books unloaded on the beach at Port Jackson in 1788 specifically described wine growing, Governor Phillip and his small group of educated colonists were familiar with classical literature which linked wine growing and ‘civilization’, and with the Bible which prescribed exemplary codes of social and cultural behaviour in relation to wine and wine growing.⁶¹ For those British marines and convicts with a less formal education, the Bible provided a stockpile of cultural representations of wine and wine grape production (though there is no evidence they showed any interest in

⁵⁹ Watkin Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years, Being a Reprint of a Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay and a Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1961), 28.

⁶⁰ Stephen Greenblatt argues that European literature on the New World - in his work, the Americas - tells only what Europeans thought of the New World rather than about the New World as experienced by its indigenous inhabitants and that due to the limits of subjective gaze there is no New World separate from these perceptions of it. According to Greenblatt, Europeans had a ‘stockpile of representations’ from which they drew and in turn contributed to through expression of these representations in texts such as travel literature, Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions, the Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 6.

⁶¹ On the literature on the First Fleet see Michael Richards, *People, Print and Paper, a Catalogue of a Travelling Exhibition Celebrating the Books of Australia, 1788-1988* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1988), 10-12. On the role of classical Roman literature in British society see Philip Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth Century England* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 48-49.

the perceived civilizing effects of wine and wine growing in the early years of colonization).

Wine and wine growing in the Bible

In the biblical and classical traditions wine developed economic, social and religious (and therefore cultural) importance because of its unique combination of special dietary benefits and psychotropic effects.⁶² There are more than a hundred direct references to wine in the Bible. It is not clear whether there were wine grapes in the Garden of Eden - the first garden on earth according to biblical legend - but an eighteenth century commentary on the Bible assumed this was the case.⁶³ The earliest reference to wine rather than grapes is the disgrace of Noah, whose first planting after the flood was a vineyard. He later harvested his grapes, made wine, and consumed enough of it to be drunk and naked in his tent when a family member discovered him. There was such shame in this - though the reason is not revealed in the abbreviated style of biblical narrative - that Noah banished the family member who found him.⁶⁴

In the early books of the Old Testament 'firstfruits' - corn or wheat, wine, oil, ox or sheep meat, fleece, and honey - were expected to be sacrificed to the Hebrew god, or Lord, after harvest, to ensure prosperity.⁶⁵ Wine also 'maketh glad the heart of man'⁶⁶; wisdom personified 'hath mingled her wine'.⁶⁷ A virtuous woman 'considereth a field, and buyeth it: with the fruit of her hands she planted a vineyard'.⁶⁸ The grape harvest was

⁶² McGovern, 'Introduction' in McGovern, Fleming, and Katz, eds., *Origins and Ancient History*, xi-xii.

⁶³ Author not stated, *Bibliotheca Biblia: Being a commentary upon the books Old and New Testament*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1720-1735), 251.

⁶⁴ Genesis 9:20-25, *Holy Bible* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, year unknown), 7.

⁶⁵ See for example Deuteronomy 18:3-4, *Holy Bible*, 164; II Chronicles 31:5 *Holy Bible*, 380.

⁶⁶ Psalm 104, *Holy Bible*, 475.

⁶⁷ Proverbs 9:2, *Holy Bible*, 497.

⁶⁸ Proverbs 31:16, *Holy Bible*, 511.

celebrated with singing.⁶⁹ On the other hand, priests in the Old Testament were forbidden to drink wine;⁷⁰ in the New Testament bishops and deacons were urged to limit their intake.⁷¹ For lay people ‘wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging: and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise’.⁷² Wine contributed to the creation of both joy and destruction.

Wine had a strong metaphorical presence in the Bible. For example:

in the Land of the Lord there is a cup and the wine is red; it is full of mixture; and he poureth out of the same: but the dregs thereof, all the wicked of the earth shall wring them out, and drink them.⁷³

There was also ‘the wine of astonishment’;⁷⁴ ‘the wine of violence’;⁷⁵ and, of Babylon - the enemy of the Israelites – ‘the wine of the wrath of her fornication’.⁷⁶ In the New Testament, Jesus taught humility with the parable of the wicked husbandmen who underpaid his vineyard workers.⁷⁷ The prophet turned water into wine to prevent the hosts’ embarrassment at a Canaanite wedding feast.⁷⁸ Later, as Jesus was paraded through the streets of Jerusalem on the way to his crucifixion, he refused an offer of wine mixed with myrrh.⁷⁹ These examples show the significant presence yet complex representations of wine in what was perhaps the single most influential text across gender and class divisions in late eighteenth century Britain. Its message contained many ambiguities, testimony to the paradox of wine, as opposed to other forms of alcohol, that

⁶⁹ See for example Isaiah 16:10, *Holy Bible*, 531.

⁷⁰ Leviticus 10:9, *Holy Bible*, 90.

⁷¹ First Epistle of Saint Paul to Timothy 3:3 and 3:8, *Holy Bible*, 178.

⁷² Proverbs 20:1, *Holy Bible*, 504.

⁷³ Psalm 75:8, *Holy Bible*, 464.

⁷⁴ Psalm 60:3, *Holy Bible*, 458.

⁷⁵ Psalm 65:17, *Holy Bible*, 494.

⁷⁶ Revelation 18:3, *Holy Bible*, 216.

⁷⁷ Matthew 20:1-16, *Holy Bible*, 20.

⁷⁸ John 4:46, *Holy Bible*, 83.

⁷⁹ Mark 15:23, *Holy Bible*, 47.

co-existing with a cultural perception of joy in mild intoxication is the sin or danger in drunkenness. As Louis Grivetti described, 'wine is the food with two faces... praised when consumed in moderation, condemned when consumed in excess'.⁸⁰ This paradox would remain unresolved in New South Wales with the - by turns - reviling and praising of wine.⁸¹

Wine and wine growing in Classical texts

For educated colonists the stockpile of representations from classical literature emphasised the link between wine growing, commercial-scale cultivation and 'civilization'. While this is implied in the Bible, it is explicit in Classical writing. Virgil - the Roman poet who grew up on a farm - wrote of the desirability of the advancement of humankind manifested in transformation of the landscape:

Come, then, ye husbandmen, and learn the tillage that each kind claims for his own, mellow your harsh fruits by culture, nor suggest your fields to lie idle. There is joy in planting Ismarus with the vine, and joy in clothing great Taburnus with the olive.⁸²

Out of labour and order came wealth. Wine was a highly ordered form of agriculture and an economic boon and therefore its cultivation – along with that of olives – became synonymous with the state of 'civilization' exemplified by the Greeks.⁸³ Their land had been depleted by constant cultivation then 'the ruined soils of Attica were, in part,

⁸⁰ Louis E. Grivetti, 'Wine: The Food with Two Faces' in McGovern, Fleming, and Katz, eds., *Origins and Ancient History*, 9.

⁸¹ The sub-banner of the short-lived New South Wales publication *The Teetotaller* used a bible reference: 'It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby they brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak (Rom. c. 14 v. 21)'. *The Teetotaller, and General Newspaper*, 8 January 1842. Henry Lindeman, 'Pure Wine as a Therapeutic Agent', Lindeman (Holdings) Ltd Papers, Z418/Box 157, NBAC.

⁸² Virgil, cited in Clarence J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore, Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 143.

⁸³ Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 99-101.

reclaimed by planting vineyards' which provided good income.⁸⁴ Greek culture was tied to cultivation and long tenure of the land made Greeks more civilized, in their own eyes, compared with other cultures they traded with. Therefore, 'civilization' was linked with cultivation of their staple export crops, wine and olives.

And so it continued for the Romans. In *de Agri Cultura*, Marcus Porcius Cato wrote that:

If you ask me what sort of farm is best, I will say this: On hundred *jugera* of land consisting of every kind of cultivated field; and in the best situation; the vineyard is of the first importance.⁸⁵

In the spirit of the classical invocation of the vineyard as 'best', an early English treatise - published a hundred years before James Cook's journey along the east coast of Australia - declared, '[f]or as Seneca, Cato, Varro, Columella, &c. do affirm, the Planting of Vineyards hath been more gainful than any other Act of Husbandry whatsoever'.⁸⁶

On a less sober note, the early modern English drinking song, *An excellent new song, intituled, the virtue of wine To its own proper tune* contained the following classically-inspired verse:

Aristotle that Master of Arts/had been but a dunce without
Wine./And what we ascribe to his Parts,/is due to the Juice
of the Vine./His Belly, most Writers agree,/ Was as big as a
Wadding-Trough;/He therefore leapt into the Sea,/Because
he'd have Liquor enough/And liv'd by the Scent of the
cask/ and liv'd by the Scent of the cask.⁸⁷

Here were the two faces of wine lampooned.

⁸⁴ Edward Hyams, *Soil and Civilization* (London: Thomas and Hudson, 1952), 101.

⁸⁵ Cited in Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 102.

⁸⁶ William Hughes, *The Compleat Vineyard: Or, An Excellent way For the Planting of Vines, According to the German and French manner, and long Practised in England* (London: Printed by J.C. for Will. Creek, 1670), n.p.

⁸⁷ From Anonymous, 'Broad-sides and Ballads', *Women Advising Women Part 5*, Fisher Library, University of Sydney, MF 305.405 10.

The 'two faces' of wine in classical texts also saw wine represented as a powerful medicine and a dangerous intoxicant. According to Hippocrates of Cos,

[t]he main points in favor of...strong white wine...[are that] it passes more easily to the bladder than the other kind and is diuretic and purgative, it is always beneficial in acute diseases... These are good points to note about the beneficial and harmful properties of wine; they are unknown to my predecessors.⁸⁸

Plato's Law included an age limit for consumption with echoes in modern regulations:

'boys under eighteen shall not taste wine at all; for one should not conduct fire to fire'.⁸⁹

Pliny the Elder believed 'there are two liquids that are specially agreeable to the body, wine inside and oil outside' but noted that women and wine did not blend harmoniously, though punishments seem needlessly cruel compared with the crime.

We find [he wrote] that the wife of Egnatius Maetennus was clubbed to death by her husband for drinking wine from the vat, and [he was] acquitted... A matron was starved to death by her relatives for having broken open the casket containing the keys of the wine cellar.⁹⁰

Despite the potential for drunkenness - ruin or debauchery (Dionysian or Bacchanalian behaviour) - wine earned a reputation for respectability and status in British culture compared with spirits (the greater proof alcohol and therefore perceived as the more ruinous drink) and ale, the choice of the poorer classes. Earning status and distinction strengthened an impression that wine had transformative qualities, especially in a period in which existing realities were taken to be natural laws. Dunstan perceived this same faith in the transformative qualities of vine growing to effect a more 'civilized' society.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Hippocrates cited in McGovern, Fleming, and Katz, eds., *Origins and Ancient History*, 3.

⁸⁹ Plato cited in McGovern, Fleming, and Katz, eds., *Origins and Ancient History*, 4.

⁹⁰ Cited in Louis Grivetti, 'Wine: The Food with Two Faces' in McGovern, Fleming, and Katz, *Origins and Ancient History*, 12-13.

⁹¹ Dunstan, *Better Than Pommard*, xiii.

The same notion existed in the belief that the “‘culture of cotton” encouraged “personal industry” and replaced “poverty” and “idleness”” in the early nineteenth century American south; a culture influenced by the new political economy.⁹²

Adam Smith and vineyards as a ‘civilized’ and ‘civilizing’ landscape

In contrast with British wine culture, European wine-producing peasants drank their own cottage-style wines or purchased inexpensive styles while more highly-priced ‘fine wines’ such as ‘claret’ from Bordeaux supplied the nobility and export demand.⁹³

Adam Smith, a key Enlightenment thinker who created the study of economics (and whose work defined early ideas of political economy), famously stated that because wine could be purchased cheaply where it was produced ‘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’.⁹⁴ Smith’s observation contributed to perceptions that wine and wine growing somehow created the relative sobriety of wine-producing European peasants compared with the inebriated lower classes of Britain and later the Australian colonies.

Smith’s ideas travelled to New South Wales in the cultural and intellectual baggage of educated colonists. Henry Carmichael, clergyman and teacher (and later a Hunter wine grower), schooled ‘working men...almost thro’ Smith’s *Wealth of Nations*’ during his voyage from England to the colony in 1831.⁹⁵ In another example of the faith in this notion, New South Wales parliamentarian Robert Holroyd referred to Smith’s

⁹² Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit*, 278.

⁹³ Robinson, ed., *Oxford Companion to Wine*, 172-73.

⁹⁴ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, IV.3.37 (1776), <http://econlib.org> [accessed 12 May 2008].

⁹⁵ Penny Russell, ed, *This Errant Lady: Jane Franklin's Overland Journey to Port Phillip and Sydney, 1839* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2002), 135.

claim about wine production and sobriety in defence of his low license fee for the sale of colonial wine in the 1860s.⁹⁶ Then, more than a century later:

[s]urely [wrote geographer Harm Jan de Blij in the 1980s] there are few human pursuits that generate as close a relationship between people and the land they cultivate as does viticulture. The well-tended vineyard is a hillside transformed, the soil turned and aired, the vines trained and pruned, the fields laid out for optimal benefit of sun or shade...[An] appealing environment...is part of the reason why wine regions the world over attract endless streams of visitors, who come not just to sample the wines. The verdant hills where the promise of another vintage is being fulfilled, the attention to detail in the vineyards, the progress of the barreled wines in the winery, the preparations for the coming harvest – all bestow upon viticulture’s cultural landscape a quality that is, simply, unique.⁹⁷

This passage encapsulates much of the strong sentiment about the sight and siting of vineyards that existed (and still exists) among enthusiasts as geographically diverse (but culturally connected) as American president Thomas Jefferson and New South Wales colonial administrator James Busby.⁹⁸

The First Fleet cargo of wine and vine cuttings

We turn now to the specifics of wine and vines on the First Fleet. Before sailing from Portsmouth, the fleet’s supply vessels had taken on wine and essence of malt, as antiscorbutics, to the value of £381.⁹⁹ Meanwhile, the fleet commander, Phillip, almost certainly drank wine daily but - typically of the invisible traces of day-to-day living -

⁹⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 November 1862.

⁹⁷ De Blij, *Wine*, 5-6.

⁹⁸ On Thomas Jefferson see Kimball, ‘Old Drinking Customs’, 355.

⁹⁹ House of Commons Parliamentary Papers 1731-1800, Accounts and Papers 34 (1790-91) No. 740, 8.4.91 cited in John White, *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales*, Facsimile ed. (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1962), 243n., 243n.

referred to it rarely except in terms of rations, purchase and the treatment of scurvy.¹⁰⁰ He had more than a passing interest in wine growing though. Correspondence with Banks during his tenure as Governor of New South Wales showed his enthusiasm.¹⁰¹ Moreover, Phillip's extensive naval experience prior to the voyage to Botany Bay had taken him to the ports of every significant wine producing wine country in Europe: France, Germany, Spain, Portugal and Italy. He spent time in the French countryside during a period of spying for the British Government in the early 1780s and surely gathered there a perception of both the physical beauty of vineyards and the cultural benefits of wine production.¹⁰² He may even have been seduced by the landscape of vineyards as Blij certainly was many years later.

In Phillip's correspondence with his close friend Evan Nepean, an under secretary to the Secretary for States for the Colonies, there are seven letters in which wine features, and one mentions fruit cuttings, which can be assumed to include wine grapes.¹⁰³ The essence of the correspondence was Phillip's concern that the marines who signed up for three years to garrison the new colony of New South Wales would not be provided with sufficient wine or spirits 'to which they have ever been accustomed'.¹⁰⁴ The crews of the *Sirius* and *Supply*, Phillip's express command, were to be allocated wine¹⁰⁵ but he also required it to help treat the sick before departing from England.¹⁰⁶ Phillip checked

¹⁰⁰ Author unspecified, *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay with an account of the establishment of the colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island* (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1790), 18, 33, 217 and 229. Note that this account is not written by Phillip himself but embellished from his dispatches.

¹⁰¹ Arthur Phillip to Joseph Banks, 22 August 1790, ML A81.

¹⁰² Alan Frost, *Arthur Phillip 1738-1814, His Voyaging* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1987), 59 and 132.

¹⁰³ Arthur Phillip to Lord Sydney, 28 February 1787, *HRNSW*, vol. 2, 54.

¹⁰⁴ Arthur Phillip to Evan Nepean, 2 December 1786, *HRNSW*, vol. 2, 30.

¹⁰⁵ Secretary Stephens to Arthur Phillip, 23 February 1787, *HRNSW*, vol. 2, 49.

¹⁰⁶ Arthur Phillip to Lord Sydney, 28 February 1787, *HRNSW*, vol. 2, 50.

officially that he could purchase wine at the Canary Islands or the Cape but expressed privately to Nepean that he remained concerned about bad provisioning.¹⁰⁷

Fresh meat for all the convicts and wine for the sick I was informed [he wrote] had been ordered in consequence of the representation I made as soon as the ships got round to Portsmouth, but the sick only have fresh meat. Wine, at the discretion of the surgeon, is very necessary for the sick, as the convicts are not allowed anything more than water.¹⁰⁸

Phillip's concern about scurvy looked like being overturned by the Colonial Secretary's reluctance to allow the marines wine or spirits in case of drunkenness though Lord Sydney did eventually relent and allocated £200 to

cause the said wine or spirits to be issued to the said marines at such times and in such proportions as you may judge requisite; you will, however, observe that no further quantity of wine or spirits will hereafter be allowed for that purpose.¹⁰⁹

Lord Sydney's reluctance on this point had obviously reached the ears of the marines stationed on HMS Scarborough. They protested that

[a] moderate distribution of the above-ment'd article being indispensibly requisite for the preservation of our lives, which change of climate and the extreme fatigue we shall be necessarily exposed to may probably endanger, we therefore humbly entreat you will be pleased to convey these our sentiments to Major Ross. Presuming, sir, that you will not only be satisfied that our demand is reasonable, but will also perceive the urgent necessity there is for a compliance with our request, flatter ourselves you will also use your influence to cause a removal of the uneasiness we experience under the idea of being restricted in the supply of one of the principal necessarys of life, without which, for the reasons above stated, we cannot expect to survive the hardships incident to our situation.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Arthur Phillip to Evan Nepean, 1 March 1787, *HRNSW*, vol. 2, 54.

¹⁰⁸ Arthur Phillip to Evan Nepean, 18 March 1787, *HRNSW*, vol. 2, 58.

¹⁰⁹ Lord Sydney to Arthur Phillip, 5 May 1787, *HRNSW*, vol. 2, 94.

¹¹⁰ Memorial from the Marines, 7 May 1787, *HRNSW*, vol. 2, 100.

Phillip feared ‘disagreeable consequences’ unless the marines were all fairly victualled with alcohol.¹¹¹ According to his instructions, Phillip purchased some wine at Teneriffe and indicated to Nepean that the marines daily rations were one pound each of bread and beef and a pint of wine; convicts received three quarters of a pound each of bread and beef and no wine.¹¹²

Meanwhile, wine was on the minds of most of the literate voyagers on the First Fleet. In addition to the official dispatches of Phillip it is mentioned in the journals of Judge-Advocate David Collins, Surgeon-General John White, Captain Watkin Tench, First Lieutenant of Marines Ralph Clark, Surgeon Arthur Bowes Smyth and Private Marine John Easty.¹¹³ White, for instance, made it his habit to comment on the produce of each port of call, and remarked of Teneriffe that the ‘principal dependance of the inhabitants is on their wine (their staple commodity), oil, corn, and every kind of stock for shipping’ as well as European fruits and vegetables.¹¹⁴ Tench commented that at Teneriffe

dry wines, as the merchants term them, are sold from ten to fifteen pounds a pipe; for the latter price, the very best, called the London Particular, may be bought; sweet wines are considerably dearer. Brandy is also a cheap article.¹¹⁵

Wine doled out to the marines at Teneriffe may have included London Particular, though Clark did not state a preference in his description of the rationing.

¹¹¹ Arthur Phillip to Evan Nepean, 8 May 1787, *HRNSW*, vol. 2, 101.

¹¹² Arthur Phillip to Evan Nepean, 10 June 1787, *HRNSW*, vol. 2, 108. A pint at this time was five-sixths the size of an Imperial pint, the wine contained more lees, or sediment, than is now acceptable and even port wine contained less alcohol; Francis, *The Wine Trade*, 241.

¹¹³ There are, however, no references to wine in the papers of Midshipman George Raper and Midshipman or Lieutenant Newton Fowell dated up until the landing at Botany Bay; George Raper, Papers 1787-1824, University of Newcastle MF3831; Nancy Irvine (ed), *The Sirius Letters, The Complete Letters of Newton Fowell, Midshipman and Lieutenant Aboard the Sirius Flagship of the First Fleet on its Voyage to New South Wales* (Sydney: The Fairfax Library, 1988).

¹¹⁴ White, *Journal of a Voyage*, 56.

¹¹⁵ Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years*, 18.

Major Ross came on board [wrote Clark] & ordered all Convicts to be put out of Irons with Struck order for Them to be put in Irons again on the Smales offence and inform use that there should [be] Wine and fresh Beef for the whole of use.¹¹⁶

Back at sea the voyagers looked forward to the next port of call, Saint Sebastian at the mouth of the Rio de Janeiro River, a Portuguese shipping port where Phillip received a particularly warm welcome because of earlier service in the Portuguese navy. Phillip had hoped to purchase several ‘tuns’ of wine during the month long stopover at Rio but stores from Portugal were low. He reported to Nepean that

[w]ine is not to be bought at present but from those who retail it, there being none in store, consequently it is dearer than in general; and the rum on our coming in, there being little in the place, rose more than five-and-twenty per cent. Thirty pipes of wine is the quantity that was ordered for the hospital, but for the above reasons only 15 pipes have been purchased.¹¹⁷

Phillip’s men had ample opportunity to imbibe while in port, however, and Smyth found the language barrier at Rio no obstacle to local hospitality. He wrote in his journal that

[a]n Old Gentleman whom we found afterwards to be the Captn of a Fort nearby seeing us pass his Garden invited us by signs and treated us in the most friendly manner, insisting upon our eating every fruit his Garden afforded...He insisted on making some Punch & produced a Bottle of excellent Port Wine.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Paul G. Fidlon and R. J. Ryan, eds, *The Journal and Letters of Lt. Ralph Clark 1787-1792* (Sydney: Australian Documents Library, 1981), 16.

¹¹⁷ Arthur Phillip to Evan Nepean, 2 September 1787, *HRNSW*, vol. 1, 112.

¹¹⁸ ‘The Original Arthur Bowes Smyth Manuscript of His Voyage to Australia’, University of Newcastle MF 3799.

White noted with interest that the Saint Sebastians ‘do not accustom themselves to high living, nor indulge much in the juice of the grape’,¹¹⁹ perhaps because of the lack of a local wine industry.

The final stop over for the First Fleet, at the Cape, presented an opportunity to stock locally-produced wine which Phillip procured despite an apparent shortage. Easty recorded that ‘Munday, October the 15th 1787...Served out fresh beef & mutton and Soft Bread & fresh Butter [these last six words are crossed through] & Wine[,] hoisted out the Long Boat’.¹²⁰ At this time the Cape Colony still belonged to the Netherlands after being colonised especially to victual Dutch East India Company (VOC) ships sailing to India and the East Indies. Its plantation-style wheat and ‘wine farms’ used slave labour and many of the richest members of the Cape’s new gentry were wine growers.¹²¹

White and four companions climbed Table Mountain during the lay over and, although he does not mention it, would have viewed the slave-worked wine farms among the patchwork of industriously-cultivated estates below. The famous Constantia district, comprising two large vineyards, lay to the west side of Table Mountain near the outcrop called Lion’s Head.¹²² An impression of the wealth from the Cape’s wine farms and the grand sight of vineyards stretching across the south African hinterland was added to the way in which the Englishmen of the First Fleet imagined they too could transform the native landscape of Botany Bay.

¹¹⁹ White, *Journal of a Voyage*, 83.

¹²⁰ John Easty, *Memorandum of Transactions of a Voyage from England to Botany Bay: 1787 – 1793: a First Fleet journal* (Sydney: Trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales in association with Angus & Robertson, 1965), 49.

¹²¹ Robert Ross, ‘The Rise of the Cape Gentry’, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 9, no. 2 (1983): 199 and 205-06.

¹²² Author unspecified, *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay*, 39.

Collins took very enthusiastically to wine tourism in this final outpost of ‘civilization’ before Botany Bay. Although, wine could only be bought by the bottle rather than in barrels, ‘that of Constantia’ he wrote, ‘so much famed, has a very fine, rich, and pleasant flavour, and is an excellent cordial’.

[M]uch of the wine that is sold under that name [he continued] was never made of the grape of the Constantia; for the vineyard is but small, and has credit for a much greater produce than it could possibly yield: this reminds us of those eminent masters in the art of painting, to whom more originals are ascribed than the labour of the longest life of man could produce. Wine of their own growth formed a considerable article of traffic here; and the neatness, regularity, and extent of their wine-vaults, were extremely pleasing to the eye; but a stranger should not visit more than one of them in a day; for almost every cask has some peculiarity to recommend it, and its contents must be tasted.¹²³

Collins obviously had a sense of humour and apparently resisted consuming an irresponsible quantity of alcohol. Others were not as restrained. Clark wrote often of the night-long drinking bouts and drunken fights of Captain Meredith and the ship’s surgeon, Doctor Thomas Arndell, and at times a third party, Mr Faddy on HMS *Friendship*. One particular night the doctor did remain sober, however, in case he was needed to attend a convict he knew to be fatally ill. Clark wrote, indignantly, in his journal that ‘Capt. M: kept it up again – in my oppinion he is doing very wrong – thank god I have not been [drunk] but only twice...and then I was but very little’.¹²⁴

Among Phillip’s tasks at the Cape was the purchase of plant stock; ‘the rarest and the best of every species, both in plant and seed’ from ‘Mr Mason, the king’s botanist’, whom, Collins explained, ‘we were so fortunate as to meet with here as well as by

¹²³Collins, *An Account of the English Colony*, xxvii.

¹²⁴Fidlon and Ryan, *Ralph Clark*, 17 and 41.

Colonel Gordon, the commander in chief of the troops at this place'. Collins believed Gordon presented himself as 'a gentleman whose thirst for natural knowledge amply qualify him to be of service to us, not only in procuring a great variety of the best seeds and plants, but in pointing out the culture, the soil, and the proper time of introducing them into the ground'.¹²⁵ Phillip's gardener might have learned from Gordon, if he did not already know, some of the rudiments of viticulture, and others may have been instructed as well.

Conclusion

Keeping plant stock healthy on a long sea voyage proved one of the early challenges of colonisation. Just days before the landing at Botany Bay, Smyth recorded that 'with the heavy rolling of the ship the tubs in the cabin with the banana plants, grape vines etc. broke their fastening and were thrown out of the tubs and much hurt'.¹²⁶ The state of this first shipment of vine stock might have been adequate to ensure a crop once they were planted and cultivated. But, in the same way as Phillip was forced to adapt existing plans to move the intended site of the penal colony of New South Wales from Botany Bay to Port Jackson, a remarkable collection of decisions would have to be made in order to succeed in using the Cape cuttings to produce wine grapes in this newest outpost of 'civilization'.

¹²⁵ Collins, *An Account of the English Colony*, xxvii.

¹²⁶ Cited in Philip Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 15.

Chapter Two

A colonial project begins: wine and wine growing in New South Wales from 1788 to 1808

The planting of Governor Phillip's subsistence garden near Government House at Sydney Cove, Port Jackson in 1788 represented not only a need for survival but a desire for the 'civilized' and familiar.¹ It 'was truly an imperial garden, boasting plants from around the world...with their own history of global relations and exchange...invested with all the hopes and fears of a new colony'.² Exotic plants colonised 'uncultivated' territory 'as surely as the settlers who imported them...[and] the garden more than any other site expressed the transformations inherent in colonialism'.³ The governor's gardener must have struggled, however, to cultivate an unknown climate with reluctant convict labour. It is thought he placed the grape vines to border the central path from present-day Circular Quay to the original Government House site, perhaps for decoration or ease of picking once the vines began fruiting.⁴ Before Phillip's decision to establish the colony at Port Jackson, however, First Fleet officers imitated a centuries-old ritual of colonial paternalism; they offered wine to the 'savages' of Botany Bay.⁵

¹ I am indebted to Joy Hughes, Museum of Sydney, for the definition of the garden as 'subsistence' rather than a 'kitchen' garden which implies a separate 'pleasure' garden also existed. Email correspondence with Joy Hughes, 23 December 2008.

² Katie Holmes, Susan K. Martin, and Kylie Mirmohamadi, *Reading the Garden, the Settlement of Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2008), 8.

³ Paul Fox, *Clearings, Six Colonial Gardeners and their Landscapes* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2004), xv.

⁴ This interpretation is given in Michael Lehany, 'First Government House, Grounds and Garden History', Report to Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, Sydney, 1994. Lehany has used the plates in Tim McCormick (with Robert Irving, Elizabeth Imashev, Judy Nelson and Gordon Bull), *First Views of Australia 1788-1825, An Early History of Sydney* (Sydney: David Ell Press, 1987), 44-45.

⁵ The following argument has been made in Julie McIntyre, '“Bannelong Sat Down to Dinner with Governor Phillip, and Drank His Wine and Coffee as Usual”: Aborigines and Wine in Early New South Wales', *History Australia* 5, no. 2 (2008): 39.1-39.14.

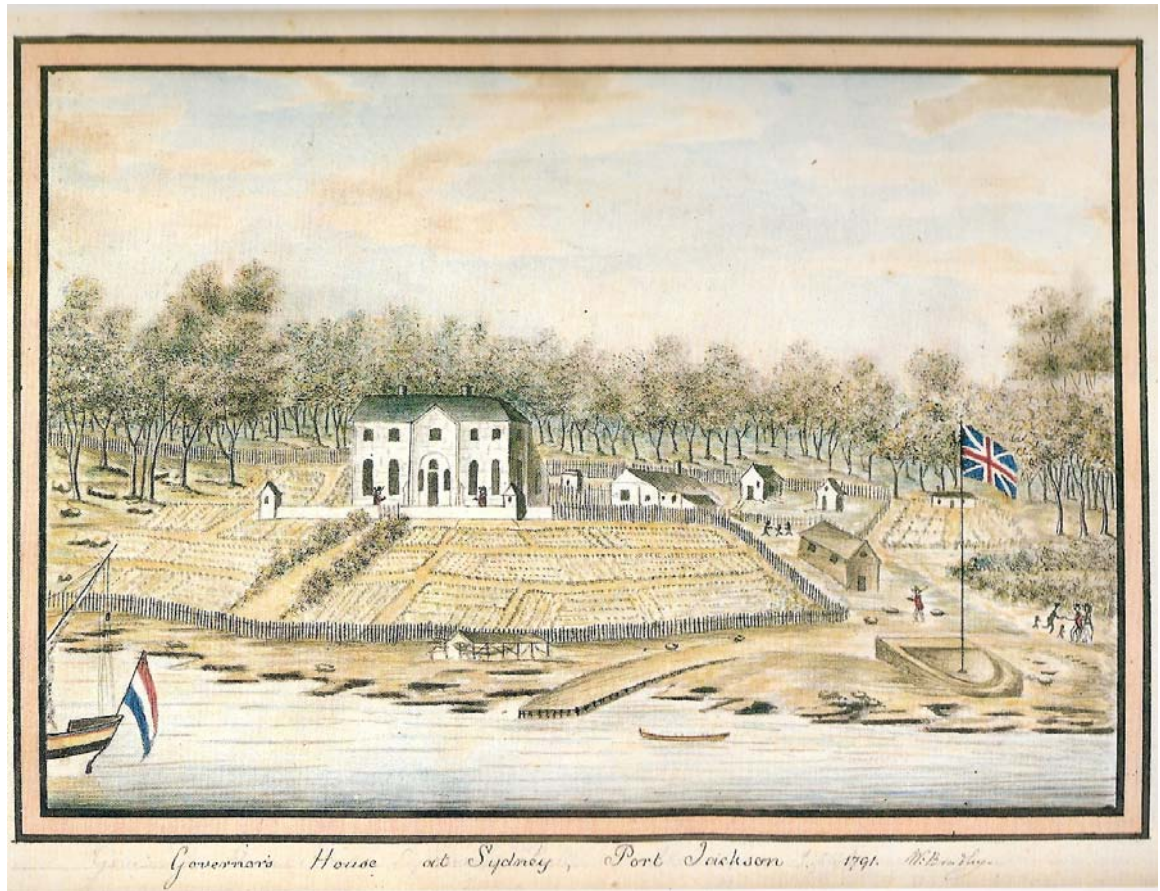


Figure 1: The plants believed to be grape vines can clearly be seen at the edges of the central path in the garden of First Government House. Source: Originally from ML Safe 1/14; reproduced in McCormick et al, *First Views of Australia*, 44.

Aborigines and wine

The offering of wine to Aborigines came as an inevitable part of the earliest cross-cultural encounters in New South Wales, echoing previous offerings of wine and other alcohol to ‘natives’ throughout New Worlds conquered by Europeans.⁶ While in Hakluyt’s sixteenth century experience the Indigenous American king’s brother ‘liked exceedingly’ European wine, bread and meat, Phillip’s crew received a different response under different circumstances from Indigenous Australians. The particular event in which Aborigines are recorded as first drinking wine has been treated lightly by British

⁶ Maggie Brady, ‘Alcohol Policy Issues for Indigenous People in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand’, *Contemporary Drug Problems* 27, no. 3 (2000): 438.

wine writer Hugh Johnson. The British colonists toasted their settlement at Port Jackson with the wine, he wrote, but

if this was the first toast drunk in Australia it was probably not the first wine. Lieutenant Philip Gidley King had offered some to two Aborigines who greeted their arrival. They spat it out, but there is no reason to think that the lieutenant wasted the rest of the bottle.⁷

While Johnson intended no serious disrespect to Aborigines by presenting the anecdote from King's journal in a way that emphasized the Aborigines' perceived barbarity compared with the 'civilized' British officers, his representation privileged the European attitude to wine at the expense of an Indigenous perspective.

The actual entry paraphrased by Johnson from King's journal referred to an event on 20 January 1788 and read: 'I gave two of them a glass of Wine which they had no sooner tasted than they spat it out'.⁸ This occurred two days after the advance ships of the First Fleet arrived at Botany Bay and Phillip, King and others had rowed ashore to appraise the site's suitability for the planned prison camp and to scout for fresh water. While ashore the party had encountered several Aboriginal men who accepted beads and mirrors left for them on the ground. These men continued to follow the whites as they explored the area. Some of the white boat crew was armed though Phillip approached the Aboriginal men unarmed. The group of Aborigines although 'armed with lances, & short bludgeons' seemed to want closer contact rather than conflict. The colonists' first impulse was to offer more presents but their supply of trinkets was running low.⁹

⁷ Hugh Johnson, *The Story of Wine* (London: Mandarin, 1989), 368.

⁸ Paul Fidlon and R.J. Ryan, eds, *The Journal of Philip Gidley King: Lieutenant, R.N. 1787-1790* (Sydney: Australian Documents Library, 1980), 34.

⁹ Fidlon and Ryan, *Journal of Philip Gidley King*, 34.

Although King does not expressly declare it, the offer of the wine came at this potential flashpoint and appeared to diffuse the danger of the situation for his party. Some barrier had been breached and the Aborigines and whites began comparing words in their respective languages for ‘a number of articles’. The Aborigines then indicated confusion about the gender of the clothed whites so a crew member removed his pants to display his genitalia, at which time King believed the Aborigines indicated that Aboriginal women would be at their ‘service’ for sexual relations if required.¹⁰

The gender implications of the incident go deeper than a shared understanding of gestures about sexual relations with Aboriginal women; perceptions of masculinity were also at stake. Phillip had been ordered to use ‘every possible means to open intercourse with the natives, and to conciliate their affections, enjoining all our subjects to live in amity and kindness with them’ (which he genuinely attempted) but also to count the number of Aborigines he met and recommend ‘in what manner our intercourse with these people may be turned to the advantage of the colony’.¹¹ The wine incident at Botany Bay formed the first part of a series of encounters in which Phillip perceived himself to be offering ‘kindness’ but also, more speculatively, testing their masculinity and their potential to be ‘civilized’ since wine had a strong link to the ‘civilized’ middle and upper classes and masculine behaviour within British society.

Men sharing wine in a round of ‘toasts’ was a deeply ritualistic practice which dated back to the pledging of allegiances during the English Civil War and Jacobite resistance. Once the toasting began each toast was responded to by all; ‘with twelve

¹⁰ Fidlon and Ryan, *Journal of Philip Gidley King*, 34.

¹¹ Arthur Phillip’s Orders, Frederick Watson, ed, *Historical Records of Australia (HRA)* I, vol. 1 (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1914), 13-14.

people present, at least twelve more full glasses were imbibed'.¹² Drinkers were joined in a contract of sorts not unlike Holy Communion in the Catholic and High Anglican mass. According to Charles Ludington, the significant quantities of wine consumed by British men - from officer class to King George III - in the late eighteenth century may have fulfilled a need for the British elite to overcome a perceived emasculation experienced as a result of the loss of the revolutionary colonies of North America. Wine consumption constituted a 'heroic' act; both a battle with the bottle and a need to match the drinking feats of other wine drinkers. It was powerful behaviour, Ludington explains, to drink at least three bottles in an evening sitting (to be a 'three bottle man') and the battle could also involve 'drinking *against* someone'.¹³ For some among the First Fleet landing party, the Aborigines who rejected the wine could have been perceived as not only 'uncivilized' but 'unmasculine'.

While British officials possessed an understanding of wine as a cultural artefact both 'civilized' and 'civilizing', the Aborigines did not. Indigenous Australians had developed sophisticated cultural meanings for intoxicants based on regional flora but had no fermented alcohol, as Europeans knew it, in the absence of suitable plants and vessels for fermentation and storage.¹⁴ They, therefore, had no specific cultural hierarchy of alcohol consumption in the way it was understood as gender and class-based in British society. And, adapting Henry Reynolds' conclusion about the Aboriginal response to other European artefacts: the Indigenous reaction to wine was not homogenous but

¹² Charles Cameron Ludington, 'Politics and the Taste for Wine in England and Scotland, 1660-1860' (PhD, Columbia University, 2003), 447.

¹³ Ludington, 'Politics and the Taste for Wine', 405, 37-38, 48.

¹⁴ Dunstan, *Better Than Pommard!*, 3; Brady, 'Alcohol Policy Issues', 439.

varied, individual and one of curiosity and creativity.¹⁵ This was especially the case for Bennelong who was quick to understand and exploit the power and status implicitly bestowed on him by his relationship with the colonial officials when he accepted their wine in contrast to the response of the first Aboriginal captive, Arabanoo.¹⁶

Arabanoo

Given Phillip's 'kindness' it is ironic that there was nothing civilized about the way he first brought Aborigines into his camp. Phillip believed Indigenous Australians were British 'subjects' deserving of rights of freedom of movement but once it became clear he was not making progress in communicating with them at close hand he sent a party of marines to capture Aboriginal men. The first man taken in December 1788 was Arabanoo and when Phillip showed what he considered his best courtesy by including the Aboriginal man among his dinner guests and offering him wine, Arabanoo refused to try it. Tench wrote that Arabanoo,

dined at a side-table at the governor's and ate heartily of fish and ducks, which he first cooled. Bread and salt meat he smelled at, but would not taste: all our liquors he treated in the same manner, and could drink nothing but water.¹⁷

Just over a month later, wrote Tench, Arabanoo (still presumably relegated to a side table) began to like eating bread, very much enjoyed drinking tea but would not drink alcohol, 'turning from [it] with disgust and abhorrence'.¹⁸ Observations of Arabanoo did not last long, however; he died of smallpox in May 1789.

¹⁵ Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1981), 2.

¹⁶ Bennelong is also known in the First Fleet journals as Baneelon; he introduced himself to the colonists with several names, see for example, Collins, *Account of the English Colony*, 560.

¹⁷ Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years*, 140.

¹⁸ Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years*, 143.

Colbee and Bennelong

Phillip soon mounted further kidnapping missions. These failed at first but, six months after the death of Arabanoo, netted two men: Colbee and Bennelong. Phillip offered these men wine as part of his dinner-table diplomacy and Colbee responded in the same way as Arabanoo, showing little desire to be forced to help the colonists' scrutiny of his people and soon escaped. Bennelong, however, used a creative diplomacy of his own. He anticipated benefits in befriending the white men and presented the appearance of being all the more 'civilized' to the colonists, not only for remaining within the whites' camp but for being willing to share wine with his captors.

Although haughty, [Tench observed; Bennelong] knew how to temporize. He quickly threw off all reserve; and pretended, nay, at particular moments perhaps felt satisfaction at his new state. Unlike poor Arabanoo, he became at once fond of our viands, and would drink the strongest liquors, not simply without reluctance, but with eager marks of delight and enjoyment. He was the only native we ever knew who immediately shewed a fondness for spirits: Colbee would not at first touch them. Nor was the effect of wine or brandy on him more perceptible than an equal quantity would have produced upon one of us, although fermented liquor was new to him.¹⁹

Bennelong played along very well with the white men. Tench believed he learned English faster than Arabanoo and had the added quality of being an entertaining storyteller (perhaps even more so when he drank wine).

King gave a similar assessment of the Wanghal and wine, writing that Bennelong

may be called a polite man, as he performs every action of bowing, drinking healths, returning thanks, &c. with the most scrupulous attention. He is very fond of wine, but cannot bear the smell of spirits, although they have often tried to deceive him, by mixing very weak rum or brandy and water, instead of wine and water; but he would instantly

¹⁹ Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years*, 160.

find out the deception, and on these occasions he was angry.²⁰

If Bennelong drank only wine at first, this implied a high state of readiness to abandon his previous state of 'savagery' and becoming 'civilized'.

Bennelong and Arthur Phillip

Despite Phillip's hopes of keeping Bennelong in captivity with all of the enticements of 'civilization', the Wanghal returned to his own people. The two men next met some months later, the day the governor was speared by another Aborigine at Manly Cove in September 1790. Inga Clendinnen has offered a fresh and persuasive reading of the spearing as a planned and ritualized punishment of Phillip - for 'his and his people's many offences' - which led to a new *détente*, from the perspective of the Aborigines, between Indigenous inhabitants closest to settlement and the colonists.²¹

Prior to the spearing, the Governor sighted Bennelong among a group of Aborigines feasting on a dead whale carcass at the Cove. When the Governor's row boat reached the shore, Tench tells us,

the natives were found still busily employed around the whale. As they expressed not any consternation on seeing us row to the beach, governor Phillip stepped out unarmed, and attended by one seaman only, and called for Baneelon, who appeared, but notwithstanding his former eagerness, would not suffer to approach him for several minutes. Gradually, however, he warmed into friendship and frankness, and presently after Colbee came up. They discoursed for some time, Baneelon expressing pleasure to see his old acquaintance, and inquiring by name for every person whom he could recollect at Sydney...Baneelon's

²⁰ Philip Gidley King in John Hunter, *An Historical Journal of the Transaction at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, with the Discoveries Which Have Been Made in New South Wales and in the Southern Ocean since the Publication of Phillip's Voyage, Compiled from the Official Papers; Including the Journals of Governors Phillip and King, and of Lieut. Ball, and the Voyages from the First Sailing of the Sirius in 1787 to the Return of That Ship's Company to England in 1792* (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1793), 405.

²¹ Inga Clendinnen, *Dancing with Strangers* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2003), 124.

love of wine has been mentioned; and the governor, to try whether it still subsisted, uncorked a bottle, and poured out a glass of it, which the other drank off with his former marks of relish and good humour, giving for a toast, as he had been taught, "*the King*".²²

Two other journallers also mention this incident and incorporate the anecdote about wine.

Hunter wrote that,

having shook hands in a friendly manner, the governor returned to the boat, and desired one of the men to bring up some wine, beef, bread, and a jacket or two, which had been brought on purpose, and went back with those articles to them: on his holding up a bottle, one of them called out wine, and repeated several English words; two of the natives came forward and received things, and one drank a little wine, they had likewise received from the governor a few knives.²³

King was more colourful description, like Tench.²⁴ It began with Phillip calling out to

Bennelong, and

after calling repeatedly on his old acquaintance by all his names, he was answered by a native who appeared with several others at a distance, and as he increased his distance from the boat, the native approached nearer, and took a number of little presents, on their being laid down at the distance of a few paces; but he would not come near the governor, although in answer to the question – ‘where was Bannelong?’ he repeatedly said he was the man; this however, could not be believed, as he was so much altered: at length a bottle was held up, and on his being asked, what it was in his own language, he answered, ‘*the King*’; for as he had always heard his Majesty's health drank in the first glass after dinner at the governor's table, and had been made to repeat the word before he drank his own glass of wine, he supposed the liquor was named ‘the King’; and though he afterwards knew it was called wine, yet he would frequently

²² Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years*, 178-79.

²³ Hunter, *Historical Journal*, 207.

²⁴ It is possible that similarities between accounts are the result of the editing of the journallers' original papers. Dixon, *Course of Empire*, 8, offered very useful description of the problem of determining true authorship due to editing with particular reference to Arthur Phillip's published account of the colonization of New South Wales.

call it King. This convinced the governor that it could be no other than Bannelong.²⁵

Wine in each case was a means for Phillip to reconnect with Bannelong and to re-establish the Aborigine's 'civility'.

Bannelong's easy linking of wine and 'the King' has often been quoted in scholarship on Aboriginal alcoholism.²⁶ And it contained a bleak irony: when Bannelong joined the chorused cry of 'the king' he clearly perceived something related to power of meaning, certainty of purpose and a congratulatory tone but he could not have known that when the colonists lifted their arms they toasted the power of empire which they imagined swelled over the Australian 'native' landscape and its people - providing legitimacy and protection for the vulnerable prison camps at Port Jackson and Parramatta - against the Aborigines.

Both Tench and King show Bannelong readily resumed drinking wine after the spearing incident. A group of colonists encountered Bannelong and several other Aborigines on 15 September 1790, and friendly overtures were made.

Several little presents, which had been purposely brought, were distributed among them; and to Baneelon were given a hatchet and fish. At a distance stood some children, who, though at first timorous and unwilling to approach, were soon persuaded to advance, and join the men. A bottle of wine was produced, and Baneelon immediately prepared for the charge. Bread and beef he called loudly for, which were given to him, and he began to eat, offering a part of his fare to his countrymen, two of whom tasted the beef, but none of them would touch the bread.²⁷

Later that month,

²⁵ Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years*, 460.

²⁶ See, for example, L. R. Hiatt, 'Bannelong and Omai', *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 2 (2004): 87-89.

²⁷ Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years*, 183.

as a party were going to visit Bannelong, some fish were sent him, which he received, and appeared free from any apprehensions; and the same afternoon, the commissary and Governor Phillip's orderly sergeant, for whom he had always shewed a great friendship, went with an additional supply: they found him on the rocks with his wife, who was fishing, and though on their first approach he ran into the woods, yet as soon as he knew them he returned, and joined them when they landed, bringing down his wife, as he had done to those who visited him before, and on these occasions, he shewed that he was still fond of a glass of wine.²⁸

Tench explained that the whites were delivering items that Bennelong claimed had been taken from him and that, in exchange for his fishing equipment and spears, Bennelong promised to return a missing dirk, or dagger, to the Governor.

We carried on shore with us the remaining part of the fish-gigs and spears which had been stolen, and restored them to Baneelon...Baneelon inquired, with solicitude, about the state of the governor's wound [from the spearing]; but he made no offer of returning the dirk; and when he was asked for it, he pretended to know nothing of it, changing the conversation with great art, and asking for wine, which was given to him.²⁹

'Wily Baneelon' tested his influence by requesting that his belongings be given back but may not have intended to return the dagger at all and after this last meeting Bennelong organised a more formal reconciliation at a time and place set by him.³⁰ The subsequent 'coming in' saw some Aborigines move closer to the convict colony and more readily receive colonists' food, housing and other items on terms understood within their own

²⁸ King in Hunter, *Historical Journal*, 467.

²⁹ Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years*, 186-87.

³⁰ Clendinnen, *Dancing with Strangers*, 178 for the reference to Bennelong being 'wily'; Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years*, 187 for details of the event. Bennelong also demonstrated his agency in establishing terms of the relationship between Phillip and himself by including the governor in the burial of his baby, as described in Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia, A History: Volume One, The Beginning*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997), 157.

economic practices of shared resources. They continued to decline to use cheap labour or to wear clothes.³¹

Bannelong obviously believed the matter of how he and his people were to co-exist with the whites had been settled. By October 1790, King reported

Bannelong appeared very much at his ease, and not under the least apprehension of being detained; promising, when he went away, to bring his wife over, which he did two days afterwards: his sister and two men came likewise, and a third soon followed: blankets, and some cloathing were given them, and each had a belly-full of fish; Bannelong sat down to dinner with Governor Phillip, and drank his wine and coffee as usual.³²

In May the following year, King observed that 'Bannelong and Colbee with their wives, dined at the governor's on the 8th of May, and came in as usual, to have a glass of wine and a dish of coffee; after which they left the house to go and sleep at Bannelong's hut on the point'.³³ Perhaps Colbee too had been converted to drinking wine but whether the Aboriginal women joined in this habit depended on their willingness to take part in a different sort of contract to the men.

Ann McGrath has shown the use of wine and other alcohol in cross-cultural exchanges signified power contracts between white men and Aboriginal men but when white men offered wine or other alcohol to Aboriginal women the intention was to control their behaviour and to initiate sexual relations. Whites assumed Aboriginal men were 'powerbrokers' but would not think of meeting women on diplomatic grounds. McGrath uses the example of Bannelong's wife Barangaroo (also known as Daringa)

³¹ Robert Reece, *Aboriginals and Colonists: Aborigines and Colonial Society in New South Wales in the 1830s and 1840s* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1974), 6; Reynolds, *Other Side of the Frontier*, 151-53.

³² King in Hunter, *Historical Journal*, 471.

³³ King in Hunter, *Historical Journal*, 527.

being offered wine by Tench when white men were persuading her to dress in European clothes. Barangaroo refused the wine. Sadly, whatever her understanding of the situation, her response was likely misconstrued. Just as Aboriginal men were unfairly expected to have an intuitive understanding of European cultural practices, Aboriginal women were expected to understand the unspoken language of chivalry and were perceived as ‘savage’ for not doing so.³⁴

Meanwhile, Bennelong’s relationship with Phillip became so strong that the Aborigine sailed to England with the retiring governor, and another young Aborigine, Yemmerrawannie, in 1792.³⁵ By the time Bennelong returned to Sydney in 1795 individual Aborigines were no longer accorded the same courtesies or contact with whites as before, and the loss of Phillip, Bennelong’s particular patron, led to a cultural confusion that saw the Wanghal man effectively marginalized from both Aboriginal and colonial society. Ten years after his return to the colony, a London newspaper report damned Bennelong as uncivilized: ‘still so addicted to drinking, that he would never be sober if he could obtain liquor; and, when intoxicated, he is intolerably mischievous. He is, in truth, a savage, beyond all hopes of amelioration by culture’.³⁶ He died in 1813, aged about fifty years. Nearly two centuries later his drinking has remained a prominent feature of the way he is portrayed, even in sympathetic accounts. Jack Brook wrote that Bennelong was not only ‘arguably the best-known Aborigine in the history of white Australia’ but had the complex distinction of being ‘the first Aboriginal alcoholic’.³⁷ It

³⁴ Ann McGrath, ‘The White Man’s Looking Glass: Aboriginal-Colonial Gender Relations at Port Jackson’, *Australian Historical Studies* 24, no. 95 (1990): 193, 99-200.

³⁵ Jack Brook, ‘The Forlorn Hope: Bennelong and Yemmerrawannie Go to England’, *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 2001, no. 1 (2001): 36. Yemmerrawannie died in England.

³⁶ Cited in Hiatt, ‘Bennelong and Omai’, 87.

³⁷ Brook, ‘The Forlorn Hope’, 1 and 9.

could be said that Bennelong imbibed too much of ‘civilization’ and was denied the protection afforded by Bourdieuan distinction. By the 1830s the behaviour of urban Aborigines was represented by white officials, visiting scientists and explorers, as more characteristic of the lowly-ranked colonists and convicts, who drank and behaved drunkenly in the streets.³⁸

The first grapes

In 1788, as Phillip first shared wine with Bennelong, the first experiments in viticulture in New South Wales were underway. Phillip’s gardener managed to produce two bunches of grapes from his garden vines which Tench described as ‘handsome; the fruit of a moderate size, but well filled out; and the flavour high and delicious’ and Elizabeth Macarthur considered ‘as fine as I ever tasted’, which implies these were table rather than wine grapes.³⁹ But, Phillip told Banks, in 1790, ‘being neglected they decayed on the vine’.⁴⁰ These colonial grapes seem to have grown remarkably quickly since it usually takes three years for vines to bear useful fruit but they proved, at least, that it might be possible to cultivate grape vines in New South Wales. Tench, with his usual enthusiastic visions for the colony, predicted that ‘an adventurer, if of a persevering character and competent knowledge’ might meet with success in ‘raising tobacco, rice, indigo, or vineyards (for which last I think the soil and climate admirably adapted)’.⁴¹

Results were not so encouraging in the extensive garden of the colony’s first Anglican chaplain, Richard Johnson, but he saw colonial wine as a desirable product.

³⁸ See for example, Colin Dyer, ‘The Indigenous Australians in Sydney and Its Environs as Seen by French Explorers, 1802-1831’, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 88, no. 2 (2002): 7.

³⁹Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years*, 218. Tench is the only writer to record this occasion, 321n.

⁴⁰ Arthur Phillip to Joseph Banks, 22 August 1790, ML CY3005/68.

⁴¹Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years*, 75.

Vines I think will do in time - better if the Climate was better, [wrote Johnson] but as they do not require the most rich soil, we are in hopes of seeing these turn to some account. I promise you if ever wine be made here and not prohibited from being exported, I will send you a specimen, & perhaps may drink your health in a Bumper of New Holland wine.⁴²

Four years later New South Wales Corps officer John Macarthur - growing rich from the shipping trade - embraced the cultural capital to be gained by creating a gentleman's garden with an eye to financial capital as well. In a letter to a friend, Elizabeth Macarthur borrowed a passage from her entrepreneurial husband's latest letter to his brother which mentioned vines. 'In the centre of my farm', she wrote, was 'a most excellent brick house [with cellar]...surrounded by a vineyard and garden of about three acres; the former full of vines and fruit-trees, and the latter abounding in the most excellent vegetables'.⁴³

Garden-making filled a crucial role for British women seeking to re-create home surroundings in the strangeness of the colonial wilderness. British men also found pleasure in bringing the imperial world to their new home. Judge Advocate David Collins, for one, expressed satisfaction that grapes, figs, oranges and other Old World fruits were becoming successfully rooted in the New World.⁴⁴ Colonists such as the Macarthurs were not only remembering England when they included grapes in their garden design, they were also self-fashioning; seeking status and, surely in John Macarthur's case, anticipating some financial gain if the plants proved successful on a garden scale.

⁴² Richard Johnson to Henry Fricker, 21 August 1790, Letters of Reverend Richard Johnson to Henry Fricker, ML Z SAFE 1/121.

⁴³ Elizabeth Macarthur to an unnamed friend, 22 August 1794, *HRNSW*, vol. 2, 508-9.

⁴⁴ Holmes, Martin, and Mirmohamadi, *Reading the Garden*, 7-8.

Vines were also being trialled on the government farms at Van Diemen's Land and at Norfolk Island, where five hundred cuttings had been sent. By 1790 there were two thousand vines growing at Parramatta and another two acres to be planted out the following year. Phillip hoped for the arrival of a decent gardener to help the prospects for grape growing.⁴⁵ The lieutenant-governor at Norfolk Island, Philip Gidley King, had great faith in the prospects for the fruit from vines under his care and predicted there would be 'a great quantity in a few years'.⁴⁶ When Ross replaced King he told Phillip that the number of vines planted on the island in late summer 1791 'amounts now to between seven and eight hundred, which are all in high perfection, and two or three of the oldest are now bearing'.⁴⁷ Phillip wrote again to Banks in December that year that cuttings were taken from existing vines to continue to expand all of the colony's experimental vineyards to 'many thousand young vines'.⁴⁸ The particular attention to vines in official correspondence points strongly to hopes of vines as a staple crop.⁴⁹

Around this time, Tench inspected the government farm at the amphitheatre of land called the Crescent at Parramatta. Eight thousand grape vines had been planted two years earlier and expected to bear their first crop in the early months of 1793. Tench observed that 'although the soil of the crescent be poor, its aspect and circular figure, so advantageous for receiving and retaining the ray of the sun, is eminently fit for a vineyard'.⁵⁰ Tench, like Johnson, understood a little of how best to site a vineyard but this appears to have been the extent of his knowledge.

⁴⁵ Arthur Phillip to Joseph Banks, 22 August 1790, ML CY3005/68.

⁴⁶ Philip Gidley King to Evan Nepean, 5 January 1791, *HRNSW*, vol. 1, 419.

⁴⁷ Robert Ross to Arthur Phillip, 11 February 1791, *HRNSW*, vol. 1, 438.

⁴⁸ Arthur Phillip to Joseph Banks, 3 December 1791, Banks Papers, ML A81, 39-40.

⁴⁹ On the importance of identifying staple agricultural crops see, for example, Waterhouse, *Vision Splendid*, 18-19.

⁵⁰ Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years*, 247.

Philip Schaeffer

After visiting the Crescent, Tench walked to the farm of Philip Schaeffer, the colony's first free settler, who was trialling wine grapes at the encouragement of the governor on the basis of claiming some competent knowledge of viticulture from his childhood.⁵¹ Schaeffer was from the German region of Hesse-Hanau. He had grown up on the banks of the Rhine River on his family estate which included a vineyard but had worked his whole life as a soldier, serving in a regiment of rifle-men. His regiment was among several from the German principalities which were hired by the British to fight in the American War of Independence.⁵² Schaeffer became a free-settler in the penal colony after migrating to New South Wales as a supervisor of convict farmers. He proved unsuitable for the job due to his limited English. Phillip subsequently cancelled his £40 a year public salary and allocated him 140 acres of land on the Parramatta riverfront in 1791; this was by far the most significant of the first grants as most blocks were twenty to sixty acres.⁵³ Schaeffer was an ideal candidate for settlement within the governor's vision for agriculture to not only sustain the colony but begin to build surplus production to create an economy capable of contributing to empire trade.⁵⁴ Schaeffer called his farm The Vineyard and quickly began the arduous task of clearing his block of trees, stumps and rocks to plant corn and wheat, wine grapes and tobacco. It was 'to these two last articles', wrote Tench, that 'he mean[t] principally to direct his exertions' though he thought the soil very poor.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Schaeffer's story is explored in McIntyre, 'Not Rich and Not British', 1-20.

⁵² Don Gapes, *The Governor's Grapes and the Vineyard* (Sydney: the author, 1995), 2-3.

⁵³ Deed of Land Grant to Philip Schaeffer, 22 February 1792, ML Safe 1/86; Arthur Phillip to William Grenville, 5 November 1791, *HRA* I, vol. 1, 271.

⁵⁴ On Governor Phillip's vision for agriculture using Rio de Janeiro as a model, see McGillivray, 'Convict Settlers, Seamen's Greens', 261-70.

⁵⁵ Collins, *An Account of the English Colony*, 132. Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years*, 254.

Also about this time, Banks received a letter that implied he canvassed his correspondents for reliable information on viticulture to send to New South Wales. A letter from 'Mr Dashwood', for example, though difficult to read, seems to indicate that when grapes were planted the cuttings should be laid in a trench that had been partly filled with compost made of rotten manure and bread. The compost should be laid fresh around the plants and watered in as they grew.⁵⁶ This information would prove useless in New South Wales even if it was sent since early difficulties in containing livestock limited the supply of manure.

In October 1792, Phillip reported Schaeffer 'doing well'.⁵⁷ And a few years after Phillip's departure, Acting Governor William Paterson advised Banks that the Hessian had made 'ninety Gallons of wine in about two years now' from his small vineyard.⁵⁸ But, given the demands of wine growing and the recurring problem of 'blight' of vines at the government farm it is not surprising that Schaeffer did not persist with his enterprise.⁵⁹ In 1797, after being granted a lease of land in Sydney and sixty acres at Field of Mars, Schaeffer sold The Vineyard to Captain Henry Waterhouse for £140.⁶⁰ The sale of Schaeffer's property signalled the end of the early hopes for private commercial scale cultivation of the vine. When Paterson returned to the colony from England in 1799 he lamented to Banks that 'the cultivation of the Vine has been totally neglected since I left the Country there are not so many more as there was in the year 1796'. Fruit crops, such as apples, pears, apricots, peaches and almonds were 'doing

⁵⁶ Mr Dashwood to Joseph Banks, 20 August 1792, Banks Papers, 1789-1796, ML A81.

⁵⁷ Arthur Phillip to Henry Dundas, 2 October 1792, *HRA I*, vol. 1, 375.

⁵⁸ William Paterson to Joseph Banks, 17 March 1795, ML A81.

⁵⁹ The first grapes planted at Sydney Cove suffered so-called blight and disease, probably caused by damp, continued to be a problem for several years, see Acting Governor Philip Gidley King to the Duke of Portland, 1 March 1802, *HRA I*, vol. 1, 405-406.

⁶⁰ Michael Flynn, *The Second Fleet, Britain's Grim Convict Armada of 1790* (Sydney: Library of Australian History, 2001), 522.

well', he said.⁶¹ Modest efforts to grow grapes continued on government land with convict labour.

Joseph Banks and George Suttor

Access to plant stock proved to be an impediment at this stage and, while New South Wales lacked private investors in wine grape growing trials, Banks realised the need for provision of quality plant stock to better serve government-sponsored trials. The colony's principal horticultural patron had tried to send vines as part of the cargo on the ill-fated *Guardian* which lost most of its contingent of skilled farm supervisors and much-needed livestock and plant stock for New South Wales when it struck an iceberg in late December 1789.⁶² Banks tried again ten years later with the outfitting of HMS *Porpoise*. The task of caring for the plants in a special purpose-built cabin on this journey was entrusted to George Suttor, who had approached Banks about migrating to New South Wales and 'dreamed of converting the wilderness into a fruitful garden and building a new life with his childhood sweetheart'.⁶³ This devoted 'civilizer' of the landscape would later become well-known for his interest in wine growing. Meanwhile, the list of grape varieties ordered by Banks for the *Porpoise* included a confusing array of table and wine grapes, some named for their place of origin, others for their appearance. They were: Royal Muscardine, Black Frontiniac, Grisby, Black Cluster or Burgundy, Claret, Constantia, large Black Portugal, Gibraler, Damascus, Red Syracuse, Large White

⁶¹ William Paterson to Joseph Banks, 20 February 1800, Banks Papers, ML A82.

⁶² Papers of *HMS Guardian* Captain Edward Riou, Bonwick Transcripts (BT) Box 59 SLNSW, 6 and 9; Philip Schaeffer to Evan Nepean, 17 July 1790, Public Records Office (PRO) CO 201/5, Australian Joint Copying Project (AJCP), SLNSW, 277-278. The translation of Schaeffer's letter is in John Cobley, *Sydney Cove 1788-1792, Australia's First Five Years* (Angus & Robertson, reprinted 1980, 1962), 244. Schaeffer was a passenger onboard HMS *Guardian*.

⁶³ Vivienne Parsons, 'Suttor, George (1774-1859)', *ADB*, vol. 2, 498-500.

Salmanca, Large Plach, Muscat of Alexandra and Tokay.⁶⁴ In Suttor's regular correspondence with Banks about the health of plants in the cabin he often mentioned the vines first.⁶⁵

All of the plants in Banks' special cabin rotted en route to the Cape and Suttor had to purchase replacements there which meant grape growing trials in New South Wales continued to rely largely on plant stock from the Cape rather than from the plant nurseries of Britain. The varieties that survived were (again, suitable for either table or wine) Tokay, White Frontignac, White Muscardine, Black Frontignac, Constantia and Muscat of Alexandria; unfortunately, though, none of the noble varieties from France so prized by British wine consumers; not even Portuguese varieties to use to emulate fortified 'port'.⁶⁶ But healthy plant clones were little use without skilled viticulturalists to tend them. The solution to this lack in the colony appeared to present itself with the identification of two Frenchmen captured by the British during the Napoleonic Wars who later claimed to have wine growing experience. The pair was duly packed off to Port Jackson with instructions to make wine and show others how to do so.

Ante Landrien, Francois de Riveau and Philip Gidley King

Dispatch of the Frenchmen came about through correspondence between two Englishmen: John Schank, a naval architect and officer who had served for some years in North America (and was, in 1800, a commissioner in the Transport Office) and Ambrose

⁶⁴ Receipt from Whitley & Barrit, Nursery and Seedsmen, Old Brompton near London, ML A79-3, 205.

⁶⁵ George Suttor to Joseph Banks, 16 May 1799, ML A79-3, 237; George Suttor to Joseph Banks, 25 August 1799, ML A79-3, 242; Letter from George Suttor (to unnamed correspondent), 8 November 1799, ML A79-3, 244.

⁶⁶ George Suttor to Joseph Banks, 10 December 1800, ML A79-3, 272.

Serle, a colonial official and religious writer who had charge of prisoners of war.⁶⁷

Schank and Serle heard from New South Wales that ‘it is generally reported that a considerable quantity of wine has been made, and much yearly increase is expected; but want of persons to make it is a great drawback to their expectations of the improvement of its quality’ and to assist with wine growing skills in the colony, the men had co-operated to procure ‘Frenchmen, prisoners of war, in every respect qualified...who have given the enclosed satisfaction to prove their knowledge of the cultivation and the whole process of planting and making it’.⁶⁸ The terms of employment were generous. The prisoners of war were to be paid to work for a period of three years and could then return to England, at His Majesty’s expense, unless they chose to remain in the colony.⁶⁹

British Secretary of State for the Colonies, William Bentinck, Duke of Portland, sent the Frenchmen because, he said, the ‘soil and climate of New South Wales are favourable to the culture of the grape’ and

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 of 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.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Captain Schank to Mr King, 8 April 1800, in Enclosure No. 2, Duke of Portland to the Governor of New South Wales, 22 April 1800, *HRA I*, vol. 2, 497. Mr King referred to in the letter is likely under secretary John King. Randolph Cock, ‘Schank, John (1740-1823)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB) www.oxforddnb.com [accessed online 27 August 2007]; H.L. Bennett (revised by Emma Major), ‘Serle, Ambrose (1742-1812)’, *ODNB* [accessed online 27 August 2007].

⁶⁸ Captain Schank to Mr King, 8 April 1800, in Enclosure No. 2, Duke of Portland to the Governor of New South Wales, 22 April 1800, *HRA I*, vol. 2, 497-8.

⁶⁹ The Frenchmen were promised an annual salary of £60 for three years’ work in New South Wales, Philip Gidley King to the Duke of Portland, 10 March 1801, *HRA I*, vol. 3, 6.

⁷⁰ The Duke of Portland to the Governor of New South Wales, 22 April 1800, *HRA I*, vol. 2, 493.

The Frenchmen, Ante Landrien and Francois de Riveau, requested tools for a vineyard and for making barrels, and a still. They claimed ‘with respect to the Wine, we are competent to the making of it according to the nature of the Grape, as we have been brought up to the business from our infancy—And you may depend on our punctuality in the execution of our duty’.⁷¹

King respectfully corrected Portland on the matter of the success of wine growing to date but expressed confidence in the abilities of the French prisoners of war.

That too sanguine an opinion may not be formed of our arriving at so great a perfection in this article as may be wished or expected, I must inform your Grace [he wrote] that the cultivation of the grape has by no means been attended to for other purpose than eating as fruit, except by one or two individuals, who have been deterred from persevering by their vines failing, evidently from not knowing their management. All the vines growing in the colony would not cover two acres of ground, most of which, exclusive of being in bad situations, must be so cut as to lose one year's fruit, and as the vineyard that I have set the two Frenchmen and six convicts about at Parramatta, must be planted with cuttings which will not bear for two years, consequently it will not be till the end of the third year [1803] that any quantity of wine can be expected. But, as they are both intelligent men, and seem conversant in the business they have engaged in, I hope we shall succeed, which will be a great benefit to the inhabitants.⁷²

King’s particular instructions when appointed governor of New South Wales were to curb excessive colonial drunkenness which disrupted law and order and threatened agricultural and commercial progress but his hopes were more conservative than Portland due to his experience with the vines at Parramatta and Norfolk Island. He understood, however, that Portland’s purpose included the notion of ‘civilizing the civilizer’; the belief that

⁷¹ Letter from Ante Landrien and Francois de Riveau, in Enclosure No. 1, Duke of Portland to the Governor of New South Wales, 22 April 1800, *HRA I*, vol. 2, 496-7.

⁷² Philip Gidley King to the Duke of Portland, 10 March 1801, *HRA I*, vol. 3, 6.

wine growing could provide ‘an eventual means of discouraging the importation and use of Spirits’.⁷³

Along with the Frenchmen, Portland sent a document called Method of Preparing a Piece of Land for the purpose of forming a Vineyard which also briefly described how to make red wine, white wine and brandy. The instructions might have been useful, except for the advice to prune the vines in January and February, which in Australia is the height of summer growth rather than winter when vines are dormant.⁷⁴ The translation of J.B. Laideau’s instructions was published in the first edition of the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* in 1803 at the request of Governor King.⁷⁵ The *Gazette* was set up by convict George Howe who, thanks to his pre-conviction skills, became government printer in the colony almost as soon as he arrived to serve his sentence for shoplifting.⁷⁶ It signified the strength of the official desire to encourage wine growing that King had Howe serialise Laideau’s text in the first (four-page) edition of the *Gazette*, and two subsequent editions.⁷⁷

King sent Laideau’s instructions to Lieutenant-Governor Joseph Foveaux on Norfolk Island with word that the Frenchmen recommended red wine grapes would do better than white in New South Wales and to ‘direct as Many of the latter to be planted out as possible’.⁷⁸ The Frenchmen were to be sent to Norfolk Island the following year to provide guidance for dressing and harvesting the vines. King surely sensed the need for

⁷³ Philip Gidley King to Joseph Foveaux, 19 December 1800, Philip Gidley King’s Letterbook 1797 - 1806, ML 2015, 169.

⁷⁴ 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.

⁷⁵ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 5 March 1803; Philip Gidley King to Lord Hobart, 9 May 1803, *HRA* I, vol. 4, 78.

⁷⁶ J.V. Byrnes, “Howe, George (1769-1821)”, *ADB*, vol. 1, 557-559.

⁷⁷ *Sydney Gazette*, 12 March 1803 and 2 April 1803.

⁷⁸ Philip Gidley King to Joseph Foveaux, 19 December 1800, Philip Gidley King’s Letterbook, ML 2015, 169.

success; Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Hobart, reminded him ‘it is quite unnecessary here to expatiate upon the advantages that would result to the inhabitants of the colony if the vine could be brought into such a state of general cultivation as to supply even an ordinary wine’.⁷⁹ That is, both ‘civilizing’ and commercially beneficial.

A year after the arrival of Landrien and de Riveau, King reported the Frenchmen had planted a vineyard of about seven thousand vines ‘in as favourable a situation as can be found - the plants are doing very well’, better than vines planted in the past which were now ‘entirely blighted, not a grape remains on them, and the leaves entirely burnt, which has been so much the case for the last three years, that I much fear they will not succeed here; however the Frenchmen do not despair’. King blamed ‘improper management’ but had high hopes for further advice from a new migrant in the colony, Chevalier de Clambe.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, de Clambe, a baronial French refugee from Pondicherry in India - whose house, The Hermitage, can still be viewed at Castle Hill in Sydney - died in 1804 before he could contribute significantly to the colony’s knowledge of wine growing.⁸¹

In October 1802, King sent Banks an update of the progress of European plants in the colony, including grape vines. At this point the only varieties that could be identified by name were those collected by Suttor at the Cape. Although there were other vines from previous plantings King’s informant, ‘had not seen the fruit. The whole [were] subject to Desperate blights’.⁸² The 1803 grape harvest (vintage) seemed promising, however, and King wrote to Lord Hobart in May that a ‘few gallons [of wine] have been

⁷⁹ Lord Hobart to Philip Gidley King, 30 January 1802, *HRA I*, vol. 3, 368.

⁸⁰ Philip Gidley King to the Duke of Portland, 1 March 1802, *HRA I*, vol. 3, 405-6.

⁸¹ Reference to timing of death at www.baulkhamhills.gov.au in mayoral speech on dedication of monument to de Clambe, also known as Pierre Lalouette de Verincourt [accessed 11 November 2008].

⁸² Philip Gidley King to Joseph Banks, List of Plants contained in letter, 2 October 1802, ML A78-6, 161.

made, samples of which will be sent by the first conveyance. Altho' it is impossible for me to anticipate the state it will arrive in, yet I hope it will be found good, as no pains were spared in making it so'.⁸³ In total 'about 40 Gals. of tolerable wine' had been produced and plans were afoot to plant ten thousand vines at Castle Hill, to 'make a very large Vine Yard'.⁸⁴ Further, King declared 'I shall cause this cultivation to be encouraged as much as possible' and referred to the printing of Laideau's instructions in the *Gazette*.⁸⁵

King wrote to Whitehall about wine growing so often and in such detail that it is difficult not to conclude he feared he would be punished for failure to produce results. But the government vineyard at Castle Hill, still represented the only new plantings. 'Thirty Acres of Ground are now ready at Castle Hill to plant Vine Cuttings which with the Ground we now have planted' King told Lord Hobart, 'will serve to prove how far Wine can be made here. But I am sorry to say', he continued, 'that this cultivation is by no means so generally attended to as I could wish, nor do I suppose that it will be thought of seriously until the Individual sees the success of the exertions of those employed by Government'.⁸⁶ The private 'Individual' remained a rare creature in the convict colony at this point, an obstacle beyond King's control. The governor knew from earlier correspondence with Banks that the Napoleonic Wars kept British eyes on Europe and

⁸³ Philip Gidley King to Lord Hobart, 9 May 1803, *HRA I*, vol. 4, 78.

⁸⁴ Philip Gidley King to Lord Hobart, 9 May 1803, *HRA I*, vol. 4, 232. King mentioned in this Enclosure that the wine would 'not be fit to suck off before the Winter is over', which could have meant the racking of the wine, that is, removing it from the sediment or lees of the grape matter that remained in the fermented liquid. It would be helpful to know whether this was part of the Frenchmen's wine making technique and whether the timing of the racking was to do with the season – which would not necessarily be relevant – or the length of fermentation – which would be more likely.

⁸⁵ Philip Gidley King to Lord Hobart, 9 May 1803, *HRA I*, vol. 4, 78.

⁸⁶ Philip Gidley King to Lord Hobart, 7 August 1803, *HRA I*, vol. 4, 310.

away from New South Wales but that did not make his administration immune to potential criticism.⁸⁷

Since the colony became self-sufficient in grain production during King's tenure surplus grain could be directed towards brewing and malting which could also satisfy the need for colonial alcohol.⁸⁸ King called, too, for hops plants to be sent to encourage local beer manufacture but 'I am sorry to say the little wine they made last year is of a very indifferent quality; however, it shall be persevered in until experience may decide on its utility'.⁸⁹ A French sea captain, visiting Port Jackson, in 1803, on the scientific voyage of the *Naturaliste* observed that the 'vine, which during the first years, yielded great hopes, has much degenerated, that it is matter of doubt whether it will be able to live there. The cause of this unexpected decay is not ascertained, it is commonly attributed, however, to the burning of the northeast wind'.⁹⁰

Only a year on, Governor King's hopes had faded. At the end of the three year trial with Landrien and de Riveau he concluded the wine growing experiment had proven too costly. The wine from the previous vintage had been of such poor quality King saw no point in sending samples to London; one of the Frenchmen decided to return to England; the other remained in the colony and had, in fact 'last year made some very good cyder from peachers[sic], which are now getting extremely plentiful'.⁹¹ King cast some blame on the drought.⁹² Certainly dry weather would have hindered success but the problem of the 'blight' and the winds could have had more to do with siting of the

⁸⁷ See for example, Joseph Banks to Philip Gidley King, 1799, ML A78-2.

⁸⁸ Waterhouse, *Vision Splendid*, 75-6. Philip Gidley King to Lord Hobart, 7 August 1803, *HRA* I, vol. 4, 311.

⁸⁹ Philip Gidley King to Lord Hobart, 17 September 1803, *HRA* I, vol. 4, 392.

⁹⁰ Captain Baudin to A. de Jussieu, 20 Brumaire, XI (1803), *BT Biography*, vol. 1, ML 2000-1, 236-7.

⁹¹ Philip Gidley King to Lord Hobart, 1 March 1804, *HRA* I, vol. 4, 460.

⁹² Philip Gidley King to Lord Hobart, 1 March 1804, *HRA* I, vol. 4, 491.

vineyards, an issue the Frenchmen had not addressed. Circumstances were not favourable, however, since the areas of land which later proved suitable for viticulture were not yet cleared for farming.

The governor could not create sobriety in New South Wales by any means he had attempted. In 1803 he tried to resign and called for an inquiry into the state of the colony but Whitehall had other more pressing matters and did not get around to relieving him of his duties as governor until 1806.⁹³ Botanist George Caley complained to Banks that King's 1802 imposition of a five per cent duty on the import of spirits had only driven colonists to desperate measures such as making peach cider (as the Frenchmen did), no better than 'hogwash' but consumed with eagerness. And, Caley said, 'I have witnessed it to produce a great scene of intoxication, as I ever did from foreign spirits. What is to be done now? Will it be good policy to eradicate all the peach-trees?' Wine recently imported from the Cape, he continued, at first quenched the high demand for liquor and 'a general intoxication prevailed for some time; but, from the people having spent their money, and being pretty well glutted, a deal of wine remains yet unsold'.⁹⁴ So, locally-produced liquor could prove even more potent than the imported article.

Supplies of imported wine were unreliable before King's governorship, which had the effect of removing the hierarchies of alcohol consumption colonists were accustomed to at 'home'. Irish convicts robbed magistrate Richard Atkins' house at Parramatta in 1793 and dragged 'a large quantity of provisions, and a cask of wine' to the garden fence before being scared off. Atkins, a notorious debtor and drunk, would have been grateful

⁹³ A.G.L. Shaw, 'King, Philip Gidley (1758-1808)', *ADB*, vol. 2, 55-61.

⁹⁴ George Caley to Joseph Banks, 7 July 1808, ML A79-1, 185.

the thieves dumped their loot.⁹⁵ If wine did arrive, the isolated men and women of the colony purchased it along with any other familiar commodities they could obtain with little thought for any perceived cultural meaning. When Bostonian Ebenezer Dorr put in at Port Jackson in 1796 he ‘declared he had nothing for sale, but that he could, as a favor, spare two hogsheads of Jamaica rum, three pipes of Madeira, sixty-eight quarter casks of Lisbon wine, four chests and a half of Bohea tea, and two hogsheads of molasses’.⁹⁶ In this environment, men and women, officials, marines and worker alike drank whatever they could buy or, as Caley indicated, whatever they could make from ingredients to hand.

The arrival of new governor William Bligh in 1808 brought no improvement in the drunken culture of the colony. It did, however, bring Bligh’s daughter, one of the early proponents of the English-style garden in Sydney’s colonial surrounds. She had vines planted at Orange Grove, St Mary’s. In the same period, Dr Robert Townson also created a vineyard in the magisterial grounds of Varroville at Campbelltown.⁹⁷ Few vines were imported in these years and any growers planting grape vines must have used cuttings from stocks previously imported chiefly from the Cape.⁹⁸

Conclusion

After twenty years of European agriculture and horticulture in New South Wales, planting a vineyard remained the preserve of the small colonial elite with some government experimentation but commercial wine growing seemed less conceivable than when Phillip, Tench, Johnson and Schaeffer first planted ideas and vines in patches of

⁹⁵ Collins, *Account of the English Colony*, 318; J. M. Bennett, ‘Atkins, Richard (1745-1820)’, *ADB*, vol. 1, 38-40.

⁹⁶ Collins, *Account of the English Colony*, 452.

⁹⁷ Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 7-8.

⁹⁸ See Appendix Two.

their nascent neo-Europe. Using Sexauer's measure to take stock of the very first required conditions of production: the acquisition of *land* presented little problem for colonists with capital such as Townson but such migrants remained a small part of the population until the 1840s. Ex-convicts might secure some small plot to plant wine grapes, though they showed no inclination to do so when alcohol could be readily purchased most of the time and the difficult production of an elite intoxicant was of little use to them. For the next twenty years, developments in colonial wine growing mainly occurred through the efforts of key private individuals. The colonial administration shifted its focus from experimentation viticulture towards legislative control over alcohol distribution, particularly by the early 1840s.

Chapter Three

'By dint of perseverance': experiments in colonial viticulture and viniculture from 1808 to the early 1830s

The two decades from the end of Bligh's administration to the middle years of Ralph Darling's governorship saw the focus for wine growing shift from public to private hands. Government farms had hosted systematic attempts at wine growing since 1788 at Parramatta then Liverpool and finally Emu Plains, where unsuccessful attempts were wound down by the early 1830s. Vines at Emu Plains had already been neglected a decade earlier despite a new shipment of plant stock, due to the lack of skilled viticulturalists.¹ By the beginning of the fifth decade of colonisation, thriving wool growers showed fortunes could be made, in New South Wales, supplying empire needs for raw materials to distant manufacturers but early colonial capitalism did not favour monoculturalism. Capitalists such as Samuel Marsden, John Macarthur and Gregory Blaxland continued to search for additional sources of income. From 1808 to 1828, more wealthy colonists desired vineyards to produce estate wine but their knowledge remained 'imperfect' and grapes were rarely grown on a scale larger than a plot in the gardens of the colonial elite.

Samuel Marsden

Samuel Marsden, a sturdy Yorkshireman later known as the 'flogging parson' due to his severe punishments as a magistrate, arrived in the colony in the mid-1790s as assistant chaplain to Richard Johnson. He went on to develop a fine reputation as a farmer and wool grower while proving a controversial figure because of his pursuit of

¹ Vines were sent from the Cape to Governor Thomas Brisbane in 1825, see Appendix Two.

materialism.² Marsden experimented with wine growing at his property, Mamre, an interest obvious in his correspondence. One associate - the same Serle who sent the failed Frenchmen – offered practical advice in 1805: ‘[y]our vines can only succeed in dry or gravelly Soils. Either Springy Land or Clays will never suit them. The Slope of a Hill towards the Sun, with a proper Soil, surely would give you as fine grapes’. Serle also identified the wider barrier to viticulture when he wrote, ‘[w]ithout intelligent Industry nothing can be expected’.³

Reverend Marsden’s interest in wine growing flowed naturally from the conviction that ‘[c]ommerce promotes industry – industry civilisation and civilisation opens up the way for the Gospel’;⁴ further evidence of clerical connections between commerce, ‘industry’ and ‘civilization’ within the paradigm of political economy replacing the moral economy of former times. He both planted and imported vines, including the variety known as Miller’s Burgundy, before 1817.⁵ A zealous social reformer of ‘natives’ and convicts, Marsden had the distinction, too, of introducing the first European vine cuttings to New Zealand in 1819.⁶

John, James and William Macarthur

A colonial adversary of Marsden - fellow wool pioneer and entrepreneur John Macarthur - displayed little inclination to connect commerce with Godliness but did appreciate the dilemma that nothing could be expected to eventuate from wine growing

² A.T. Yarwood, ‘Marsden, Samuel (1765-1838)’, *ADB*, vol. 2, 207-212.

³ Ambrose Serle to Samuel Marsden, 15 April 1805, Reverend Samuel Marsden Papers, ML A1992, 27.

⁴ Samuel Marsden to Governor Macquarie, cited in Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment*, 157.

⁵ James Busby, *A Manual of Plain Directions for Planting and Cultivating a Vineyard and for Making Wine in New South Wales* (Sydney: Printed by R. Mansfield, for the executors of R. Howe, 1830), 39. Miller’s Burgundy has since been identified as Meunier or Pinot Meunier, a rarely-used variety which Marsden may also have introduced to New Zealand; George Kerridge and Angela Gackle, *Vines for Wines, a Wine Lover's Guide to the Top Wine Grape Varieties* (Collingwood, Vic: CSIRO Publishing, 2005), 50.

⁶ Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 100.

without 'intelligent industry'; essentially, skilled labour and knowledge. With a keen eye for capital (financial, symbolic and cultural), he sought to link commodity production and trade. And he must have perceived the cultural capital to be gained from hiring Frenchman Gabriel Louis Maris Huon de Kerilleau to tutor young James and William Macarthur from 1807 to 1809. Rumoured to have been a nobleman, De Kerilleau served under Macarthur in the New South Wales Corps after fleeing to England during the French Revolution. He enjoyed a good relationship with colonial officials and amassed several thousand acres of land in the heady days of land allocation to early migrants.⁷ De Kerilleau may also have planted vines but surely, at least, discussed the French vine growing districts and French wine with Macarthur and the boys.

John Macarthur certainly researched the possibilities for wine growing, although there were few books he could have read at this time without translating them from the French, though a 'narrative' by Jean Jacques Dufour, a Swiss who emigrated to the United States to invest in wine growing, was loaned to Gregory Blaxland from the library at the Macarthur's Elizabeth Farm in New South Wales. Dufour's publication reported on the state of vine growing in Kentucky in 1802.⁸ John obviously read this book before his years of exile in England for allegedly masterminding the overthrow of Governor William Bligh in 1808.

It was during the final years of this exile that Macarthur undertook the first fact-finding mission to be conducted by a New South Wales colonial into wine growing in France. Macarthur had by this stage lived in England for some years, leaving his pastoral interests in New South Wales in the hands of Elizabeth and his shipping business

⁷ G. P. Walsh, 'Huon de Kerilleau (1769-1828)', *ADB*, vol. 1, 573.

⁸ Blaxland mentions Dufour's book being loaned to him from the Macarthur library: Gregory Blaxland to John Thomas Bigge, 28 November 1815, ML Bigge Appendix BT Box 15, 1473.

in the care of his nephew Hannibal. By 1812, heavily in debt as a result of shipping ventures, John sought new avenues for investment and profit.⁹ Also keen, no doubt, for his sons to also take the Grand Tour of the continent traditional for young English gentlemen, Macarthur senior, seventeen year-old James Macarthur and fifteen year-old William sailed to France in 1815.¹⁰ The trio proceeded ‘chiefly on foot, through the greater part of the best wine districts, to the extent of many hundred miles...for the express purpose of collecting vines, and of obtaining information respecting their culture, previously to his return to New South Wales’.¹¹ Macarthur intended to meet the vigneron, Dufour, presumably because of his experience in trialling wine growing in another British-derived settler society.

Dufour, for his part, had resolved from the age of fourteen to address the scarcity of wine in America. He studied viticulture before migrating to the United States in 1796, aged thirty-three. After inspecting the state of viticulture in New York, Philadelphia and St Louis - and facing climate variability and difficulties in sourcing reliable plant stock - Dufour established his vineyard in Kentucky. By 1803 Dufour sent his brother to Washington with two five-gallon barrels of wine for President Jefferson, a known wine enthusiast. But First Vineyard had been set up with investment subscriptions and when investors stopped paying due to disappointing returns the business had to be wound up in 1804. Undaunted, Dufour organised other family members into taking up land grants in Ohio to plant vineyards in what is still known as Switzerland County. In 1806, Dufour

⁹ Biographical details from Margaret Steven, ‘Macarthur, John (1767-1834)’, *ADB*, vol. 2, 153-159.

¹⁰ ‘Generations of wealthy aristocrats had completed their education with the Grand Tour, a trip around Europe, often accompanied by a tutor, in which the cultural highlights of the Continent would be experienced’, Matthew Johnson, *Ideas of Landscape* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 23.

¹¹ Maro (William Macarthur), *Letters on the Culture of the Vine, Fermentation, and the Management of Wine in the Cellar* (Sydney: Statham and Forster, 1844), v and 364.

returned to Europe to settle his family's debts for their American lands. He spent some time in England after his ship was captured then made it back to Switzerland but it was 1817 before he could return to his enterprises in the United States. Dufour published the first American book on viticulture, called *The American Vine-Dresser's Guide*, the year before he died, in 1827.¹²

In France in 1815, the Macarthurs made the journey from Paris (where they sighted Napoleon) to Montreux to meet Dufour. Once in Switzerland, it 'seemed as if fate', wrote young James, 'had led us to this beautiful Village to meet the very man we most wished to find'.¹³ Upon their meeting, Dufour advised, according to James, that

the vines in America had at first failed in the same way that they had in New Holland, but that by dint of perseverance he had at length made them succeed and he explained the reasons for their failure. My father found his information of so much consequence that he resolved to make a long stay in this part of the country.¹⁴

Macarthur senior wrote to his son John that he was pleased to have arrived in Switzerland before the pruning began so that he would 'have an opportunity of seeing the whole process of pruning, planting and preparing the soil'.¹⁵ Unfortunately, Macarthur left no record of what he learned from Dufour though William had a dedicated interest in all forms of gardening and would go on to be one of the leading figures in colonial wine growing. Under his later care, the extensive lands at the Macarthurs' Camden Estate housed a flourishing nursery which supplied a broad range of ornamental plants as well as vine cuttings to settlers throughout the Australian colonies, earning him the distinction

¹² The story of Dufour is from Thomas Pinney, *A History of Wine in America: From the Beginnings to Prohibition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 121-122.

¹³ James Macarthur, Journal, 12 March 1815 to 28 April 1816, in Macarthur Family Papers, ML A2929.

¹⁴ Macarthur, Journal, ML A2929.

¹⁵ John Macarthur (senior) to John Macarthur (junior), 9 April 1815, Macarthur Papers, ML A2899, 1.

of being New South Wales' 'leading amateur gardener' of the nineteenth century.¹⁶ It is possible to imagine that, in the true spirit of landscape appreciation on a Grand Tour, the trip through France and Switzerland allowed William to see for himself how a vineyard transformed hills and valleys into an ordered and refined space. As he travelled through the centuries-old wine growing region of Burgundy including Dijon, the Cote d'Or and Beaune, Macon, Lyon, Geneva, Vevey, Lyon, Montpellier, Hermitage, Frontignan, Aix, Marseille, Vaucluse, he could conceive of how he might shape the 'native' landscape of New South Wales.¹⁷

While in Montreux, John Macarthur hired two Swiss vigneron but some impertinence led to these men being sent back when the colonial tourists reached Lyon. Macarthur attempted, too, to obtain reliable vine cuttings of the best of the French grape varieties, at Tain l'Hermitage, for example.¹⁸ Ultimately, 'about thirty of the best varieties of the vine (from six to twelve cuttings or plants of each)...were collected in the vineyards in which they grew, and taken from the vines, in most instances, literally under our eyes,' including 'the best varieties' from the Languedoc, Cote Rotie and the Cote d'Or.¹⁹ The fate of these vines, however, proved to be yet another set-back in the process of introducing successful varieties of wine grapes to New South Wales.

¹⁶ Paul Fox, *Clearings*, 29.

¹⁷ While no specific notes by William made during this trip have yet come to light, later published comments likely referred to what he observed during the walking tour. See, for example, Maro (William Macarthur), *Letters on the Culture of the Vine*, 41.

¹⁸ Macarthur, Journal, ML A2929.

¹⁹ Maro (William Macarthur), *Letters on the Culture of the Vine*, v-vii.



Figure 2: 'Sweet Water' grape; a variety among those imported by the Macarthurs. Sweetwater grew well in New South Wales and was used as both a table and wine grape for many decades though it is better suited to table. Source: http://collection.hht.net.au/firsthht/images_linked/sweetwatergrape.jpeg

On the return voyage to New South Wales, the Macarthurs stopped at Madeira but the pruning was long over, so they could not buy cuttings and settled instead for ordering 'several tubs of the best varieties of wine grapes', which could mean rootling plants or the actual grapes to be dried for seeds.²⁰ The cuttings from France followed them back to the colony and were landed in good condition but only a few of the expected varieties

²⁰ Maro (William Macarthur), *Letters on the Culture of the Vine*, vi.

grew from this collection; grapes William called ‘Gouais (La Folle), Muscat Noir, Black Hamburg, little Black Cluster, Miller’s Burgundy and Sweet Water’, again, none of the noble varieties (see illustration of sweet water on previous page). Only the first three cultivars were new to New South Wales, the others already being under cultivation, William thought only the first two had been obtained in France and the whereabouts of the rest of the collection remained a frustrating mystery.²¹

The Madeira collection arrived at Port Jackson in 1818 but comprised only one variety instead of the expected seven, a devastating outcome.

However, mortifying it is to discover [William wrote] at the end of a voyage, that one has incurred much trouble and expense to introduce plants of little value, it is infinitely more so, when several years elapse before the fact is ascertained... We cultivated our vines, and in the course of time [in 1820] planted a vineyard of more than an acre in extent. We fully believed that it contained the best varieties grown... And were so greatly surprised to discover, when they bore fruit, that so little variety existed amongst them; as if one or two sorts only were prevalent over such an immense extent of vineyard country. Our wine, too, did not answer expectation. In short, although the vines flourished, the vineyard seemed to be a failure, and ignorant of the true cause, we were half inclined to give the matter up.²²

Macarthur did not, in fact, ‘give it up’ but proved by his own ‘dint of perseverance’ what could be achieved in colonial wine growing, establishing a leading role in this burgeoning area of horticultural production in coming decades.

²¹ Maro (William Macarthur), *Letters on the Culture of the Vine*, vi.

²² Maro (William Macarthur), *Letters on the Culture of the Vine*, vii. It is indicated that the first Camden vineyard was planted in 1820 in William Macarthur, *Some Account of the Vineyards at Camden on the Nepean River, Forty Miles South West of Sydney, the Property of James and William Macarthur* (London: Printed by John Nichols, Milton Press, 1849), 3.

Interest, in England, in the years following William's first planting indicated the extent to which the Macarthur wine growing enterprise had involved careful research. A correspondent of John junior wrote, in 1822,

I shall be extremely delighted to hear of the complete success of your father's vineyard, first because it will esp [sic] answer for all his toil and trouble, secondly it will benefit the Colony and lastly because I feel a little vain at having recommended the spot he has commenced on – But he shd [sic] be careful as to the sort of Vine he plants there, the Champagne in chalk and the Grave on gravel.²³

The letter criticised Swiss wine growing, and recommended literature on wine growing such as Rozier's *Dictionnaire de l' Agriculture*, reminding Macarthur that English botanists and horticulturalists knew best only how to 'raise grapes in a hot house or on a wall...But beware of any Italian author or directions, nothing can be worse than their method or their wine'.²⁴ This suggestion seems to have reverberated through most of the colonial century with no attention to Italian methods for many years.²⁵

Gregory Blaxland

While the Macarthurs used their fact-finding mission to attempt to overcome obstacles to 'intelligent industry' in colonial wine growing, Gregory Blaxland took a different course with the same aim. And, with Blaxland, the hand of Joseph Banks appeared again. It was Banks who encouraged Blaxland and his older brother John to migrate to New South Wales, making them among the earliest 'respectable' settlers.²⁶

Blaxland intended from the first to plant a vineyard; he observed the vintage at Madeira

²³ T. H. Scott to John Macarthur Jnr, 22 March 1822, Macarthur Papers, ML A2955.

²⁴ T. H. Scott to John Macarthur Jnr, 22 March 1822, ML A2955.

²⁵ By 1891, when migration and viticultural experimentation had diversified, there were seven Italian grape varieties growing in New South Wales, J. A. Despeissis, 'Choice Italian Grapes' in *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 2, 1891: 804-806.

²⁶ Jill Conway, "Blaxland, Gregory (1778-1853)", *ADB*, vol. 1, 115-117.

and the Cape on his initial voyage to Port Jackson in 1806.²⁷ But the repeated experience of obstacles was not without frustration, as he reported in a letter to Governor Macquarie sent with a sample of his 1816 vintage.

From my first coming into the Colony [he wrote] I intended to cultivate the grape, but have been retarded by the want of practical knowledge myself, and being disheartened in the first Instance by cultivating a few plants of unproductive sorts, which appear to have been raised by seed in the Colony, with which sorts most of the plantations were planted, which I have observed many of which were growing until with this Year or two, or overrun with weeds and grass on the small deserted farms in my neighbourhood. I have now collected three or four good bearing sorts, which appear to me fit to make wine, and have acquired some further knowledge of their Culture which induces me to persevere in my attempt, which render me more sanguine in my hopes of ultimate success.²⁸

The abandoned vines near Blaxland's Brush Farm (located in Sydney's Eastwood) were evidence of other failed experiments and probably should not have been used to try to make wine but Blaxland was determined to experiment as part of his desire to achieve wealth and prestige.

The ambitious colonist, like most, made his income chiefly from pastoralism, but he tried many ways to facilitate wine growing. These included keeping convict labour 'off the Stores' for at least three years in his employ before they were granted tickets of leave, to build a semi-skilled viticultural workforce.²⁹ Blaxland also asked the Colonial Secretary to lift restrictions on brandy production in the colony so grapes from vintages damaged by wet weather could be distilled, ensuring some return on the investment in the

²⁷ Memorial from Gregory Blaxland to Earl Bathurst, August 1816, Bigge Appendix BT Box 15, 1476-1477.

²⁸ A later letter to Macquarie indicated the wine was probably not good and four more bottles were sent which Blaxland hoped were better quality, Gregory Blaxland to Earl Bathurst, August 1816, Bigge Appendix BT Box 15, 1470.

²⁹ Gregory Blaxland to Earl Bathurst, August 1816, Bigge Appendix BT Box 15, 1470.

vineyard. He requested, further, that concessions be made on the export duty on brandy produced in the colony and that duty paid on imported brandy to fortify wine for export be refunded, so wine growers were not hit twice by tariffs. The request for duties concessions might have seemed premature, given that no grower was selling wine domestically, let alone outside the colony. But Blaxland argued that he wanted to begin the process of making changes since they would take time.³⁰

Blaxland's determination to succeed saw him relocate his vineyard in 1819. The previous site had been unsuitable. He does not elaborate on this in his 'Statement on the Progress of the Culture of the Vine' - a document included in his submission to John Thomas Bigge's investigations into the future policy direction of the colony, though he indicated accumulation of knowledge played a significant part.³¹ Blaxland had confidence in the success of hillside plantings at Brush Farm.³² Over the next decade he went on to find that wine he produced from the very poor soil at the top of the hill to be better than the middle of the vineyard and better still than the wine from vines in the fertile soil at the base of the hill.³³ The French describe this very specific combination of factors affecting viticulture such as soils, climate and location as *terroir*.³⁴

Blaxland gave more detail to Bigge about his own observations on the dreaded 'blight' that destroyed so many colonial vines. The details led Laffer, in the twentieth century, to diagnose Anthracnose. This fungal disease attacks vines in humid regions and

³⁰ Gregory Blaxland to Lachlan Macquarie, August 1816, Bigge Appendix BT Box 15, 1466-1469.

³¹ Gregory Blaxland, 'A Statement on the Progress of the Culture of the Vine', Bigge Appendix BT Box 17, 2266-2267.

³² Society for the Encouragement of Arts Manufactures and Commerce, 'Wine from New South Wales', in Bigge's Appendix BT Box 61, 104.

³³ Gregory Blaxland to the Society Committee, 25 February 1828 in Society for the Encouragement of Arts Manufactures and Commerce, *Transactions of the Society*, vol. 46 (London: The Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, 1828), 134.

³⁴ Robinson, ed., *Oxford Companion to Wine*, 693-695. A part of the successful colonisation of wine culture by the French includes their conviction that France hosts the best *terroir* in the world.

posed problems for European wine growers until the much more serious oidium, then phylloxera, crossed the Atlantic from America later in the century. Blaxland was not to know that the humid conditions in his Sydney-based vineyard may have been cured simply with sulphur and lime.³⁵ ‘Blight’ could also have simply been extreme dry weather, according to 1940s agricultural analyst Charles King, who noticed early colonists called floods ‘inundations’ and droughts ‘blight’.³⁶ Either way, growing conditions continued to present difficulties in wine growing.

As a result of experiments with different varieties of vines from his own collection and those at abandoned sites, Blaxland planted out two hundred young plants raised from seed. He believed the best among his vines to be ‘the Claret grape’.³⁷ This information is almost meaningless. ‘Claret’ did not necessarily contain a recognised single varietal grape (a *monocepage*), it referred generically to blended wine from the Bordeaux. To demonstrate the confusion, this is the definition of claret from Walter James’ a mid-twentieth century handbook on wine:

The best clarets of Bordeaux derive their distinctive “clarety” flavour and bouquet from the cabernet sauvignon grape which is a choice variety but a shy bearer. It is mixed – and in the lesser vineyards greatly mixed – with a heavier-bearing variety called the gros cabernet and other grapes such as the malbec, merlot and petit verdot. Australian claret is sometimes made from the cabernet sauvignon but more frequently from the shiraz, the mataro and other varieties which in our climate grow readily and bear well.³⁸

³⁵ Laffer, *Wine Industry of Australia*, 18.

³⁶ Charles James King, ‘The First Fifty Years of Agriculture in New South Wales’, in *Extracts from Review of Marketing and Agricultural Economic, August 1948 - December 1949* (Sydney: Department of Agriculture, 1950), 569-70.

³⁷ Gregory Blaxland, ‘A Statement’, BT Box 17, 2270.

³⁸ Walter James, *Wine in Australia, a Handbook* (Melbourne: Georgian House, 1952), 37.

So, Blaxland possibly meant he had narrowed down the best possible vine stock to cabernet sauvignon but this could have also been wishful thinking on his part, given the symbolic and cultural capital of claret; French-produced and prized by the British.

Whatever the ‘claret’ grape could have been, it was from this variety that Blaxland made wine for samples submitted to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. The Society of the Arts’ list of categories - into which entrepreneurs could enter their goods for recognition in the encouragement of British initiative - included one for Colonies and Trade. The Society believed that the New South Wales climate, being so ‘healthful, and similar in temperature to that of Madeira...Its population [is]...well-disposed to exchange the new products of their laborious activity for the comforts, the conveniences, and even the elegancies and luxuries of civilized life.’³⁹ Blaxland had visited Madeira on his voyage to New South Wales and surely agreed, with respect to wine growing. In 1822, he sent the Society a quarter pipe of red wine with about ten per cent brandy added to preserve it on the voyage to London. Ironically, this sample of colonial wine (the second to reach Europe if we count Blumenbach’s bottle) very nearly remained in bond on the docks. When this problem arose, Blaxland appealed for help to Bigge, who knew of the great cost to which Blaxland had gone to experiment with wine growing. As Blaxland hoped, Bigge lobbied for him to be able to access his colonial wine from the docks with as little cost to himself

³⁹ Society for the Encouragement of Arts Manufactures and Commerce, *Transactions of the Society*, vol. 50 (London: The Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, 1823), xiv.

from excise duties as possible on the grounds that wine growing 'if established will be of Great Importance to the Colony of New South Wales'.⁴⁰

Blaxland's wine can not have been very good, however, because the Society awarded Blaxland a silver medal, a second prize. 'On examination by the committee', read the Society's report, the colonial wine, 'appeared to be a light but sound wine with much of the odour and flavour of ordinary claret, or rather, holding an intermediate place between that wine and the red wine of Nice'. The sample did not, however, signal an impending challenge to Old World wines. 'The general opinion', the report continued, 'seemed to be, that although the present sample for the inexpertness of the manufacturer and the youth of the wine, is by no means of superior quality, yet it affords a reasonable ground of expectation that by care and time it may become a valuable article of export'.⁴¹ Undeterred, Blaxland would soon submit a further sample of wine to the Society.

Meanwhile, these colonial efforts could not escape French scrutiny, which turned out to be more frank than Blaxland might have liked. Commander of the *La Coquille*, Louis Isidore Duperrey, visited the government farm at Emu Plains in February and March 1824 and observed that its vines were not pruned, as no one at the farm knew how to. Duperrey had heard of Blaxland's medal but could see no evidence of thriving viticulture, as opposed to garden-based vines. 'It is no secret', he reported,

that the English are very anxious to possess vineyards and to rid themselves as soon as possible of the necessity of paying a huge sum abroad. But I was able to convince myself here that all the boasted attempts, with the object of acclimatising the wine grape, amounted to very little. The

⁴⁰ John Thomas Bigge to George Wilmot MP, 18 November 1822, Bigge Appendix, BT Box 28. The total amount of wine Blaxland carried to London amounted to more than he submitted to the Society for the Arts. Bigge's letter to Wilmot indicated the quantity to be a pipe and a quarter cask.

⁴¹ Society for the Encouragement of Arts Manufactures and Commerce, 'Wine from New South Wales', 104-5.

table grape has succeeded very well in the gardens, where it has increased, and at the Governor's residence, and in one colonial garden I saw long espaliers yielding a very good fruit, where care is taken to cover it early in paper bags to protect it from birds, but especially from disease.⁴²

Duperrey did not, it seems, inspect the Macarthur's first sizeable vineyard planting, then underway, though it, too, would at first fail.

Blaxland again sent wine to London in 1828, this time with a more encouraging response. Awarding him a Gold Ceres Medal, the Society's committee declared the wine better than the earlier sample, probably due to the age of the vines and a greater succulence of juice in the grapes. This second sample 'is sound and perfectly free from that flavour which characterises, not advantageously, the wine of another British colony'; that is: the Cape.⁴³ The Society effectively compared one 'colonial wine' with another here, since the Cape had for more than a decade been under British control. And although Blaxland might have taken heart from the comparison being so much in his favour, it can also be read as a pejorative reference to Cape wine which had replaced Portuguese products as the lowest-excised wine imported into Britain only fifteen years earlier.⁴⁴

Cape wine received little approbation among discerning British consumers who preferred European wines. The importation of Cape wine, from 1813, followed the end of the Methuen Treaty with Portugal which had flooded Britain with 'port'. Apart from the highly-prized 'Constantia' wines, Cape wines ended up as the cheaper-end blend added to European wines to lower import duties. When preferential treatment for Cape wines ended in the 1860s and lighter, lower alcohol French wines were encouraged with

⁴² Louis Isidore Duperrey cited in Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 95.

⁴³ Society for the Encouragement of Arts Manufactures and Commerce, *Transactions*, xxxi-xxxii.

⁴⁴ Laffer, *Wine Industry of Australia*, 118.

lower tariffs, Cape wine production diminished from a million gallons in a year by 1830 to as low as twelve thousand gallons a year by the end of the nineteenth century.⁴⁵

Blaxland had made a small step into a lion's den when it came to trying to enter the British wine market but the Society very kindly resisted making a meal of him at this early stage in viticultural production in New South Wales. Moreover, his contribution extended beyond those already mentioned. And his innovation in wine growing was not confined to the vineyard. Technology to produce wine could be fashioned reasonably simply if treading tubs were used but Blaxland had devised a wooden wine press with the help of a Sydney carpenter called Flood. A cheese press would also apparently serve the same purpose, however, if a colonist had access to such machinery.⁴⁶

As Blaxland received his second medal, imported wine continued to flow steadily into the colony. A survey of advertisements in the *Sydney Gazette* in 1828 indicates a steady market for Cape wine, Teneriffe 'Canary' and traditional European fare across the spectrum of quality: port, sherry, Madeira and vin de grave, Sauterne, Barsac, claret, Champagne, Rousellon, Lafite; some of them among the 'most approved vintages'.⁴⁷ Blaxland was, in the end, ahead of his time. Although he sought financial aid for his enterprise, the possibility of colonial wine being consumed in the colony itself remained so remote and such a necessity for servicing an export market, that Blaxland's efforts were no more than enthusiastic experimentation. For all of his work, however, wine historian W.P. Driscoll declared Blaxland 'undoubtedly...the pioneer of Australian

⁴⁵ Laffer, *Wine Industry of Australia*, 118.

⁴⁶ Busby, *Manual of Plain Directions*, 81.

⁴⁷ The Cape wine was advertised in *Sydney Gazette*, 19 November 1828. The wine from Teneriffe: *Sydney Gazette*, 3 December 1828. Quote from *Sydney Gazette*, 17 November 1828. See also *Sydney Gazette*, 19 September 1828, *Sydney Gazette*, 14 November 1828. No prices are listed in the advertisements.

viticulture'.⁴⁸ After the awarding of the gold medal Blaxland carried on his vineyard without government investment and only very modest results though the *Sydney Gazette* carried the following encouragement to potential growers:

We observe by an advertisement that Mr Gregory Blaxland is supplying an abundance of vines from his estate at the Brush Farm. His arrangement for charging for all above fifty is reasonable enough, and still leaves the public indebted to his kindness. We hope his announcement will induce numerous applications, and cause an increased attention to be paid to the grape – a produce destined to form one of the brightest gems in the crown of Australia's prosperity.⁴⁹

Blaxland died in 1853, shortly after the beginning of the gold rushes which would genuinely underpin Australian prosperity in the colonial century.

James Busby

Another key development in colonial wine growing came with the arrival James Busby, a Scotsman with a passionate commitment to promoting colonial wine growing for both its commercial benefit, its cultural capital and its perceived powers of transforming the rum-soaked lower classes of New South Wales into a contented Mediterranean-style peasantry. Busby - often canonised in popular wine literature at the expense of the reputation of other less-published contributors - could be described, quite fairly, as 'prophet of the wine industry in this country, though, of course, he was not its founder'.⁵⁰

Busby deliberately researched wine growing in France before he set sail for New South Wales and on the voyage from England addressed the 'absence of any other

⁴⁸ Driscoll, *Beginnings of the Wine Industry*, 12-13.

⁴⁹ *Sydney Gazette*, 15 June 1830.

⁵⁰ Eric Ramsden, 'James Busby, the Prophet of Australian Viticulture', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 26, no. 5 (1940): 364.

English work' on wine growing by writing his first book, *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*. He, like others bound for Sydney, also inspected the Constantia vineyards and others at the Cape.⁵¹

Disappointingly for Busby, his *Treatise*, while seeking to influence 'the higher classes', rather 'fell dead from the Press'.⁵² Despite some interest in the subject, Busby had overestimated both the interest of his potential audience and the state of colonial viticulture. It was as Duperrey had concluded and, as a reviewer of the *Treatise* railed, '[c]olonists were at that time wholly unprepared for such a work'. The review continued, '[f]ew persons had thought of the vine as anything better than an ornament to their gardens, or an addition to the dessert of their private tables. The idea of its becoming a valuable mercantile staple had never entered their heads'. Indeed,

[w]hen therefore, Mr. Busby - a stranger just arrived upon their shores - suddenly announced the publication of a large, learned and withal expensive book upon the subject, it was not surprising that he should meet with a cool and suspicious reception...A dry and elaborate compilation, from French treatises, was ill adapted to the taste of a non-reading public. It was like putting a sum in compound interest before a child who had never learnt the multiplication table...Mr. Busby offered them a scientific disquisition on all the mysteries of the manufacture of European wines! He might as well have treated of the manufacture of lace and muslin. The intelligent part of the public were, moreover, not well pleased to be lectured by an inexperienced youth, who had never seen the country of whose capabilities he professed to have made such grand

⁵¹ Ramsden, 'James Busby', 369. See 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* (1825) Facsimile edition (Sydney: David Ell Press, 1979).

⁵² Ramsden, 'James Busby', 370.

discoveries...Arrogance like this could have been redeemed by nothing but intrinsic value in the work: in the absence of such value, it was insufferable.⁵³

Busby must have been stung by this diatribe but learned quickly that airs and graces were out of place in New South Wales in its hybrid state between convict colony and developing civil society.

Commissioner Bigge had identified the need for training in agriculture in New South Wales and on the strength of the *Treatise*, Busby received the job of establishing an 'Agricultural Institute' on land held by the Trustees of the Orphan Institute. Busby's instructions were to use a similar project in Switzerland as a model to educate orphan boys in viticulture and 'raising other products, which might be considered suitable to the climate, but which had hitherto been neglected by the Agriculturalists of the Colony'.⁵⁴ Vines were imported from the Cape; eight hundred, comprising eleven varieties, via the convict transport *Minerva*.⁵⁵ The provenance of these vines meant Busby, as with earlier colonial experimenters, worked mainly with plant stock from the Cape which did not have the same cultural capital, or make the same wine, as vine stock from Europe. This no doubt influenced Busby's later efforts to collect cuttings directly from France and Spain which will be discussed shortly.

Busby remained at the Orphan School for two-and-a-half years until a new committee decided the arrangement benefitted Busby too favourably. The young Scot demurred and a long-running legal battle ensued.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, Busby's successor at the

⁵³ *New South Wales Magazine*, 1 September 1833.

⁵⁴ Thomas Brisbane to Earl Bathurst, 14 May 1825, *HRA*, I, vol. 11, 574 and 586; James Busby to Sir George Murray, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 10 January 1831, *HRA*, I, vol. 16, 41.

⁵⁵ Thomas Brisbane to Alexander Berry, 9 December 1824, Thomas Brisbane Letterbook, ML A 1559-2, 113.

⁵⁶ Ramsden, 'James Busby', 364.

school, Richard Sadleir, made wine from the vines at the Orphan School but it is not known whether any graduates of the school were among the increasing number of colonists who planted vines in the next decade.⁵⁷ Sadleir went on to serve in the New South Wales parliament and seems to have built on his experience at the Orphan School.

Presumably using knowledge he gained while instructing the boys at Liverpool, in 1830, Busby wrote and published his landmark work, *A Manual of Plain Directions for Planting and Cultivating a Vineyard and for Making Wine in New South Wales*.⁵⁸ Here, finally, were locally-relevant instructions for wine growing, a remarkable achievement in the environment of experimental agriculture and uncertain futures in the colony.

Alongside concise instructions and names of suppliers of vine cuttings, Busby gave a passionate and Romantic argument drawing on classical and biblical representations and demonstrating considerable faith in the notion that the cultivation of vines made men and women sober and good. ‘At how very few farm-houses in this Colony’, he lamented,

will you find even a solitary vine climbing the walls, or spreading over an arbour, to cover the farmer and his family with its shade, and to refresh them with its fruit, after the toils of the day! And yet, the man who could sit under the shade of his own vine, with his wife and his children about him, and the ripe clusters hanging within their reach, in such a climate as this, and not feel the highest enjoyment, is incapable of happiness, and does not know what the word means.⁵⁹

Busby believed this Arcadian promise of a vineyard was not unreachable even for colonists with modest capital. He estimated one worker could trench and plant an acre of vines in a year and the total cost, in the four years before decent fruiting of the vines,

⁵⁷ Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 81.

⁵⁸ Busby also confided to other colonists that he had considerable help from Thomas Shepherd of Darling Nursery; Ramsden, ‘James Busby’, 371.

⁵⁹ Busby, *Manual of Plain Directions*, 27.

would be less than £50, with an income then to be expected from the wine or table grapes. Busby acknowledged the investment seemed large but an acre of vines yielded an average of 250 gallons of wine in France and Busby reported that William Macarthur anticipated a yield twice that the following vintage at Camden Estate.⁶⁰ Busby went as far to say that a farmer would be better to have an acre of vines on his land than a gold mine; remembering though, that this was well before the gold rushes. French vineyards sold at this time for as much as £500 to £600 an acre and indeed, many colonial growers would later profit from selling table grapes and wine to miners in New South Wales and Victoria.⁶¹

Financial gain aside, Adam Smith's argument echoed in Busby's claim that 'in wine countries, while even the peasantry consider wine as much a necessary of life as a luxury, nothing is more rare than intoxication...they would reject the use of spirits as they would reject poison'.⁶² This had a particular resonance in New South Wales where spirit drinking peaked in the 1830s after the heaviest period of sustained consumption of imported rum (and other locally-distilled liquors) in Australian history. In this period, men drank more than women, single men more than married men and (being a man of his time) Busby aimed his argument at men.⁶³ 'I think it extremely likely', he wrote,

that if each farm-house possessed its vineyard, and produced a sufficiency of wine to supply the wants of all labourers employed on the farm, as well as the farmer's own family, a deadly blow would be given to the ruinous habit of the farmer himself indulging daily in the excessive use of spirits.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Busby, *Manual of Plain Directions*, 19-21.

⁶¹ Busby, *Manual of Plain Directions*, 26.

⁶² Busby, *Manual of Plain Directions*, 9-10.

⁶³ Dingle, 'The Truly Magnificent Thirst', 228-29.

⁶⁴ Busby, *Manual of Plain Directions*, 10.

Busby's belief in such a magic transformation had its precedent, of course, in King's stalled reforms and it foreshadowed legislation encouraging the consumption of colonial wine. King, Busby and some later law makers, longed to believe wine could bring sobriety.

The hoped-for transformation lacked an essential factor: a sufficiently-sized 'peasantry'. Busby's role as a teacher of future farmers at the Orphan School had guided him in addressing *A Manual* to 'that more numerous portion of the community constituting the class of small settlers'.⁶⁵ But, the yeomanry had been fast disappearing in Britain and such a class of farmers had yet to develop in New South Wales. As one historian pointed out, up until the 1820s, the state of the colonial economy by and large, 'militated against the emergence of even a moderately well-off, let alone flourishing peasantry'.⁶⁶ Although grapes existed mainly in colonial estate gardens, Busby believed viticulture offered small-holders respite from the fate of so many 'failed' farmers; the 'dungaree settlers' so despised by James Atkinson.⁶⁷ Longer term, Busby's vision was at odds, too, with the reality of policy-making as Commissioner Bigge just a few years earlier recommended that emancipist settlement on blocks of up to fifty acres - encouraged by Macquarie - be abandoned under Governor Thomas Brisbane. Instead, colonial officials were to support private capital investment in pastoralism with ex-convicts mainly working for wages rather than engaging in semi-subsistence farming.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Busby, *Manual of Plain Directions*, 10.

⁶⁶ Brian Fletcher, 'Agriculture', in *Economic Growth of Australia 1788-1821*, ed. G.J. Abbot and N.B. Nairn (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969), 201.

⁶⁷ James Atkinson, *An Account of the State of Agriculture and Grazing in New South Wales* (1826) Facsimile ed. (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1975), 29-37.

⁶⁸ King, 'The First Fifty Years', 574.

The *Manual* did, as it turned out, however, have a ready audience among established free settlers and emancipists, in its promise of both symbolic and cultural capital; and a civilizing influence.

Indeed, Busby earned new respect with the *Manual*.⁶⁹ A favourable review declared, ‘whether viewed as a help to the farmer or as an attempt to improve the morals of the country, it is a valuable little book’.⁷⁰ Another portrayed Busby’s publication as extremely influential. ‘The vine’ it said, ‘became a topic of general discourse both in town and in country, and thousands upon thousands of cuttings were immediately planted. We shall not be charged with exaggeration’, raved the reporter, ‘that within the three years that have elapsed since the publication of the 'Manual', more has been done in the culture of the vine than had been before effected from the foundation of the Colony’.⁷¹ Busby’s genius apparently lay in his production of an inexpensive, easy-to-read guide when none others were available and colonists with visions of success sought a means of creating order and stability, though perhaps less for commercial gain than as a ‘novel’ hobby. ‘The want of practical books on Australian farming is greatly felt and loudly complained’, according to the *New South Wales Magazine*, but ‘were every branch of... novel occupations explained as clearly as this little book explains the management of vineyards, such complaints would cease to be well-founded’.⁷²

Just prior to the *Manual* appearing in print, a correspondent identified only as ‘Z’, claimed making wine - which he allegedly observed for thirty years in France - could be easier than making ginger beer. ‘There is no mystery about the matter’ he wrote, and

⁶⁹ Ramsden, ‘James Busby’, 371.

⁷⁰ *Sydney Gazette*, 17 July 1830.

⁷¹ *New South Wales Magazine*, 1 September 1833.

⁷² *New South Wales Magazine*, 1 September 1833.

since the climate in New South Wales was so suitable for wine growing, converts should just go ahead and do it. ‘Above all shun these Treatises on the culture of the vine that are above a quarter or half an inch thick’ said Z,

[i]n the wine countries of Europe books on the culture of the vine are as little attended to by the growers, as books on agriculture are by the practical farmers in England, for it is well-known that they are often written to flatter the vanity of the author, who in nine cases out of ten is a mere theoretical speculator, furnished with scientific jargon [sic], and scholastic prating, who can manufacture books of any dimension with equal facility, whether it be on the culture of tobacco, indigo, potatoes, vines, making hay, or planting cabbages, one or all of them with equal propriety and use.⁷³

The indignant Z obviously ignored the difficulties that had so far beset colonial wine growing. A respondent retorted that Z knew nothing of the mysteries of wine growing and that ‘[n]o one yet has attempted planting vines, that has succeeded, except Mr Busby himself, who has reaped the fruits of his publication in an indirect way’.⁷⁴ The respondent suggested Z read the forthcoming *Manual*.

A year after publication of the *Manual* Busby could claim he had helped distribute close to twenty thousand vine cuttings among forty to fifty individuals before stocks from various suppliers (nurseryman Thomas Shepherd, Blaxland, the Macarthurs and others) ran out.⁷⁵ Although Busby’s employment remained under a cloud after his acrimonious parting from the Orphan School, his forced return to London offered an opportunity to address the lack of vine stock direct from Europe for interested growers. After arguing the case for his continued employment in the colonial public service, and

⁷³ *Sydney Gazette*, 11 May 1830.

⁷⁴ *Sydney Gazette*, 22 May 1830.

⁷⁵ James Busby to George Murray, Secretary of State for the Colonies, *HRA*, I, vol. 16, 43. James Busby, *Journal of a Tour through Some of the Vineyards of Spain and France* (1833) Facsimile ed. (Sydney: David Ell Press, 1979), 1-2.

after giving evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee on Punishments, he could return to his interest in vine growing.⁷⁶

Busby spent the northern autumn and early winter of 1831 in Spain and France collecting vines for New South Wales. The intention was to gather as many as possible, both high and low quality of wine and raisin grapes, to advance experimentation. 'It might at first appear superfluous to bestow attention on a collection which must include many of a very inferior description', Busby wrote to Whitehall, seeking assistance with the cost of transporting vines to New South Wales. But, he argued, 'it is perhaps the most remarkable fact connected with the culture of the Vine that even a slight change of Climate or Soil produces a most material change in the qualities of its produce'.⁷⁷ The best varieties in Europe might prove valueless in New South Wales, and vice versa. Busby 'spared no trouble or expense in obtaining all the varieties of the different districts through which he travelled'.⁷⁸

Busby later recorded the gathering of his collection of vine stock in *Journal of a Tour through Some of the Vineyards of Spain and France*.⁷⁹ More readable than Arthur Young's chapter on vines in *Travels During the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789, Undertaken more Particularly with a View of Ascertaining the Cultivation, Wealth, Resources, and National Prosperity of the Kingdom of France*,⁸⁰ the *Journal* provided impressions and information for colonists who could not undertake the tour themselves. Busby gave

⁷⁶ Ramsden, 'James Busby', 364-65.

⁷⁷ James Busby to Viscount Goderich, 6 January 1832, *HRA* I, vol. 16, 508.

⁷⁸ Busby, *Journal of a Tour*, 5.

⁷⁹ Busby, *Journal of a Tour*, 5.

⁸⁰ Arthur Young, *Travels During the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789. Undertaken More Particularly with a View of Ascertaining the Cultivation, Wealth, Resources, and National Prosperity of the Kingdom of France*, Second ed., vol. 2 (London: Bury St. Edmund's, 1794), 1-26.

detailed descriptions of sites, soils, vine care and wine making gleaned during his four month sojourn.⁸¹

Busby also carried colonial wine to Europe and claimed an Oporto wine merchant agreed that since it was more full-bodied than the table wines of that region the colonial wine possibly resembled Burgundy - usually a pinot noir blend but not nearly as strong as the cabernet sauvignon-based reds of the Bordeaux. In returning to New South Wales with the wine - which probably meant no one else wanted it - Busby optimistically claimed he had demonstrated that wine transported from Sydney to Europe and back was still drinkable; an important detail for future exporters.⁸²

The small quantity of colonial wine turned out to be easier to transport than vine cuttings. Busby's carefully assembled collection suffered similar indignities to the Macarthurs' vines, including fewer stocks being shipped than had been ordered from the Royal Nursery of the Luxembourg in Paris.⁸³ Like so many European plants the entire Spanish collection 'perished on this voyage to this Colony' though the surviving vines from France ironically included vine stock usually identified with Spain and Portugal.⁸⁴ Although there seem to have been only a few cuttings of each variety, as vines grew (and only three from the total of several hundreds had failed to do so) the collection of vine stock was expected to grow at each year's pruning. Governor Richard Bourke soon requested details of the state of the Busby collection at the Botanic Gardens. Key figures

⁸¹ According to Kyngdon, Busby undertook his tour of France and Spain at the 'instance of the Macarthurs'; Kyngdon, 'Wine-culture in New South Wales', 364, though this has not been suggested anywhere else.

⁸² Busby, *Journal of a Tour*, 2.

⁸³ James Busby to Viscount Goderich, 6 January 1832.

⁸⁴ Francis Forbes, Alexander McLeay, John Jamison, William Macarthur, Thomas Shepherd, 'Report on the Vines, Introduced into the Colony of New South Wales, in the Year 1832, by James Busby, Esq., With a Catalogue of the Several Varieties Growing in the Botanical Garden, in Sydney, in February 1834', Macarthur Papers, ML A4298. Busby also sent other plant stock to New South Wales: seeds for watermelons, tomatoes, pimentos, cucumbers, lettuce and endive, see Ramsden, 'James Busby', 366.

in viticulture, John Jamison, Thomas Shepherd and William Macarthur, were among the investigators. They concluded the collection had considerable value for the colony and a catalogue should be printed to try to prevent confusion, '[a]s it is of the first consequence to the success of experiments made in this Colony, upon the vines of foreign countries, that the original names of the varieties should be carefully preserved'.⁸⁵ Busby also sent vines to his family property at Kirkton, where his sister Catherine and brother-in-law James Kelman resided. Busby himself moved to New Zealand as British Resident from 1833 and 1840, where he presided over the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.⁸⁶

Many in Busby's collection of vines are recognisable as varieties produced in Australia into the twenty-first century: grenache, hermitage (shiraz), pineau noire, pineau blanche (possibly chardonnay), semillon, pineau gris. But there were also obscure types such as pique poulle, morostelle and clital blanche.⁸⁷ William Macarthur would later comment that while Busby had done the colony a great service in creating the collection of vines at the Botanic Gardens he would have been better to have only imported the valuable types rather than those that were ordinary in case they proved to be useful in the colony. Macarthur judged that as little as a sixth of Busby's collection was of any genuine worth.⁸⁸

Australian Agricultural Company

As Busby arrived in the colony with his ideas on promoting viticulture, the Macarthurs' interest in wine growing influenced plans for the first significant investment of private British capital into Australian farming and grazing: the Australian Agricultural

⁸⁵ Forbes et al, 'Report on the Vines', ML A4298.

⁸⁶ Ramsden, 'James Busby', 367-68.

⁸⁷ Forbes et al, "Report on the Vines", ML A4298.

⁸⁸ Maro (William Macarthur), *Letters on the Culture of the Vine*, 18.

(AA) Company. The colonial committee for the AA Company included James Macarthur, his cousin Hannibal and James' brother-in-law James Bowman, so it comes as no surprise that while the business plans for the AA Company prioritized fine wool production and raising beef, the third source from which the Company's profits were 'expected to be derived' included 'Wine, Olive-oil, Hemp, Flax, Silk, Opium, &c. as articles of export to Great Britain'.⁸⁹ But the committee knew many trials remained to be conducted. It was '[n]ot yet ascertained whether the finest wool can be produced near the seacoast or in the interior. The same about the vine and the olive. Opinion is that the matter should be conducted cautiously and on a prudent and limited scale'.⁹⁰ The committee included a copy of Busby's *Treatise* in correspondence with Company directors in London and vines were imported in 1825; four varieties including verdelho from Madeira.⁹¹ The *Treatise* probably informed the planting of these vines in the garden at the home and headquarters of the AA Company's commissioner at Tahlee, Port Stephens. James Macarthur noted, in 1827, that the vines looked well despite that year's drought.⁹²

As plans advanced for the AA Company's commercial vineyard John Macarthur advised the directors that the superintendent of the Botanical Gardens in Sydney had chosen a site for the vineyard at Tahlee and that the vines for the ten acre planting were to come from Camden Estate.⁹³ The new AA Company commissioner, Edward Parry, made

⁸⁹ Australian Agricultural Act 1824, 5 Geo. IV c. 86.

⁹⁰ Colonial Committee to Governors and Court of Directors of the Australian Agricultural Company, Despatch 1, 1 November 1824, Australian Agricultural Company series (AACo), Noel Butlin Archives Centre (NBAC) 78/1/1, 1.

⁹¹ See Appendix One.

⁹² Colonial Committee to the Governors, Despatch 5, 22 June 1825, AACo, NBAC 78/1/1, 63; Journal of James Macarthur, 23 December 1827, AACo, NBAC, 78/1/6, 143.

⁹³ John Macarthur to the Governors, Despatch 1, 26 May 1828, AACo, NBAC 78/1/6, 261-285.

sure to visit wineries at Constantia during the voyage to New South Wales in 1828.⁹⁴ Parry later reported that Busby's instructions influenced experiments at Tahlee.⁹⁵ By 1844 the AA Company had four acres of garden vines.⁹⁶ But, there were no profits to be made at this early stage.



Figure 3: Crest of the Australian Agricultural Company, AACo, NBAC.

The more lasting effect of the AA Company's interest in cultivation of the vine still exists in its crest: a length of grape vine joined to a length of olive branch stretching up around a royal crown and holding aloft a be-ribboned sheep (Figure 3).⁹⁷ This example of colonial self-fashioning created an identity based on both the most successful

⁹⁴ Edward Parry to the Governors, Despatch 7, 19 October 1829, AACo, NBAC 78/1/9, 25.

⁹⁵ Edward Parry's Diary, 3 February 1832, ML A630.

⁹⁶ Colonial Secretary Correspondence 1844-1851, Returns of Vineyards, State Records of New South Wales (SRNSW) 4/7263.

⁹⁷ An historian of the AA Company thought at first that the vines and olives were oak and eucalyptus leaves; P.A. Pemberton, *Pure Merinos and Others: The 'Shipping Lists' Of the Australian Agricultural Company* (Canberra: Australian National University Archives of Business and Labour, 1986), note on cover design.

export commodity in the colony – wool – along with vines and olives, the products associated with classical civilization and the Mediterranean as a modern Arcadia. Although the AA Company long ago gave up wine growing the crest is a lasting reminder of the *desire for*, if not the reality of, colonial wine growing.

John Jamison

Around the same time as the AA Company considered wine growing, the new Agricultural Society of New South Wales, formed in 1824, added wine as an exhibit and offered a gold medal as the prize.⁹⁸ Livestock, cheese and beer were the first products on the prize list in the inaugural year of the Society; peach cider, sherry and tobacco were added in 1825, the same year as wine. The first president of the Agricultural Society, John Jamison, could have been influential in introducing the prize for wine. In 1826, he used part of his considerable capital to employ a ‘native Madeira’ to plant and tend a vineyard at his grand estate Regentville. The second vinedresser employed by Jamison, in 1830 was a German, probably from the Rhine.⁹⁹ Jamison obviously understood the importance of skilled labour and had the distinction of being able to afford it. Governor Brisbane donated vine stock to the Society from the same 1825 shipment from the Cape as the stocks sent to Busby’s Orphan School farm.¹⁰⁰

Robert Townson

Other key producers in the 1820s included Robert Townson, William Redfern, George Macleay and the Cox family. The influence of Banks appears again, in Robert Townson’s interest in wine growing. As a regular guest of Banks before his migration to

⁹⁸ Brian H. Fletcher, *The Grand Parade, a History of the Royal Agricultural Society of New South Wales* (Sydney: The Royal Agricultural Society of New South Wales, 1988), 28.

⁹⁹ Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 122.

¹⁰⁰ Thomas Brisbane to Alexander Berry, 9 December 1824, Thomas Brisbane Letterbook, ML A1559-2, 113.

New South Wales in 1807, Townson would have been familiar with the nature and progress of agricultural and horticultural trials in the colony. He also met Paterson through Banks and, intriguingly, held a position at the University of Göttingen around the time Blumenbach received the bottle of colonial wine allegedly taken to England by Phillip. Dr Townson named his New South Wales estate (at present-day Minto near Sydney) after the Roman agriculturalist Marcus Venetius Varro and ‘Varro Ville became a show place for its beauty, abundance and variety in orchard and garden; his vineyard was second only to that of Gregory Blaxland’.¹⁰¹ Varro’s *Res Rusticae* advised that ‘an objection sometimes made to vineyards is that their costs eat up the profit’.¹⁰² Unfortunately, Townson has left no comment on this dilemma for the viticultural enthusiast and his death, in 1827, prevented him from witnessing later experiments in vine growing.

William Redfern, George Macleay and the Cox Family

Medical surgeon William Redfern arrived in New South Wales as a convicted mutineer in 1801, aged about twenty-seven years. By 1803, his good conduct and demand for his services resulted in his free pardon. Through his work he went on to earn the gratitude of John Macarthur, among others. Redfern accumulated more than twenty-three thousand acres of land through grants ranging from a small allocation in the present-day Sydney suburb of Redfern to pastoral runs at Airds, Bathurst and Cowra in the colony’s west. His former convict status led to him being passed over for appointment as Principal Surgeon when D’Arcy Wentworth resigned in 1818 and he went

¹⁰¹ V.W.E. Goodin, ‘Townson, Robert (1762(?) – 1827)’, in *ADB*, vol. 2, 537-538.

¹⁰² Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 104.

on to oppose the methods of Bigge's inquiry into development of the colony. As well as pastoralism, Redfern focused on cultivating grape vines.¹⁰³

Urged to appeal against new measures limiting the access of emancipists to property and legal redress, Redfern sailed to England in 1821. After the successful appeal he returned to New South Wales, three years later, with sheep to extend his grazing herd of 'upwards of Fourteen hundred head of Horned Cattle, Four thousand Sheep, and several Horses'; he stopped at Madeira 'for the benefit of his health' and there engaged Vine Dressers and procured Vines...at considerable expence [sic], to proceed to New South Wales for the purpose of cultivating the Vine there'.¹⁰⁴ Redfern became the first of the so-called 'Australian wine doctors', a theme explored particularly by Norrie.¹⁰⁵

George Macleay, a neighbour and friend of the Macarthurs had a vineyard and orchard at his Brownlow estate and likely sourced cuttings from Camden Park.¹⁰⁶ Norrie has claimed the Macleays, as a family, contributed more to colonial viticulture than the Macarthurs. His argument is that the Macleay contribution came less as a result of direct experimentation with grapes, wine making and the distribution of colonial wine than infrastructure development such as exploration and railway development.¹⁰⁷ While this claim is creative it does not convincingly establish a greater role for the Macleays who were similar to many capitalists in the colonial era for whom cultivation of the vine existed only as an adjunct to their pastoral interests.

¹⁰³ Biographical details in Edward Ford, 'Redfern, William (1774?-1833)', *ADB*, vol. 2, 368-371.

¹⁰⁴ Sarah Redfern on behalf of William Redfern to Earl Bathurst, 1824, *HRA* 1, vol. 11, 203.

¹⁰⁵ Philip Norrie, 'The History of Wine as Medicine', in *Wine: A Scientific Exploration*, ed. Merton Sandler and Roger Pinder (Hampshire: Taylor & Francis, 2003), 45.

¹⁰⁶ Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 150.

¹⁰⁷ Philip Norrie, 'A Study of the Original Documents on Viticulture in Early New South Wales and the Role of the Macleay Family 1788 to 1883' (Master of Science, University of Sydney, 1992), 3.

The Cox family also began their vine plantings as part of the combination of pastoralism and agriculture that characterized the well-capitalized early colonial estates. Former member of the New South Wales Corps, William Cox, had three sons whose colonial properties boasted vineyards: George at Winbourne, Edward at Fernhill and Henry at Glenmore.¹⁰⁸

Through these years William Macarthur continued to work on developing systematic viticulture. Like Jamison, he could afford to hire skilled non-British labour, in his case a Greek. And Busby reported in the *Manual* that Macarthur had produced 250 gallons of wine an acre from his vines.¹⁰⁹ Macarthur also realised by then that his vineyard site would not work and proceeded to replant the best vines from his collection at a more suitable location, between the back of the house site at Camden and the Nepean River.¹¹⁰

Conclusion

Macarthur would prove to be a prolific producer of grapes but at the end of the 1830s he was still far from making a drinkable wine. And little had changed with respect to Sexauer's measure of agricultural inputs. Land continued to be readily available but clearing it was expensive; the only skilled viticultural labour was employed by a few elite colonists; technology was not necessarily under-developed but so many other factors were still being experimented with that refinements in wine presses, for example, were only a small consideration. Agricultural organisation began with the formation of the Agricultural Society but it, too, did not begin to function fully for decades yet. Despite the stumbles in wine growing there remained a genuine desire to create an industry and as

¹⁰⁸ Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 127.

¹⁰⁹ Busby, *Manual of Plain Directions*, 21.

¹¹⁰ Macarthur, *Some Account*, 3.

European methods of farming and grazing advanced beyond the Sydney hinterland, new players such as George Wyndham and James King in the Hunter Valley joined Macarthur at Camden in directing small amounts of capital from other sources, usually pastoralism, into developing further knowledge of plant stock, planting methods and vinification.

Chapter Four

A 'desirable fruition' in 'strange soil': the advance of vine growing in the 1830s

A significant social and cultural shift occurred in the colony of New South Wales in its fifth decade with the arrival of an increasing number of non-convict settlers to invest in land development and commercial enterprises. The 'gentry settlers' who arrived from the 1820s on brought capital and their demand for labour led to a rise in assisted, skilled British migration from the late 1830s.¹ The flow of investment and labour into the interior, for pastoral and agricultural development, gradually created imperatives for movement of raw products for domestic consumption and export back out of the bush. This, in turn, accelerated occupation of the land and the resulting, increasingly mature economy contributed to 'a critical mass that turned the direction of civilization in Australia'.² Initiatives and adaptations required to build wealth and civility created an air of what Jack P. Greene described in the North American context as a 'cultural order waiting to be defined'.³ In this climate of change, the potential for wine production in New South Wales began to be realised; a trend avidly reported in the colonial press.

Elite growers and the colonial press

Busby's *Manual* inspired the colonial press; a rich source of constructions of colonial self-hood and prescriptions for colonial ambition.⁴ As Atkinson described,

¹ Geoffrey Sherington, *Australia's Immigrants, 1788-1978* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1980), 31 and 39.

² Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia, a History, Volume Two: Democracy* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2004), xix.

³ Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness, the Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 171.

⁴ Driscoll commented on the crucial role of the *Maitland Mercury* (from the early 1840s) and Sydney publications in encouraging wine growing: Driscoll, *Beginnings of the Wine Industry*, 63. Also in the early

‘newspapers, like fairy godmothers...told the community about itself and, as with fairy godmothers, their prophecies were self-fulfilling’.⁵ Of viticulture, the *Sydney Gazette* prophesized that,

[i]n the many advantages to be derived from a general attention to the grape vine, in the variety of soil and temperature of climate so providentially adapted for its vigorous growth as we possess, cannot fail to ensure its extensive cultivation, and the quality of the samples of wine which had been made, even with our imperfect knowledge, gives us encouraging promise of its future excellence.⁶

Increasingly, colonists sought to represent themselves as part of this promise of excellence.

The cultural capital to be gained from creating a vineyard moved Alexander Brodie Spark - a shipping merchant with a very successful George Street store – to plant grape vines in the grounds of his favourite country residence, Tempe (at present-day Arncliffe in Sydney’s inner south-west). The following report in the *Gazette* likely flowed from Spark’s pen:

An experiment has been made this season with the vine, which, if successful, will encourage the cultivation of the grape in all directions about Sydney. A rocky hill, such as those which abound between the harbour and the South Head road, and indeed on the coast generally, has been planted with vines from top to bottom, and it is thought by good judges that the fruit will be more plentiful and of finer quality than is usually grown in gardens. Should this prove to be the fact, we may expect to see the barren wastes which surround the capital converted into luxuriant vineyards. The character of our soil and scenery, in this neighbourhood, very much resembles the environs of Portugal, where the grape grows in the richest profusion. As one man can

1840s, William Macarthur sent a series of detailed letters to *The Australian* newspaper, which were collected and published under his pseudonym, Maro, *Letters on the Culture of the Vine* in 1844.

⁵ Atkinson, *Democracy*, 245.

⁶ *Sydney Gazette*, November 1830 cited in J. H. Maiden, ‘The Grape Vine. Notes on Its Introduction into New South Wales’, *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 28 (1917): 430.

dress and keep in order four or five acres of vineyard, the expense of these improvements would be but small, while they would add materially to the health and enjoyment of the persons thus employing their spare capital.⁷

Note his expectation of wine growing for pleasure rather than profit. Spark's move beyond the garden-plantings of vines probably arose not only from his ability to finance such a venture and have access to 'good judges' of the enterprise but from his meeting with the English high priest of the romance of landscape, William Wordsworth, while touring Europe in the 1820s.⁸ Wordsworth's idyllic sensibilities underlie Spark's desire to transform the 'barren wastes' into 'luxuriant vineyards'.⁹

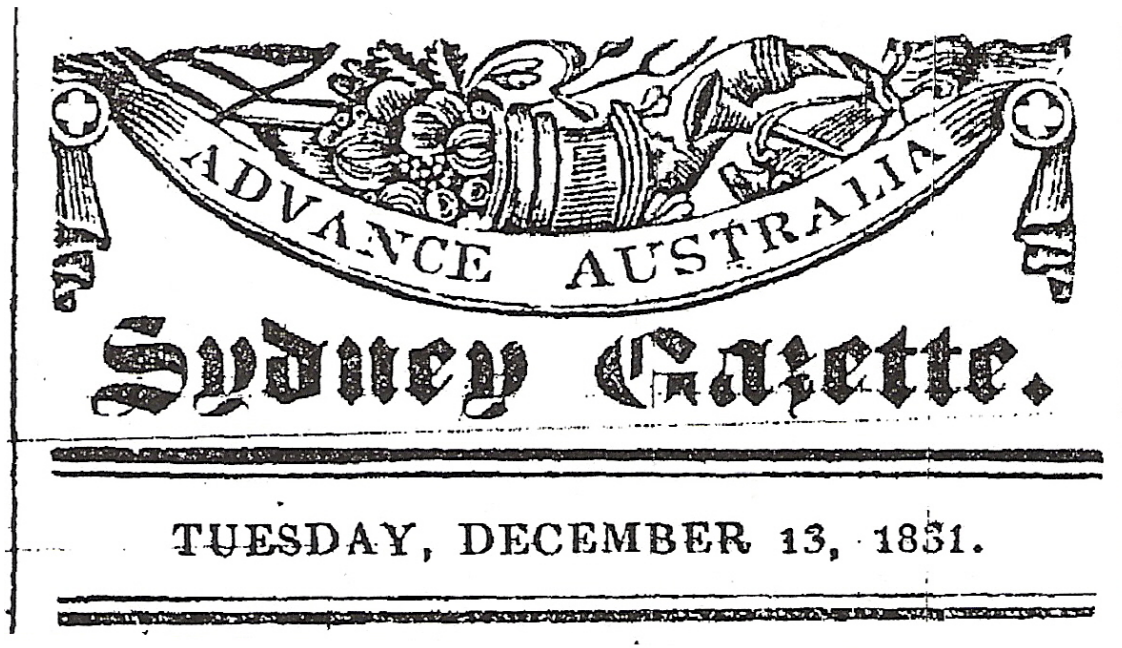


Figure 4: Banner of the *Sydney Gazette*, SLNSW. Note the call for progress: Advance Australia.

The report on Spark's vineyard demonstrates the *Gazette's* approval of his project, earning prestige for the landowner and colony alike. Indeed, the *Gazette's* own banner included grapes in its classically-inspired representation of bountiful agricultural

⁷ *Sydney Gazette*, 11 September 1830.

⁸ 'Spark, Alexander Brodie (1792-1856)', *ADB*, vol. 2, 463-465.

⁹ To understand Wordsworth's idyllic sensibilities and the extent of his influence on British landscape history see Matthew Johnson, *Ideas of Landscape* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 18-33.

production. Its vision for advancing Australia - promoting progress - included the production of grapes, and by extension, wine.

News filtered into Sydney, meanwhile, about efforts to cultivate grapes further afield. In late 1831 the first wine made ‘westward of the Blue Mountains’, reportedly produced from sweetwater grapes grown in the garden of ‘Mr Hawkins’, received the *Gazette*’s diplomatically qualified endorsement:

considering that it is a first attempt, and that that species of grape is the least suited of any of the varieties for the making of wine, we think the experiment a very encouraging one. It is the character of the light French wines. We shall place the bottle in our Advertisement Office, where the curious will be welcome to taste for themselves. Thus we are gradually creeping towards those halcyon days when Australian hearts will be “cheered” with the sparkling produce of their own vintage.¹⁰

This same year, the newspaper hosted a fierce discussion of the problem of ‘blight’ on the leaves of grape vines planted in the colony. Nurseryman Thomas Shepherd opened the debate. He believed blight to be caused by the ‘effects of the cold southerly winds of summer’ and to avoid it vines should be planted on ‘a gentle declivity facing the north or north-west’, sheltered by ‘a belt of thick bushy trees’ and certainly not in damp ground.¹¹

After some months the debate had become familiar enough to inspire this parody:

Each of these gentlemen seems to entertain a theory, or hobby-horse, peculiar to himself on the subject; I will not pretend to run my hobby against theirs, especially at the close of the races, nor will I venture a sober, steady-paced beast, such as mine, against such formidable antagonists as South Wind, Boreas, or any other wind, or in company with such jolly companions as Bacchus or Sylvenus.¹²

¹⁰ *Sydney Gazette*, 3 December 1831.

¹¹ *Sydney Gazette*, 5 March 1831.

¹² *Sydney Gazette*, 25 June 1831.

And the witty correspondent still had an opinion about the scourge itself. He attributed the vine blight to mists ‘which during our spring months hang like a fleecy mantle over our forests, and trail along our vales’, and the remedy: a semi-circle of fires windward of the vineyard to send smoke to counter the mists.¹³

Jamison’s vinedresser, F.A. Meyer - one of very few men in the colony actually skilled in a vineyard - weighed in respectfully, but firmly, describing the debate on blight as nonsense.

Having with considerable surprise seen it stated in your journal of the 17th ult. that the vineyards were suffering from blight, owing to the changeableness of the weather [he said], and this statement appearing to apply to the colony in general, I feel a degree of satisfaction in being able to inform you that such is far from the case. I have the superintendence and management of the largest plantation of the vine in this colony [Regentville], in addition to several lesser ones, and can state that I have not discovered a single instance of blight this season. The thousands of plants which have passed from my hands into the earth are all healthy and prosperous, and the young plants of last season are showing an abundance of fruit. It may not be amiss to add, that (from my own experience, united with that of several gentlemen in the colony), where the situation is suitable, and proper attention paid to the kinds of plants selected, no blight will take place. My principal inducement in trespassing so far on your polite attention is, to prevent those feelings of discouragement which such an error (no doubt arising from misinformation) may create in the minds of persons wishing to cultivate a plant, for which the climate and soil of the colony is particularly adapted.¹⁴

Experience, Meyer, suggested would solve many of the perceived problems with viticulture; he implied that giving air to amateurish concerns served only to discourage what could otherwise be a successful project; ‘intelligent industry’ could correct ‘imperfect knowledge’.

¹³ *Sydney Gazette*, 25 June 1831.

¹⁴ *Sydney Gazette*, 10 November 1831.

Meyer's employer's new cellars contained 1400 gallons in casks and another four hundred gallons were anticipated from the 1834 vintage. Heat caused problems with the harvest, accelerating the fermentation though the wine did not turn to vinegar and the coolness of the underground cellars was calculated to control fermentation of future vintages and better storage of already manufactured wine.¹⁵ Busby had described Jamison's wine as 'very tolerable'; from sweetwater mixed with Madeira grapes.¹⁶ The *Gazette* applauded Jamison's increased investment in wine manufacture.

On the whole [read its report] this enlarged experiment promises to prove eminently successful; and we doubt not that, ere long, the colony will be indebted to the exertions of John Jamison for a valuable product, not only for home consumption but also for exportation. His Excellency, the Governor [Bourke], accompanied by Justice Burton, visited Regentville, and declared that the vineyards on that splendid estate fully equalled if they did not surpass, any thing of the kind they had ever witnessed in any of the wine countries they had visited.¹⁷

Bourke and Burton congratulating Jamison on his wine production confirmed and increased its cultural capital and Jamison later sought approbation, too, from the Society of Arts.¹⁸

The fraternity of wine growers in the Sydney region at this time included John Edye Manning.¹⁹ His vineyard at Elizabeth Bay, 'laid out at so much expense...appears to be doing as well as could reasonably be hoped at so early a stage of its existence. The vines are most healthy and strong'.²⁰ Manning's appointment as New South Wales'

¹⁵ *Sydney Gazette*, 6 February 1834.

¹⁶ Busby, *Manual of Plain Directions*, 30 and 42.

¹⁷ *Sydney Gazette*, 6 February 1834.

¹⁸ Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment*, 78.

¹⁹ Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 55. Norrie referred to Manning as 'John Eyre Manning'. He also wrote that Manning may have supplied grapes to William Charles Wentworth's Vaucluse House where wine for the household, not for sale, could be stored in ideal conditions in a large cellar.

²⁰ *Sydney Gazette*, 25 March 1834.

Supreme Court registrar in 1828 meant he arrived just prior to the increased interest in grape growing that followed publication of Busby's *Manual*. Manning had lived in Europe for nearly a decade after bankruptcy in England so probably visited vineyards. His planting demonstrates the continuing practice of vine growing into colonial estates.²¹

The colonial surveyor Thomas Mitchell also incorporated vines into his estate plantings. Mitchell may have sought information from the ailing John Macarthur when he visited Elizabeth Farm in the early 1830s, and:

[h]ere my worthy host, although not enjoying any good health, accompanied me in a walk over his garden. There I saw the first olive tree ever planted in Australia; the cork-tree in luxuriance, the caper...the English Oak...I saw Greek pirates at work training the vines to trellises, which had just been erected according to the methods of their country.²²

This led Mitchell, who saw so much of the raw 'Forest land'²³ during his many years of survey work, to muse that,

to the planter of the new colonies the garden is an object of especial interest; there he revives the land of his birth, and those associated ideas of earlier years, inseparable from the trees, fruits and flowers of his native land thus brought into existence by his industry, to increase and multiply with himself in this strange soil.²⁴

For colonists in New South Wales, wine growing did not, however, come from their 'native land'.

Aside from the garden vines at Elizabeth Farm, William Macarthur continued his trials to create a commercial-scale vineyard in 1830. His new twenty-two acre vineyard

²¹ The vineyard would have been planted on one of his two Rushcutter's Bay grants which were close to Elizabeth Bay and easily mistaken as the latter. See R. J. M. Newton, 'Manning, John Edye (1783 – 1870)', *ADB*, vol. 2, 202-203.

²² Journal of Thomas Mitchell, Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell Papers, ML A295-3, 273.

²³ William Macarthur describes the 'bush' in this way; see Maro (William Macarthur), *Letters on the Culture of the Vine*, 35.

²⁴ Journal of Thomas Mitchell, ML A295-3, 273-274.

at Camden ‘on the banks of the Nepean River, forty miles south west of Sydney’ had been ‘deeply trenched’ before the planting of varieties that worked best at the former vineyard site.²⁵ The porous, brown, fine-grained siliceous loam of the new site had been tested to a depth of fifty feet to be certain the root-system of the vines would be well-drained and supplied with adequate nutrients and water. Macarthur preferred to plant grapes as rooted plants rather than directly from cuttings. His method was ‘prevalent on the Rhine, and occasionally in the Medoc and in other districts of France’.²⁶ Camden’s plant nursery became a key source of vine stock for plantings not only in New South Wales but Victoria and South Australia. His many customers for vine cuttings included Mitchell. Buyers of bulk wine soon included the Catholic Church, which first established in the colony in 1820 but had no recorded vineyards for sacramental wine until the late 1840s.²⁷

George Suttor

George Suttor, the Romantic improver sponsored by Banks several decades earlier, also made his successful planting of vines in the 1830s; certainly at his Castle Hill property but also perhaps at Bathurst. As an experienced gardener, Suttor had some knowledge of growing grapes but his first trial of plantings in 1801 failed. Lack of skilled labour and time were to blame, as he had been ‘too much occupied with the raising of the necessities of life’.²⁸ Success came in 1835 when he ‘again turned [his] attention to the subject [and]...planted 2,500 cuttings in ground well-trenched. The

²⁵ Macarthur, *Some Account*, 1-4.

²⁶ Maro, *Letters on the Culture of the Vine*, 46.

²⁷ See Letterbooks of Sir William Macarthur, Macarthur Papers, ML A2933, 69, 70, 101-102.

²⁸ George Suttor, *The Culture of the Grape-Vine and the Orange in Australia and New Zealand* (London: Smith, Elder, 1843), 37.

season was very favourable, so that only about 30 of them missed'.²⁹ He shared his knowledge in the 1843 publication *The Culture of 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* a valuable contribution to the intellectual as well as practical discourse on wine growing in the colony aimed at British migrants. The epigraph on the title page linked Suttor's sentiments with those of Busby and the cultural history of wine: '[t]hey shall sit every man under his vine'.³⁰ Suttor advocated a subversion of the British cultural notions of wine in favour of a Mediterranean-style habit of production and consumption. 'Instead of choice fruits and wines being rarities for the wealthy', he wrote, 'they might speedily, with due attention, be made so to abound, as not only to be shared and enjoyed by the humblest, but to become staples for export to less favoured countries, and even to rival those to whom Colonists now look for supplies'.³¹ Suttor argued for both the morally transformative and physically healthful qualities of wine.

Ideas from international temperance movements had recently arrived in the Australian colonies and Suttor's prescription of wine as an antidote to drunkenness in the quest for moral enlightenment aligned him with preachers of 'moderate' temperance who allowed wine (in contrast with abstinence; eschewing all alcohol).³² Suttor believed wine growing to be a 'desirable fruition' capable of 'inducing general sobriety by furnishing a

²⁹ Suttor, *Culture of the Grape-Vine*, 18.

³⁰ Suttor, *Culture of the Grape-Vine*, i.

³¹ Suttor, *Culture of the Grape-Vine*, iv.

³² Faith in 'moderate temperance' began to be replaced by abstinence in the new temperance debates in New South Wales in the late 1830s, see Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia, 1835-1851* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1965), esp. 165-166.

wholesome beverage for all', of reducing 'the use of ardent spirits, which are so injurious to health in all warm climates'.³³ To this end he provided practical instructions on growing grapes, making wine and, significantly, appreciating wine. Some material drew on the experience of European experts and Suttor's own observations gave an air of scientific authority to his work. He numbered among a distinct group of vine enthusiasts: his association with Joseph Banks probably led to his friendship with Paterson; he also must have spent time with Marsden to have a conception of the potential for vine growing in New Zealand and may also have corresponded with Busby.

The advancing 'fruition'

In the main, the geographic advance of planting of estate or station gardens and vineyards over the next few decades followed the pattern of official surveys and purchase of land for farming: the uneven fanning out from Port Jackson to Newcastle and the Hunter Valley; north to Port Macquarie; westward to Bathurst, Orange, Cowra on the Warwick Plains; north-westward to the Liverpool Plains and the New England; south to Port Phillip, the Illawarra, and later to Moreton Bay in the far north. After ponderous progress throughout the Cumberland County and south-west to Camden in the very early years, a small explosion of vine plantings occurred from the late 1820s in the Hunter region in particular, incorporating the 'Hunter's', Paterson and William Rivers. Greater capital and social networks became the channels through which plant and knowledge transfers took place.

The Hunter Valley

Networking such as Suttor's proved to be a particular characteristic of Hunter wine growing. Colonisation there consisted mainly of wealthy capitalists laying claim to

³³ Suttor, *Culture of the Grape-Vine*, iv and 24-25.

fertile river flats and creating estate-style properties based on mixed farming and some level of self-sufficiency to supply large households. The rich colonists built grand homes and many planted vines of eating grapes and some wine grapes, usually with non-commercial aims. Exceptions were George Wyndham, Richard and Maria Windeyer, Archibald Windeyer and James King for whom a ‘hobby’ grew, in the second half of the nineteenth century, into a potential industry.³⁴

Irish settler William Buchanan had observed in 1826 that his land grant on the banks of the Hunter River, about eighty miles (130 kilometres) from Newcastle, was too far from the sea or a market town to be fit for an ‘agricultural farm, but it is well calculated for grazing or for vineyards’.³⁵ Whether Buchanan followed through with vines is not known. Those who did trial vines were listed by the colony’s superintendent of convicts in 1832 as part of meticulous record-keeping but also, speculatively, as a register of convicts experienced in vineyard labour. Colonists were experimenting with a variety of crops to diversify the emerging economy, including tobacco and hemp, and settlers were surely becoming aware of the need for a more systematic approach to allocating the limited labourers available to particular crop production.³⁶

Hely’s list tells us that Hunter colonists growing grapes included William Ogilvie at Merton and James Phillips Webber at Tocal, each with three acres under vines; Wyndham at Dalwood and George Townshend at Trevallyn, with two acres. The five one acre plantings known to Hely were William and Catherine Kelman’s Kirkton, where the duplicate of Busby’s private collection of vines had been sent; Henry Dumaresq -

³⁴ Driscoll, *Beginnings of the Wine Industry*, 25.

³⁵ William Buchanan to his mother, 28 March 1826 cited in W. Allan Wood, *Dawn in the Valley, the Story of Settlement in the Hunter River Valley to 1833* (Sydney: Wentworth Books, 1972), 98.

³⁶ See for example, Diary of George Wyndham of Dalwood, 1830 – February 1840, ML B1313, n.p.

Governor Ralph Darling's brother-in-law and private secretary - at St Heliers; J. Pike at Pickering; Mr Pilcher at Maitland and Little at Invermien. Alexander Warren, near Wighton had a vineyard of half-an-acre.³⁷

The vineyard and winemaking at Merton - near present-day Denman in the Upper Hunter – appears to have been under the care of husband and wife as well as a skilled labourer. Women 'often made the gardens which were so central to the settling enterprise'³⁸ and the Ogilvies' daughter, Ellen, wrote that:

[o]ur energetic and clever mother was always busy, and educated all of us, our father assisting in some of the branches, but her great recreation was in attending to her garden. We soon had a beautiful garden, orchard, and vineyard, a great deal of which she planted with her own hands. From the vineyard our father made wine which is still remembered for its excellence. A German named Luther who was highly educated and a descendant of Martin Luther, on tasting the wine could not believe it was not Hock. As he appeared skilled in the art of winemaking our father kept Luther to assist him. The soil was considered very peculiar, and turned out various wines, all excellent.³⁹

Merton wine benefitted from family interest, the investment in skilled labour and colonial networking. Sadleir, Busby's successor at the Male Orphan School at Liverpool, frequently visited Merton and may have offered advice.⁴⁰ The Ogilvies continued their 'hobby' and their wine appeared alongside that of Kelman and James King at a Hunter River Society dinner in the early 1840s.⁴¹

³⁷ Frederick Augustus Hely, superintendent of convicts, 1832 cited in Driscoll, *Beginnings of the Wine Industry*, 11-12.

³⁸ Holmes et al, *Reading the Garden*, 31.

³⁹ Letter from Ellen Ogilvie cited in Wood, *Dawn in the Valley*, 188.

⁴⁰ Wood, *Dawn in the Valley*, 188-189.

⁴¹ *Maitland Mercury*, 18 March 1843.

Webber at Tocal earned his reputation as a pioneer in wine growing in the early 1830s when the *New South Wales Magazine* named him as a key contributor to early viticultural experiments, along with Jamison, Shepherd and William Macarthur.⁴² *The Australian* reported in 1834 that:

Mr Webbers [sic] Grapery at the Hunter, the finest in that part of the Colony has produced an unusual crop of fine grapes this season of the Oporto description; this gentleman expects next season to produce no insignificant quantity of wine from his vineyard.⁴³

Webber used convict labour in his vineyard and followed a traditional calendar of cultivation based on a February harvest, wine making until April, pruning and weeding in the winter months.⁴⁴

George Wyndham

George Wyndham's efforts in wine growing are well-known due to the survival of his day book of 1830 to 1840 and the later success of wines from Dalwood on the banks of the Hunter River at Branxton and Bukkulla at Inverell. Wyndham came from British gentry in England and brought a welcome assurance and moral stability into the small community of elite New South Wales colonists based in the Hunter. His family owned extensive lands in England and his father William's obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine* mentioned that men such as Wyndham senior put lie to the accusation that country squires were 'useless'. William was judged 'a perfect country gentleman, a man of ancient family' as generous to the poor as to his associates in horse racing and fox-hunting. He served as a magistrate, a role his son would later take up alongside of his

⁴² Cited in Driscoll, *Beginnings of the Wine Industry*, 19.

⁴³ Brian Walsh, 'Heartbreak and Hope, Deference and Defiance on the Yimmang: Tocal's Convicts 1822-1840' (PhD, University of Newcastle, 2007), 114.

⁴⁴ Walsh, 'Heartbreak and Hope', 114 and 136.

rural pursuits in New South Wales.⁴⁵ George was educated at Harrow and Cambridge ‘with a view to entering the Church of England’ but he travelled instead to Canada and Europe, including the requisite Grand Tour. He met and married his wife, Margaret, in the Belgian capital, Brussels, in 1827 and, after passing up a British Government posting due to his disapproval of contemporary politics, migrated to New South Wales with part of his inheritance and a small flock of sheep.⁴⁶ Wyndham’s imagination was ignited by viticulture and viniculture. A family historian later observed ‘the only subject on which he becomes truly expansive in his diary is that of his first attempts at making wine’.⁴⁷

Vines were not immediately planted at Dalwood, however, as Wyndham exercised a prudent approach to his estate, combining mixed farming that extended from the sowing of up to fifty to seventy acres of wheat in various years and the planting of hundreds of fruit trees. In addition to growing wheat and maize, Wyndham ran sheep and cattle, bred horses to work the farm (and later for racing), raised pigs, experimented with tobacco and hops and used his own timber - sawn on site - for buildings and fences. Dalwood and the later purchases of Fernhill and Bukkulla were shaped to be partly self-supporting as well as profitable.⁴⁸ A small number of grape vines were grown in Dalwood’s garden, in keeping with usual colonial practice to this point and then Wyndham set about planning a vineyard. A variety of grapes would be planted, for wine,

⁴⁵ *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, vol. 16, 1841.

⁴⁶ ‘Wyndham, George (1801-1870), *ADB*, vol. 2, 630-631.

⁴⁷ H. L. Wyndham, ‘Bukkulla Station’, Unpublished manuscript, 1957, ML B1505, 3.

⁴⁸ Wyndham weathered the economic downturn of the 1840s by diversifying his investment in land. He established other pastoral properties including Bukkulla in the New England district, at Inverell. See Judith Wright McKinney, ‘Wyndham, George (1801-1870)’, *ADB*, vol. 2, 630-631.

eating at table and for drying. Both Fernhill and Bukkulla were also later planted with vines in addition to their development as pastoral runs.⁴⁹

In mid-1830, Wyndham had ‘began to clear the river bank for vines purchased from the Busby collection, on this side of the fence’ at Dalwood. The first vines were planted on September first. In mid-December he dug potatoes in the vineyard; an interesting choice of companion plant. Wyndham’s brief notes at the end of the 1830 entries lamented ‘very few of my vines took, put out above 600. They were dead before I got them’.⁵⁰ Undeterred, he travelled to Sydney in late Autumn 1831. A visit to Shepherd’s nursery’ resulted in the purchase of the fruit trees such as nectarine, cherry, plum and peach to add to the collection already at Dalwood. He called at Blaxland’s vineyard at Brush Farm to collect grape vine cuttings that had been advertised both in Busby’s *Manual* and the *Sydney Gazette*.⁵¹

The varieties Wyndham planted in August that year included Oporto, which he commented had ‘bled a little’ sap under the pruning knife (which meant he’d left it too late). In January 1832, Wyndham’s vines numbered 1400. He and his convict labourers worked to protect the growing vines while also preparing more land and a fence around a ‘future vineyard’. Neighbours Captain Wright and Captain Pike delivered vine cuttings in early August, most likely recently pruned from their own vines. The cuttings from Wright were described as: two Muscatels, Black Hamburg (which Wyndham noted as

⁴⁹ Donald G. S. Wilkinson, ‘Dalwood House: its Importance and it’s Associations’, (Sydney: the author, 1986), n.p.

⁵⁰ Diary of George Wyndham, ML B1313. The figure of ‘600’ was not written clearly and may be misleading. No other document is available to resolve what the exact figure could have been.

⁵¹ Diary of George Wyndham, ML B1313.

‘very good’), Red Portugal, Green Malaga, Constantia, Black Cluster, Black Damascus, Alexandra Frontignac and Black Sweetwater; the usual ampelographic hotch potch.⁵²

Wyndham was ‘packing his cellar’ in early November of 1832. The first grapes were gathered from the garden the following January along with a few other fruits just coming into bearing. By June 1833 there were four acres of vineyard and planting continued in July, presumably of varieties listed in the diary under ‘Captain Wright’. These were Muscat of Alexandria, Red Portugal, Green Portugal, Black Hamburg, Alexandria Frontignac, Black Sweetwater, White Frontignac, White Syrian, Green Malaga, White Muscatel, Black Hamburg, Black Damascus, Red Muscatel, Black Spanish. Some may have been from the Busby collection despite the earlier failures at Dalwood though most must have come from stocks imported earlier. Vines from Townshend, obtained in August, were ‘White Muscat, Black Damascus (large fleshy), White Gouais, White Muscatel (good eating), Shepherd’s white, Captain Anley’s Red Muscatel, Large Purple, Corinth, Wantage, Black Frontignac, Madina, Tinto’. Those from Captain Pike included a ‘good eating white grape [and] Large oval purple raisin’.⁵³ The array of vines and doubling up on some varieties serves to demonstrate the extent to which Wyndham had to trial vines in Dalwood soil in the local climatic conditions.

Wine making required barrels to ferment and store the wine. Coopers were needed to fashion the casks. Wyndham may have tried ensuring a supply of French or American oak - the best timber for wine casks – when he planted acorns from Captain Wright in May 1834. In November a cooper - also employed by other farmers in the area

⁵² Diary of George Wyndham, ML B1313.

⁵³ Diary of George Wyndham, ML B1313.

- arrived at Dalwood, probably not only to make barrels for wine but his availability created benefits for colonial wine production.

In early February 1835 Wyndham began his vintage and 'filled the pipe with must of Black Cluster.' The process clearly fascinated him. A day later, on the tenth of February, he recorded '[n]o appearance of fermentation' but on the eleventh a froth was rising and in the afternoon a 'head [was] forming thick, and a vinous smell'. A day later the must was 'fermenting strongly' and Wyndham constantly monitored the fermentation temperature. When the atmospheric temperature rose he removed blankets used to keep the must warm in the fermentation barrel, presumably to slow down fermentation, but then replaced them the following day. Soon 'a more violent fermentation commenced, the froth broke through the head [of compacted grape solids] and filled up to running over the 4 or 5 inches to spare. [T]ook off the blankets but kept head covered'. Within days 'the head had sunk and sweet taste gone [a]nd instead a harsh vinous taste. Drew it off and filled a hogshead [and another container] with it'. The fermentation continued, violently: 'tried to stop it with sulphuring but too late. It is sharp and promises to make good vinegar'.⁵⁴ In the end: a disappointing outcome.

Wyndham persisted nonetheless. Black Cluster grapes were fermented next with sugar and skins added. This time Wyndham 'over sulphured' to stop the fermentation and declared the result tasted of sulphur and 'a little sweet'. The experimentation continued with Muscatels, Gouais and the 'thick skinned white grape in the Garden'. There might have been some success with one of the blends: 'discharged vat & chalked it, sweet taste being nearly gone. Vat had a splendid bouquet'. In Wyndham's diary,

⁵⁴ Diary of George Wyndham, ML B1313.

almost the entire month of February and the first week of March 1835 contained entries devoted to wine making.⁵⁵

The following year's vintage began at almost the same time as the previous year, suggesting he used a similar, calendar-based approach to harvest (like Webber) rather than planning the vintage around weather conditions and berry ripeness. A combination of grape varieties including Black Cluster, Gouais and Oporto was made into wine totalling 1650 gallons. The wines were drawn off the sediment and racked in late June. The 1837 vintage started a few days ahead of the previous two, suggesting Wyndham worked to a strict calendar rather than conditions such as the ripeness of the grapes but that is to be expected in early experimentation with so many variables to consider.

Twenty-fifth of July 1838, Wyndham 'bottled 12 doz. white wine - which was finished Nov. 15', suggesting experimentation with blending varieties. Christmas heat damaged the vines that year, mainly the Oporto and Shiraz. No vintage for 1839 was recorded in the diary. Wyndham expressed more concern at this point about treating scab in his sheep.⁵⁶ And then came the economic downturn of the 1840s during which Wyndham suffered considerable hardship as a result of labour shortages and higher prices.⁵⁷ With wool growing as Wyndham's main source of income and wine growing as a subsidiary, non-profit enterprise, the wine had to wait.

Wyndham's diary also demonstrates his membership of an informal but well-informed network of fellow wine growers from whom he received vine cuttings, advice and an opportunity to discuss methods of planting, dressing and harvesting his vines and making wine. This informal network preceded the Hunter River Vineyard Association by

⁵⁵ Diary of George Wyndham, ML B1313.

⁵⁶ Diary of George Wyndham, ML B1313.

⁵⁷ McKinney, 'Wyndham, George', 630-631.

nearly two decades. Regular visitors to Dalwood and associates of Wyndham who were involved in wine growing as well as the establishment of the large Hunter region estates included Dumaresq, Pike, Cory, Townshend, Ogilvie, Webber, Glennie, Wright and William Caswell. Wyndham received many visitors whose names are attached to experiments in wine growing: Marsden; the AA Company head, Parry; Port Macquarie commandant Archibald Innes. Wyndham visited Kirkton after vintage in 1836 and accompanied Dumaresq to James King's Irrawang which boasted a four year-old vineyard as well as King's famous pottery. The relative modesty of Wyndham compared with King probably prevented any particular relationship developing between them despite their shared passion and determination in wine growing.

James King

Twenty-seven year old King arrived in Sydney in 1827 and promptly invested in shipping and whaling. Although he obtained his 1,920 acre land grant on the Williams River near Raymond Terrace soon after first migrating, this son of a well-to-do Hertfordshire farmer did not locate to Irrawang until 1835. His vineyard had been planted in 1832 and, despite investing in other enterprises, his main interest was wine.⁵⁸ King must not have used convict labour in the vineyard during the period Hely made his list, or perhaps his property lay outside Hely's area of patrol.

Prior to establishing his vineyard and pottery, King attempted to increase his land holdings through reward for advancing commercial possibilities in the colony. His alleged experience as a glass manufacturer in Scotland led him to campaign for the export to England of colonial sand for glass making. The sand, he argued, could be used as ballast on the return journey of convict ships. While the quality of the sand was

⁵⁸ David S. Macmillan, 'King, James (1800-1857)', *ADB*, vol. 2, 54-55.

acknowledged by colonial authorities, King received only a £100 ‘discount’ on land purchase for his initiative; a disappointing outcome.⁵⁹

King’s pottery, the first successful business of its kind in the colony, provided an important link between wine manufacture and wine storage. Its products included:

milk pans, cheese pans, preserve jars, cream jars, covered jars, porous water carafes, colanders (all 1835), filters, wash-hand basins, baking dishes, bread pans, jugs, mugs, chamber utensils, stone jars, milk coolers (1844), basins and ewers (1845) and stoneware wine jars (two gallon) which, full of fine Irrawang wine, cost 2s. 6d.⁶⁰

King considered wine growing to be the ‘more gentlemanly subject’ in comparison with pottery production, an indication of the cultural capital of wine.⁶¹ King’s first vintage in 1836 included a red wine that he presented at an 1848 meeting of the Hunter River Vineyard Association. Made from a ‘Black Pineau Grape’ (Pinot Noir), the detail of its fermentation indicated King’s interest equalled, if not exceeded, that of Wyndham.⁶²

In 1839, King received a visit from Lady Jane Franklin, wealthy wife of the governor of Van Diemen’s Land, enthusiastic traveller and diarist. Lady Jane went to Irrawang on the urging of Carmichael, with whom she stayed while in the Lower Hunter.

King was out [wrote Lady Franklin, of her arrival at Irrawang] & his young wife after dressing herself hurried to the pottery – said Mr King was most anxious I should taste his wine, begged us to go in. After viewing the loft where the things are kept & putting aside a few things...we left via the adjoining vineyard & an avenue of orange trees in flower, & went to house to which Mr King had just returned...tasted white Rhenish sort of wine & red wine in great haste having at first [declined?] entering & begged for

⁵⁹ Marion McFarlane, ‘James King of Irrawang’, *Raymond Terrace and District Historical Society Bulletin* 3, no. 1 & 2 (1979): 3-6.

⁶⁰ Judy Birmingham, ‘The Archaeological Contribution to Nineteenth-Century History: Some Australian Case Studies’, *World Archaeology* 7, no. 3 (1976): 307.

⁶¹ Birmingham, ‘The Archaeological Contribution’, 307.

⁶² Notes, James King Papers, ML 682/1, page number unreadable.

a bottle instead as feared to get benighted it being between 4 & 5 o'clock and 4 miles to go...[And after returning to Carmichael's] a note came late with a box containing wine & good glass from Mr King – wrote back, next day.⁶³

This entry shows King sought approbation from Lady Jane, who possessed the power to influence other elite colonists by informing them of his production and his produce.

Franklin, for her part, liked to hear Van Diemen's Land, where her husband was governor, praised over New South Wales. She commented only a few days after the entry on King's wine that one of this travel escorts, Captain William Moriarty had recently declared 'Tasmanian wine superior to Australian', which implies neither had reached a state of drinkability by this stage and colonial loyalty was the deciding factor.⁶⁴

Lady Jane did, however, write to King, that she believed his wine and crystal to be 'specimens of enlightened & successful skill and enterprise...sure [to] excite much interest whenever they are exhibited'.⁶⁵

On the same journey Lady Jane was promised wine by George Cox, of Winbourne, also keen no doubt, for the stamp of approval from one so qualified to understand evidence of an ambition to be 'civilized'.⁶⁶ King, meanwhile, went on to become one of the key colonial wine growers of the mid-century.

⁶³ Penny Russell, *This Errant Lady: Jane Franklin's Overland Journey to Port Phillip and Sydney, 1839* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2002), 140.

⁶⁴ Russell, *This Errant Lady*, 149.

⁶⁵ Jane Franklin to James King, undated, James King Papers, ML 682/1, 237-238.

⁶⁶ Russell, *This Errant Lady*, 156.



Figure 5: Conrad Martens' 1837 watercolour of Townshend's Trevallyn shows the Paterson Valley landscape that hosted so many nineteenth century vineyards (SLNSW).

Other key Hunter growers

George Townshend of Trevallyn – a frequent visitor to Dalwood - had two acres of vines planted around the same time as Wyndham after taking up more than two thousand acres of land on the Paterson River in 1826 (See Figure 5). As well as a vineyard his orchard supplied produce for his own brand of preserves. Most of the grapes were made into preserves and Townshend believed his wine making efforts to be accidental rather than skillful or commercially-oriented 'like Charles Boydell, James McCormick, Alexander Park, Dr Henry Lindeman and, of course, Thomas Lodge Patch and John Glennie'.⁶⁷ In the boom years of the early 1830s, Townshend accumulated ten properties in addition to Trevallyn but hard times in the mid-1840s resulted in the loss of all but Trevallyn, which had been signed over to his wife.⁶⁸ Townshend had migrated to New South Wales with Charles Boydell, another Hunter wine 'hobbyist' who planted his

⁶⁷ Sullivan, *Patch and Glennie*, 4.

⁶⁸ Details on Townshend are not readily available. This information is from the SLNSW site http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover_collections/people_places/caergwrle/station/index.html [accessed 27 March 2008].

vineyard in 1834. Boydell sourced his cuttings from Webber; the usual mixture of varieties, though he believed the cuttings to be 'beautiful and valuable'.⁶⁹ That is: plants with symbolic capital and the potential for financial gain.

The Kelmans had created their acre of grape vines at Kirkton, near Branxton, by 1832. Two years later Kelman was ready to extend the vineyard to ten acres, a plan which drew the following indignant response from brother-in-law James Busby:

I cannot say however that I think it prudent of Kelman [wrote Busby] with - or without his advice as the case may be - to launch into a plantation of 10 acres of vines! – Before he had proved the capabilities of his soil. I think it unlikely that his wine will ever be above the Vin Ordinaire and it is very doubtful whether that, even if managed with more skill and conveniences than he can hope for many years, will meet a market at any price in Sydney.⁷⁰

Kelman persisted, however, and Busby later thought Kirkton wine approximated a French style and he and his wife intended to drink more of Kelman's produce.

Habit has made us both like it better than almost any other wine [he wrote two years later], and I intend to engage a couple of quarter casks annually which I thought of offering £15...do you think he would consider it too low? If not it might be of use in fixing the price of any more he might have to dispose of. I think there would be little chance of any one giving him more - and few persons would I think drink it at all except those who have been accustomed to natural wine in France.⁷¹

Kelman would certainly have been thinking of a market for his wine if the vineyard extended to ten acres but sales might have been confined to friends and relatives.

Another grower, Dumaresq (brother-in-law and private secretary of Governor

⁶⁹ Jack Sullivan, *Charles Boydell 1808-1869 and Camyr Allyn, Allyn River, Gresford* (Paterson: Paterson Historical Society, 1999), 40-41.

⁷⁰ James Busby to Alexander Busby, 17 November 1834, cited in Driscoll, *Beginnings of the Wine Industry*, 26. *Vin Ordinaire* was literally, ordinary wine; very 'lowly', lacking cultural capital. Busby's underline in original.

⁷¹ James Busby to Alexander Busby, 24 May 1839, cited in Driscoll, *Beginnings of the Wine Industry*, 26-27.

Darling) was a hero of the Battle of Waterloo who took up land near present-day Muswellbrook and named it St Heliers. His brother William built a similar-sized pastoral station of over five thousand acres near present-day Scone. Henry Dumaresq had experienced travel to various parts of the British empire and his network in the colony included fellow men of empire Edward John Eyre and John Dunmore Lang, both of whom complimented Dumaresq on the excellent management of his estate.⁷² Little is known of his wine growing and his death, in 1838, prevented him seeing the results of continued experimentation. His involvement in early plantings in the Upper Hunter, however, emphasises the type of colonists who embraced viticulture.

Even less is known of Pike, Pilcher, Little and Warren, the remaining names on Hely's list. Pike had provided Wyndham with some cuttings so he must have made his plantings before 1830. Caswell of the New South Wales Corps - omitted from Hely's list - has been described as the first colonist at Port Stephens and his estate, Tanilba, included a vineyard possibly connected with the AA Company. His plantings were later extended to three acres.⁷³ Better known wine growers from the mid-1830s - due to their political profiles or self-promotion - were King of Irrawang, Andrew Lang of Dunmore (brother of John Dunmore Lang), Richard Windeyer of Tomago and Archibald Windeyer of Kinross.

Andrew Lang at Dunmore, near present-day Maitland, acted sooner than most on the need for skilled vineyard workers. The eight-acre vineyard had been planted and managed by a 'highly intelligent Wirtemberger', George Schmid, using arbour-style *lusthaus* or trellised shade areas for the vines to climb which Lang's brother - Presbyterian minister, migration advocate and later politician, John Dunmore Lang - also

⁷² Nancy Gray, 'Dumaresq, Henry (1792-1838)', *ADB*, vol. 1, 333-335.

⁷³ Driscoll, *Beginnings of the Wine Industry*, 23-24.

observed in Schmid's native Stuttgart.⁷⁴ The latter Lang first attempted to import vinedressers, for his brother, in 1835. According to his account, Andrew asked him to recruit vineyard workers while he was in Europe signing up Protestant missionaries to work at Christianizing and 'civilizing' Aborigines. Andrew specified German or French labourers for his vineyard and promised to provide them with their own gardens and livestock. Unfortunately, despite initial success in identifying willing migrants, the Dutch Government halted the project by refusing to allow the Germans to pass through Holland without a guarantee by the British Government that 'they should not be returned to it as paupers'.⁷⁵ The alternative plan was to recruit Germans who were based temporarily in France until they could emigrate to America but who had run out of money and were living as refugees, under detention, at Havre. Lang finally succeeded in persuading two hundred and fifty people – vinedressers and their families – to follow him to New South Wales and he hired a French ship to transport them.⁷⁶

When the shipload of Germans arrived at Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian Government - keen to keep the skilled vinedressers - offered the ship's Captain Bernard a handsome bribe to release them to form a settlement in the south of Brazil. Bernard claimed to have refused but told Lang that

some interested, or meddling people, from amongst the large German population of [Rio], had managed to poison the minds of their countrymen on board the French ship, by inducing them to believe that they were going to be made slaves of in New South Wales, and by filling them with all manner of dismal apprehensions...[They] had even supplied

⁷⁴ J.D. Lang, *An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1875), 106.

⁷⁵ Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account*, 271.

⁷⁶ Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account*, 271.

them secretly with arms, to compel the captain to return and land them at Rio, if he should proceed to sea.⁷⁷

Once Bernard sailed, the Germans ‘rose *en masse*’ and forced the captain to return them to port.⁷⁸ The Brazilian government paid Bernard, though less than the original sum offered. Lang later heard that the Germans settled south of Rio near Emperor Pedro’s summer palace.⁷⁹ This was probably Nova Petropolis, renowned for its German influence and still a wine producing area.

Richard Windeyer, a barrister whose vineyard formed part of the Tomago estate between Raymond Terrace and Newcastle, came to the New World armed with ambition and an enlightened liberalism. Significantly, in terms of the cultural tensions relating to race and religion in the colony, he defended the white murderers of Aborigines at the Myall Creek Massacre then later made a public declaration of his horror at the killings. Unlike fervent anti-Catholics in the colony he offered literacy lessons to his Catholic servant without seeking to convert him to Anglicanism.⁸⁰ Windeyer’s land lay in the delta of the lower Hunter river but his foreman reassured him that once the swamp had been drained the property would have ‘as good meadowing as any Gentleman in the colony’.⁸¹ Vines had not been trialled in such land before but those planted appeared to be doing well when buds emerged in Spring of 1838.⁸²

Windeyer benefitted quickly from the informal network of wine producers in the region. King borrowed a book of Windeyer’s on wine and a few years later offered

⁷⁷ Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account*, 272.

⁷⁸ Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account*, 271.

⁷⁹ Lang, *Historical and Statistical Account*, 271.

⁸⁰ Atkinson, *Democracy*, 181 and 193.

⁸¹ Edmund Doherty to Richard Windeyer, 27 August 1838, ML 5221 X/1.

⁸² Edmund Doherty to Richard Windeyer, 8 October 1838, ML 5221 X/1.

cuttings.⁸³ Caswell offered to bottle Tomago wine.⁸⁴ When Richard Windeyer died suddenly, in 1847, his wife Maria took control of the estate, including the vineyard. Tomago wine went on to win a certificate of merit at the 1855 Paris Exhibition which also proved to be a triumph for wine from William Macarthur's Camden and James King's Irrawang.⁸⁵

Archibald Windeyer - Richard's uncle - bought Kinross, at Raymond Terrace, because it had established vines.⁸⁶ An 1834 advertisement for the property described it having 'a vineyard of one acre, trenched three spade deep, fenced, and planted with choice vines of the more hardy sorts'.⁸⁷ Windeyer arrived in the colony in 1835, purchased Kinross almost immediately then moved there five years later. He went on to become one of the most prominent of the mid-century wine growers in the Hunter region.⁸⁸ As for Henry Carmichael, of Porphyry near Seaham on the Williams River: he had told Lady Franklin, when she visited in 1839, that he had been at the property for a year and a half and intended to plant a vineyard.⁸⁹

Port Macquarie

The 1830s boom in vine plantings extended to Port Macquarie. Although settled earlier as a site for secondary punishment of convicts, vineyards were not at first encouraged. Governor Lachlan Macquarie had decreed the port free of luxuries such as alcohol. Shipping was heavily regulated to enforce this and little opportunity given to

⁸³ James King to Richard Windeyer, 18 September 1838, ML 5221 X/1; James King to Richard Windeyer, 5 July 1841, ML 5221 X/1.

⁸⁴ William Caswell to Richard Windeyer, 18 August 1841, ML 5221 X/1.

⁸⁵ Reference to biographical details, as well as Tomago's certificate, is made at J. B. Windeyer, 'Windeyer, Richard (1806-1847)', *ADB*, vol. 2, 615-617.

⁸⁶ Janet Denne, *The Windeyer Family of Kinross, Raymond Terrace* (Killara, NSW: the author, 1981), 11.

⁸⁷ *Sydney Gazette*, 4 January 1834.

⁸⁸ J.B. Windeyer, 'Windeyer, Archibald (1785-1870)', *ADB*, vol. 2, 614.

⁸⁹ Russell, *This Errant Lady*, 135.

grow fruit for fermentation: 'no officer or other free person shall be allowed to cultivate any ground on his account excepting for the purpose of a garden for the exclusive supply of his own family'.⁹⁰ Regulations were gradually relaxed as the port at the mouth of the Hastings River became open to farming.

Some time after 1836, Henry Fancourt White planted vines on his land which he then sold to William Stokes in 1839 together with 'all and singular houses, outhouses, vineyards, edifices, buildings, barns, stables, yards, gardens, orchards, etc'.⁹¹ By 1847, the Stokes vineyard so impressed Commandant Archibald Innes that he purchased ten acres of it as well as having an established vineyard at his estate and compound at Lake Innes. Other vineyards followed the first planting by White and by the end of the century there were as many as forty-six in the Port Macquarie/Hastings region.⁹²

Port Phillip and South Australia

The end of the 1830s also saw the first plantings at Port Phillip - still part of New South Wales - and in South Australia. Dunstan has detailed the early plantings in the future colony of Victoria, including connections with the Macarthurs. James and William had befriended a young Swiss while at school in Vevey during their tour of Europe. This friend's cousin was Sophie La Trobe, wife of Port Phillip's Lieutenant-Governor Charles La Trobe. The La Trobes played a role, though how considerable remains unresolved, in the migration of Swiss vigneron to Victoria.⁹³ Early Victorian grower John Fawcner sourced his cuttings from Camden's plant nursery. He ordered more than two thousand

⁹⁰ W Howell, 'Vineyards and Vignerons of Port Macquarie', *Hastings District Historical Society*, no. 12 (1978): 2.

⁹¹ Howell, 'Vineyards and Vignerons', 2.

⁹² For an impression of Hastings and Manning district grape and wine production later in the century see Appendices Five and Six. See also Ian Symonds, 'Map of the Port Macquarie Region' held at Douglas Vale Vineyard Museum, Port Macquarie which lists forty-six vineyards by the end of the century.

⁹³ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard!*, 5.

cuttings in the mid-1840s: Gouais, Verdelho, Shiraz, Malbec and Cabernet Sauvignon.⁹⁴

Note the small number of wine grape varieties as this next generation of growers benefitted from earlier trials and errors.

Opinion on the future of wine growing in South Australia, meanwhile, showed familiar - and justified – confidence. George Stevenson and John Barton Hack were the first vine growers in the Adelaide district. Stevenson declared in 1840, that:

Looking at the peculiar adaptation of our climate, and considering that the soil between Adelaide and the mountains, especially on the sides of the numerous gently rising slopes so admirably fitted for the purpose, is a moderately light loam, with a subsoil of decomposed limestone, I cannot doubt that the grape will, at no distant period, become one of the staples of South Australia, and that another season will witness the formation of many other vineyards in this district.⁹⁵

Stevenson's expertise as a horticulturalist meant 'his own garden and orchard were among the best in early Adelaide'.⁹⁶ He and William Macarthur exchanged plant stock and knowledge in the mid-1840s.⁹⁷ Hack fitted the mould of colonial entrepreneur; he bought a whaling station, squatted on land near Mount Barker and ran several hundred head of cattle. His spacious garden at the 'valuable showpiece' Echunga Springs included vines but his contribution to the development of viticulture was limited when he suffered heavy losses from the onset of economic depression in 1841.⁹⁸ Wine growing spread to the Barossa Valley, eighty kilometres north of Adelaide, by 1850, and grew

⁹⁴ John Fawkner to William Macarthur, 29 August 1845, Papers of John Pascoe Fawkner, H1120, State Library of Victoria (SLV).

⁹⁵ Geoffrey C. Bishop, *The Vineyards of Adelaide* (Blackwood: Lynton Publications, 1977), 11.

⁹⁶ 'Stevenson, George (1799-1856)', *ADB*, vol. 2, 481-482.

⁹⁷ See Letterbooks of Sir William Macarthur 1844-1874, Macarthur Papers, ML A2933, 20-27.

⁹⁸ J. Gilchrist, 'Hack, John Barton (1805-1884)', *ADB*, vol. 1, 497.

largely through the efforts of the enclave of Silesians who began migrating to South Australia from 1838.⁹⁹

Conclusion

Suttor's 'desirable fruition' in what Mitchell described as 'strange soil' was finally coming to pass throughout the Australian colonies as a result of experimentation in New South Wales. As far inland as Cowra, by the end of the 1830s, it became common practice that 'as soon as accommodation was erected...fruit trees were planted'.¹⁰⁰ With new impetus for promotion of vine culture in newspapers after Busby's *Manual* - as well as a more ready supply of plant stock - more and more garden and orchard plantings included grape vines. Larger quantities were planted by landowners who could afford to create estate-style farms (pastoralists with imported capital) aimed at supplying a large household of master, mistress, children, convict servants and labourers. Convicts usually carried out vineyard work, supervised by the estate owner or a hired foreman. The debate about the cost of establishing a vineyard in the colony, which began with Busby's calculations in the *Manual*, remained unresolved, however, and colonists who planted either a few rows of vines or a few acres did so without reliable projections of cost versus profit. Income from wine growing remained only a remote possibility.

Of the combination of agricultural input factors required for success: significant land access remained tied to wealth until after the Robertson Land Acts of the 1860s. Labour continued to be a problem. Some colonists could afford to hire skilled vineyard workers from Europe, including six German vinedressers sponsored by the Macarthurs in 1838 after a protracted battle with Whitehall over the need to import 'foreign' labour as

⁹⁹ Faith, *Liquid Gold*, 59-61.

¹⁰⁰ David Croft, 'Agriculture', in *Cowra on the Lachlan*, ed. Joan Marriott (Cowra: Cowra Shire Council, 1988), 61.

distinct from British farm workers who were willing to migrate but had no viticultural experience.¹⁰¹ Capital, like land, was in the hands of only a few. Access to technology remained limited by the lack of income to be made from wine grapes. The formation of agricultural societies and associations for the exchange of knowledge would be stalled until the economy returned to a period of stable growth.

The increase in wine grape plantings stemmed more from social and cultural change than to create profits by answering a demand for colonial wine.¹⁰² Although alcohol consumption in the colony peaked in the 1830s, potential consumers for colonial wine production were disinterested at best - disdainful at worst - at the possibility of drinking wine made from locally-grown grapes.¹⁰³ In the swirl of the developing cultural order, wine had also begun to lose the cultural meaning Phillip and King ascribed to it in the earliest years of colonisation. Elite colonists continued to buy imported wines but getting drunk in New South Wales required little symbolic meaning of the alcohol! At an 'elegant home' in Sydney, for example, a French visitor witnessed Aboriginal men being plied with wine and encouraged to fight each other. The men, wrote Arago,

'struck each other repeated blows; two of them were stretched on the ground, dangerously wounded, and a third received a mortal blow'. This scene took place in the midst of a civilized city; the spectators were respectable merchants, and elegant and accomplished young ladies.¹⁰⁴

Of course, the Frenchman had every reason to portray the colonists in the worst possible light - the English and the French were historic rivals - but the meaning of wine as a

¹⁰¹ See for example, Edward Macarthur to Sir George Grey, 15 March 1837, *HRA* I, vol. 18, 717-719; Edward Macarthur to Henry Laboucher, 15 July 1839, New South Wales Governor's Despatches, May August 1839, ML A1280.

¹⁰² This is in contrast to the development of the Californian fruit industry, later in the century, in answer to demand; Tyrell, *True Gardens of the Gods*, 9.

¹⁰³ On alcohol consumption in this period see Dingle, "'The Truly Magnificent Thirst'", 229-232.

¹⁰⁴ Colin Dyer, 'The Indigenous Australians in Sydney and Its Environs as Seen by French Explorers, 1802-1831', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 88, no. 2 (2002): 157.

'civilized' drink had become blurred, particularly in the cruel expression of cultural domination of blacks by whites evident from the wine-fuelled fight. Imported wines from Europe and the Cape, in addition to spirits and beer, supplied the colonial gentry in the barely lawful frontier atmosphere of the colonial centre. Much remained to be done to 'civilize the civilizer' as supplies of alcohol were not limited nor the meaning of alcohol consumption effectively constrained. Not only did the colony have only rudimentary law but awaited 'a cultural order', as Greene termed it.

Chapter Five

Towards 'intelligent industry': labour, laws and literature in the 1840s

Colonial wine production had not developed sufficiently by the 1840s to have a domestic, let alone export, market but in this decade changing conditions brought the 'intelligent industry', or informed production, rightly identified more than three decades earlier as necessary for success in wine growing.¹ The arrival of migrants with capital and the assisted migration of skilled labour continued to spread the cultivation of the vine. And, as convict transportation to New South Wales wound down, demand for the importation of a small number of skilled vinedressers, wine makers and coopers from Germany led to a thawing of official opposition to 'foreign' workers. Meanwhile, wine and vine growing played a revived role in the encouragement of a 'moderate temperance'.² The newly-elected Legislative Council kept wine import duties low, set licensing costs for wine and beer lower than spirits and raised the quantity of colonial wine that could be sold without a license to boost production, hoping for 'the gradual substitution of it for ardent spirits in the consumption of the Colony'.³ Statistics on wine growing began to be collected; publications increased and the first vineyard associations formed. The soils and climate had long been judged suitable now labour, laws and literature increasingly contributed to 'intelligent industry' in colonial wine production and distribution.

¹ Ambrose Serle to Samuel Marsden, 15 April 1805, Marsden Papers, ML A1992, 27. Serle did not provide a definition for what he considered 'intelligent industry' but it can be assumed it related to conceptions of success and 'civilization'.

² Roe, *Quest for Authority*, 165.

³ George Gipps to Lord Stanley, New South Wales Governors' Despatches to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, vol. 44, January - April 1844, ML A1233, 24-25.

Labour

Despite increased migration of non-convict agricultural labourers to New South Wales, the complexity of requirements for skilled labour in wine growing made sourcing experienced vineyard and winery workers a special case. From 1835, the colonial government contributed £30 towards ‘the expense of the passage of every [British] married man, whether mechanic or farm servant, and his wife’.⁴ Children of married couples and unmarried men and women were subsidised by a lower amount but a year later the general bounty was increased. While importing labour from the British Isles to New South Wales reduced the number of potentially disaffected rural workers suffering social dislocation from the enclosure of their homelands, these farm workers had no idea how to grow grape vines, make wine or fashion wine barrels.⁵

Once Governor Richard Bourke made his 1835 proclamation to encourage assisted migration, the Macarthurs took up the offer for their larger, non-wine enterprises. Edward Macarthur (son of John and Elizabeth and family company agent in London since the death of older brother John) then began his attempt to recruit ‘foreign’ vinedressers. At first Bourke gave his assent to the use of bounty funds for a small group of vinedressers but the plan encountered opposition from Whitehall. Edward countered the veto by arguing that private investment in wine growing in New South Wales would be wasted if the investors could not secure skilled vineyard labour which was, through no

⁴ Richard Bourke, ‘Proclamation on Emigration (1835)’, *HRA I*, vol. 18, 828.

⁵ There is no listing for ‘vinedressers’ in the social classifications of occupations identified for migration to New South Wales. A vinedresser might have fallen within the ‘partly skilled’ category in a list compiled by W.A. Armstrong, along with agricultural labourer, corkcutter, dairyman, flax dresser, gardener and so on. Vinedressing was a skill requiring a certain amount of knowledge and training which was certainly informal in twentieth century terms but comparable with British labour skill development. For Armstrong’s list see Robin F Haines, *Nineteenth Century Government Assisted Immigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia: Schemes, Regulations and Arrivals, 1831-1900 and Some Vital Statistics 1834-1860*, Occasional Papers in Economic History No 3 (Adelaide: Flinders University, 1995), 83.

fault of the colonists, not available in Britain. The vintage at William's twenty acre vineyard was less than a year away and by refusing to allow German migration, said Edward, the Colonial Office sentenced the Macarthur enterprise to failure and limited prospects for the colony on which the potential to encourage future *British* migration depended.

It may not be immaterial that I should submit to his Lordship [Edward wrote to the Colonial Office] the grounds upon which the Governor was induced to offer encouragement for the introduction into the Colony of a limited number of Foreigners. And in the first place I would beg to observe that the arrangement is considered as an exception to the general rule and acceded to only upon strong special reasons....Great benefit is likely to accrue to the Parent Country, as well as to the Colony, from the production of Wine, Olive Oil, Silk, dried fruits and other valuable articles, for which the climate and soil of New South Wales are ascertained to be well adapted, and which require only practical knowledge to ensure their successful cultivation. Without this knowledge, there must be great loss of time, as well as of Capital, in the first essays, whereas, by the introduction of a few Families possessing the requisite experience and skill, not only will this loss be prevented, but their knowledge will become generally diffused amongst the Colonists. The natural resources of the Country will thus be brought into earlier and more advantageous operation than would otherwise be possible, at the same time that new fields will be opened for Colonial enterprise and for the *employment of the surplus labor of the Parent Country*.⁶

Presumably both the passion and the logic of Edward's letter led the Colonial Secretary to - very reluctantly - agree to his petition, and another from John Dunmore Lang, to allow the sponsored migration of vinedressers.

In making the exception for Macarthur and Lang in 1837, Lord Glenelg emphasised that favouring non-British migrants in any guise contravened the intention of

⁶ Edward Macarthur to George Grey, 15 March 1837, *HRA* I, vol. 18, 717-718. Macarthur's emphasis.

migration. He could see the need for flexibility in policy, ‘but I wish you to let it be understood in the Colony that the terms of the notice of October, 1835, are not, for the future, to be considered as extending to Immigrants introduced from foreign countries’.⁷ Permission in hand, Edward proceeded to search for a small group of families prepared to leave Germany for New South Wales, amid the tumult of their own social dislocation.⁸

Six married men were found: Johann Stein, Johann Wenz, Georg Gerhardt, Johann Justus, Casper Flick and Frederich Seckold. All but Stein had children and the twenty-eight German migrants sailed to Australia on the *Kinnear* in 1837.⁹ The men could all sign their names and were expected to both work and maintain standards of sobriety. They agreed to:

take care of the Vineyards of Mr Macarthur in New South Wales during Five Years in the same manner as if their own and to work in the seasons when there is no employment amongst the Vines upon other parts of his property...[and] to conduct themselves on their Lives and Manners as good Christians and as honest and diligent Germans and especially to prove themselves in all things orderly, diligently sober and not to allow themselves to be passed aside by bad Example.¹⁰

The Macarthurs were not of a mind to support unreliable, intemperate workers and by further requesting that the German children be raised ‘virtuously and orderly’ and sent to school, sought to shape a settled and reliable workforce.

Employment at Camden ensured the workers free passage, an attractive enticement given the risks for Europeans migrating unsupported to the promise of a better

⁷ Lord Glenelg to Governor Bourke, 29 March 1837, *HRA* I, vol. 18, 716-717.

⁸ Famine and political turmoil already affected many parts of western Europe. After the so-called ‘hungry forties’ in pre-unification Germany, unassisted migration from the German principalities – mainly to America – peaked in the mid-1850s. David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century, A History of Germany 1780-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 113.

⁹ Edward Macarthur to Henry Laboucher, 15 July 1839, New South Wales Governor’s Despatches, May to August 1839, ML A1280, 451. Macarthur anglicised the Germans’ first names in this record.

¹⁰ ‘Copy of the Agreement’, Macarthur Papers, ML A2918, 155.

life in America.¹¹ They also received £15 per vinedresser along with provision of a cottage with garden, a cow, access to grazing land and permission to raise pigs and poultry for their own use. The workers were prohibited from selling the livestock but each week received provisions of meat and flour. The German women and children could earn extra wages if they wanted, schooling for the children was free and there was no work on 'Festival' holidays. After five years employment the workers had the option to become tenants of Camden estate.¹²

The generous conditions provided for the vinedressers can be attributed to James Macarthur's impressions of dramatic changes in rural society observed in England between 1828 and 1830. James believed that removing traditions and rights which bound English masters to peasant-labourers - enclosing lands and linking commercial impetus with supply and demand - robbed the labouring classes of any security in employment as well as opportunities for semi-subsistence living to counter the seasonal uncertainties of the market in agricultural produce. The cottage and cow that came with employment at Camden can be seen as a protest against this and a provision of some agency to Camden labourers.¹³ This first group of vinedressers responded with gratitude. Letters home to Nassau 'have caused so favourable an impression upon all that, since that day, a very great number of families have been here...to enlist themselves for the service...you would be able to form a complete regiment of them'.¹⁴

¹¹ Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century*, 113.

¹² 'Copy of the Agreement', Macarthur Papers, ML A2918, 155.

¹³ Alan Atkinson, *Camden: Farm and Village Life in Early New South Wales* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1988), 36-38.

¹⁴ Herr Ebenau to Edward Macarthur, 6 April 1838, ML A2918, 30. See also George Nadel, 'Letters from German Immigrants in New South Wales', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 39, no. 5 (1953): 253-67.

Significantly, for the development of ‘intelligent industry’, the vinedressers carried specialist tools and vine cuttings to the colony at the expense of the Macarthurs. And when, despite the Colonial Secretary’s warning, a second group of Germans from Wiesbaden were recruited for Camden - Stein’s brother, ‘Jacob’, three other men (one a cooper, which pleased Edward), their wives and five children - they brought more tools and two thousand vines.¹⁵ The selection of plant stock in New South Wales improved with cuttings for sale from William Macarthur’s nursery at Camden soon including the first riesling in the colony and ‘about 210-300 rooted vines of a bluish pineau imported last year from the Rhine from the celebrated vineyard of Asmanhausen but these of course will be very expensive 40/ per 100 as they cost us more than that to import them’.¹⁶ Macarthur anticipated a ready market for quality vines, even at high prices.

The migration of the Camden Germans was not without incident. William Macarthur confided to a customer in 1844 that:

I was very much concerned to learn there was a deficiency in the number of cuttings and that the gentleman who examined them did not succeed in making out the different varieties by their labels – The first was I fear not an accidental omission – our German vinedressers make the cuttings in their own time by the job. We have several new hands among them and I apprehend that one of the number has been giving short tale – I shall be careful for the future to prevent this sort of cheatery.¹⁷

William also took issue with the Germans’ practice of heavy vine pruning and close wine fermentation. He believed his vines were damaged by having too many leaves removed for the warm conditions of New South Wales compared with the cooler home climate of

¹⁵ Edward Macarthur to James and William Macarthur, 21 October 1842, ML 2918, 267.

¹⁶ Letter from William Macarthur to Undecipherable recipient, 22 June 1844, Macarthur Papers, ML 2933, 29-30.

¹⁷ William Macarthur to Captain O’Halloran, 1 October 1844, ML A2933, 82. Macarthur’s emphasis.

the German vinedressers. Fermentation methods from the Rhine were also unsuitable at Camden but the Germans were set in their ways; their habitus proved impenetrable to Macarthur.¹⁸

In 1845, three German labourers sought release from their indentures, alleging threats from their Camden overseer.¹⁹ William did not regret the request. '[I]t is a matter of perfect indifference to me', he wrote, 'whether they remain in our service or not – in fact I would rather be without them...I know them to be utterly regardless of the truth'.²⁰

Influenced by William's views, prominent South Australian wine grower and writer, Alexander Kelly later, perhaps unfairly, declared:

the Germans, who came from the wine districts of the North of Europe, were here placed in circumstances so different as to climate, from their fatherland, that they had to learn nearly as much as the British, and, what is often very difficult, to unlearn. To our much enlightened German fellow colonists we owe much for the instruction they so readily communicate, and the stimulus which their precept and example has given to this branch of the industry; but, at the same time, the labourer, who knows only the routine which he has seen followed in his own limited sphere, is generally wedded to old habits, and not always amenable to instruction. It is generally found easier to instruct an intelligent English labourer in the principles and practice of pruning and vine dressing, than to get an old vine dresser from Europe to give up the system to which he had been accustomed, and which, is altogether unsuited to the dry sunny climate of Australia.²¹

On balance, however, the arrival of these workers proved favourable for the development of colonial wine growing, especially the introduction of a genuine wine growing habitus,

¹⁸ References to differences between European cool climate wine growing (i.e. Germany) and more temperate zones (southern France) are surely the result of debates with Macarthur's migrant vinedressers. See, for example, Maro (William Macarthur), *Letters on the culture of the vine*, 106-107.

¹⁹ Clements Lester to William Macarthur, 19 May 1845, ML A2918, 293-295.

²⁰ William Macarthur to Clements Lester, 19 May 1845, ML A2918, 297-298.

²¹ Alex Kelly, *The Vine in Australia* (1861) Facsimile ed. (Sydney: David Ell Press, 1980), 11. Hunter identity William Keene frequently argued that southern French viniculture better suited New South Wales than German methods, see D. F. Branigan, T. G. Vallance, 'Keene, William (1798-1872)', *ADB*, vol. 5, 6.

the new vines for distribution, conceptualisation of infrastructure (see Figure 6), and the opening of a channel for acquiring further specialist labour for other colonial vineyards and wineries. Of the original six Camden vinedressers, the Steins, Gerhardts and Seckolds remained with the Macarthurs past the period of their indenture but only four of another twelve families from Germany stayed for long.²²



Figure 6: Ruins of wine vats at Camden Park. Originally built with the assistance of German vinedressers and used as part of Macarthur wine production until at least the 1870s. Photograph by Phillip McIntyre, 2008.

By the late 1840s a developing labour shortage across all agricultural production including pastoral enterprises led to a more sympathetic response to requests for official endorsement of skilled vineyard workers from Germany.²³ In 1847, more than a dozen colonists received permission to import German workers. Many of the applicants have

²² Atkinson, *Camden*, 216.

²³ Driscoll, *Beginnings of the Wine Industry*, 59.

already been mentioned as early investors in wine growing. Others became involved by purchasing properties with existing vineyards. With a few exceptions most were from the Hunter. The list included: Henry Carmichael, Andrew Lang, Helenus Scott, Charles Boydell, Thomas L. Patch, J. Pike, the Bundocks, Edward Cory, C.M. Doyle, Robert Pringle, Alexander Park, Alfred Glennie, J.B. Bettington, James Chisholm, Charles Cowper, William Lawson, Henry Lindeman and C. Reynolds. Between them they applied for forty German workers: twenty-six vinedressers, five coopers and nine wine makers.²⁴

German migration had increased due to the efforts of a Sydney merchant, William Kirchner, immigration agent for New South Wales in 1847 (in Victoria, businessman William Westgarth had a similar role). Kirchner's plan involved a bounty scheme, set out in a carefully prepared prospectus, which granted German families a starting income of between £20-25 a year. In the first four years of the scheme more than two thousand Germans came, including women and children, from the south-western states, Baden Wurttemberg and Hesse, where economic hardship in pre-unification Germany was greatest. The first of the migrants, in 1849, were mainly vinedressers due to requests by colonial investors in wine growing.²⁵ The German Bounty Ships that berthed in Port Jackson from 1849 to 1852 carried more than 120 men who claimed to be either vinedressers, or in a few cases, wine coopers or wine makers. One migrant was both a tailor and a vinedresser, suggesting some fabricated their qualifications in order to escape

²⁴ 'List of persons to whom permission has been given to import Labourers from the Continent of Europe under the Notice of the 7th April 1847', Enclosure in Governor FitzRoy's Despatch No. 232 to George Grey, 1847, NSW Governor's Despatches, 1846-1848, ML A1267-23.

²⁵ Jurgen Tampke, *The Germans in Australia* (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 75-76.

hardship in the homeland. Most of the migrants were Catholic, as distinct from the Lutherans who migrated to South Australia from the 1830s.²⁶

The Germans commented that wine cost more in the colony than in their homeland due to the high cost of importing it from Europe or the Cape but they considered it a small price to pay for newfound prosperity in an ‘innocent earth’ where ‘not so much innocent blood has yet been shed as in Germany’.²⁷ Between 1831 and 1860 more than one hundred and twenty thousand government-assisted British migrants arrived in the Australian colonies compared with only 8,309 Germans.²⁸ But German migration introduced new attitudes to wine growing and consumption in two regions of New South Wales. Due to their long history of wine growing, Germans thought of wine less a rich man’s drink than part of a labourer’s way of life - exactly the attitude reformist colonists continued to try to imbue in British and ‘native-born’ labouring classes (without the benefit of an historical habitus). The Germans were so few that their influence was barely felt colony-wide but, to supply their own needs for wine and to earn income from horticulture they began vineyards not supported by income from pastoralism and in doing so created small, culturally-distinct enclaves of vine and fruit growing in the Riverina and at Mudgee in the central west of New South Wales.²⁹

²⁶ Details from Germans on Bounty Ships 1849-1852, SRNSW 4/4820, AO Microfiche 851.

²⁷ Nadel, ‘Letters from German Immigrants’, 258.

²⁸ The migration figures include Germans to colonies other than New South Wales and are from Haines, *Government Assisted Immigrants*, 51 and 53. In contrast, more than a million Germans migrated to North America between 1830 and 1860; E.J. Passant, *A Short History of Germany 1815-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 81. The first census of Germans in New South Wales was held in 1856. The figure was 5,245. It rose slightly to 5,467 in 1861 and 9,565 in 1891: James Jupp and Barry York, *Birthplaces of the Australian People: Colonial and Commonwealth Censuses, 1828-1991* (Canberra: Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies, 1995), 14.

²⁹ This is discussed further in Chapter Seven.

Labelling and retail

With more successful production thanks to the importation of skilled labour, the Macarthurs introduced brand reliability into the purchase of their colonial wines by designing a label and, from 1844, selling it in Sydney through Robert Porter's George Street warehouse. Porter promoted it as 'Pure Camden Wine' and 'valuable produce of Australia' sure to become 'an important article of export from these shores' which could stave off 'misery and ruin' at a cost of 15 shillings per dozen bottles or six shillings a gallon.³⁰ Note the confident invocation of the notion of the socially transformative powers of wine.

The design for the Macarthur label with its fine detail of a grape vine in full fruit remained the same from its first use until as late as 1876.³¹ The label reproduced below shows how the grape variety and vintage could be handwritten in (Figure 7) to distinguish individual wines. The extent to which the Macarthurs conceived of a national identity for their wine within empire trade is shown in the title 'Australian wine'. And, by branding their product and promoting its sale, the Macarthurs set a precedent for other producers. Sydney-based merchants Joubert & Murphy willingly stocked Macarthur wine. Indeed, it assisted first experiments in colonial wine retail that Didier Joubert had been a Bordeaux wine merchant. In 1847 he asked William Macarthur to send,

immediately, if possible, Four Hogsheads of your best white wine. We could sell a much larger quantity of that wine if we could afford to reduce the price as low as 12/. per dozen instead of 16/. We are opening such a quantity of bottles, as Samples, that the price of 16/. per dozen does not pay us for our trouble. We therefore should recommend you to consider, if it would not be more advisable for your interest

³⁰ *The Weekly Register*, 7 December 1844, Macarthur Family Collection, Camden Park.

³¹ The label from the Camden Park archives for an 1876 Muscat (Figure 7) uses exactly the same design, Macarthur Family Private Collection.

to invoice your wine at 3/. per gallon. Our object in now ordering four Hogsheads is that we think it is not giving the wine a fair chance to sell it so soon after bottling.³²

Joubert recommended quality control at the production end to ensure a habit of consumption could be established. ‘We need not recommend you’, he wrote to William, ‘to Select the best you have now ready, as you are aware that we sell it as Camden Wine



Figure 7: Label for ‘Pure Camden Wine’, Macarthur Family Private Collection (with thanks to Allan Robinson, Camden Park archivist).

and endeavour to establish its character as a good and wholesome wine. We should like to try some of your ‘Riesling’ if you have any to spare’.³³

By 1849, sales had reportedly extended to Parramatta, where a shopkeeper stocked it at ten shillings a gallon but the *Sydney Morning Herald* recommended that wine growers not expect too large a profit margin from sales of colonial wine, ‘in order to give the laboring classes the opportunity of using this beautiful beverage in preference to stupefying ale, or the grossly adulterated spirits, for which such an enormous sum is

³² Joubert & Murphy to James and William Macarthur, 18 February 1847, Macarthur Papers, ML A2968.

³³ Joubert & Murphy to James and William Macarthur, 5 August 1847, ML A2968. Joubert’s emphasis.

annually sent out of the colony’!³⁴ Imitations of Camden wine began to appear on the colonial market from 1850.³⁵ That same year the Reddall household purchased ‘8 cases containing 24 dozen of Colonial Wine’ from Donaldson & Co, indicating an emerging distinction from imported wine and a willingness for sampling by consumers.³⁶

With characteristic entrepreneurship, William Macarthur also tested the market for exports by sending eleven cases of Camden wine to Calcutta in 1845. Unfortunately, the wines had not travelled well; the sediment had not settled nearly two months after they arrived. Then, when the wines were sampled, Macarthur’s contact advised ‘we think would make a pleasant drink in the hot weather’ *but* ‘people are so cautious of drinking wine which may disagree with them that it is very difficult to introduce any wine into this Country that is not commonly had however good it may be’.³⁷ The correspondent’s polite refusal points to the difficulty in changing long-held consumer habits (and habitus).

Laws

In this decade, action against excessive alcohol consumption began to figure prominently in colonial debates about creating a ‘civilized’ society in New South Wales. This reflected developments in Britain and the United States. In the first decades of the nineteenth century organised temperance movements lobbying for law reform surged in both countries, ranking second only to the abolition of slavery in antebellum moral reformism in the United States.³⁸ Debates on wine legislation in Britain from the mid-century focused on the quality of wine with one fifth estimated to be adulterated or ‘faked in some way’ but the Victoria era brought ‘a greater refinement in manners and behaviour

³⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* article reprinted in *Maitland Mercury*, 20 October 1849.

³⁵ The imitation of Camden Wine is referred to in Atkinson, *Camden*, 90.

³⁶ Donaldson & Co to John Reddall, Reverend Thomas Reddall Papers 1808-1897, ML A423, 247.

³⁷ C.L. [unreadable] to James and William Macarthur, 14 January 1846, ML 2968.

³⁸ Roe, *Quest for Authority*, 165 and 69.

in which drinking to excess was no longer acceptable in fashionable society'; wine merchants in London began to mass-market cheap, light alcohol wines to lower middle class or better-paid workers; legislation in the 1860s supported off licence sale of light wines.³⁹

In the Australian colonies, in the 1840s, the desire among some for a greater sobriety could not have been more acute but, in contrast to the United States environment, the 'difference between the abstainers and the moderates centred on attitudes to non-spirituous liquors' (wine and beer) and they rejected the 'exclusion of wine-bibbing respectability'.⁴⁰ Abstainers suspected moderates of hypocrisy because they would 'deprive labourers of their grog, but not the rich man of his wine' while moderates recommended 'cheap wine' and 'wholesome sports and amusements' to protect labourers from the perceived evils of alcohol and debauchery.⁴¹ Displaying his own moderate stance, Governor George Gipps actively supported the New South Wales temperance movement, believing '[d]runkenness, the fruitful parent of every species of Crime, is still the prevailing vice of the Colony' but refused to pledge abstinence.⁴²

Gipps presided over a flurry of legislation, in 1843, aimed at using wine as a transformative substance to 'civilize the civilizer'. One of the three resulting acts amended attempts of five years earlier to discourage the consumption of spirits with a higher licence fee for selling spirits than for wine and beer, and an increase in the spirits licence to £30.⁴³ *The Act to amend an Act intituled an Act for consolidating and amending the laws relating to the licensing of Public houses, and for further regulating*

³⁹ Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, 148-49.

⁴⁰ Roe, *Quest for Authority*, 165 and 69.

⁴¹ Roe, *Quest for Authority*, 166.

⁴² Roe, *Quest for Authority*, 168.

⁴³ 2 Vict. No. 18.

the sale and consumption of fermented and spirituous liquors in New South Wales

allowed for the sale of up to ten gallons of colonial wine without a licence, instead of the previous limit of two gallons, so greater quantities of wine could be more readily purchased.⁴⁴

The authors of the act assumed greater demand could help stimulate supply. Implicit in this was an understanding of the symbolic and cultural capital of wine. To produce more colonial wine had the perceived dual benefit of stimulating a new industry to create economic progress and as well, it was hoped, of affecting sobriety. The latter could never be achieved through these means, of course, and as one Sydney newspaper observed, ‘the appetite for strong liquor was as far beyond the power of legislation to control as was the appetite for sex’.⁴⁵ 7 Vict. No. 7 also removed restrictions limiting magistrates who produced colonial wine from granting liquor licenses, which had held up licencing in some districts, confirming that wine growing in this period remained largely the preserve of the elite.⁴⁶

The second and third pieces of legislation were 7 Vict. No. 8 and 7 Vict. No. 28.⁴⁷ The first addressed a misunderstanding among colonial magistrates about whether it was lawful for ‘rectifiers’ to mix wine with spirits to make the liquor more attractive to consumers. The same practice in Britain did not affect government revenue - only the

⁴⁴ 7 Vict. No. 7: An Act to amend an Act intituled an Act for consolidating and amending the laws relating to the licensing of Public houses, and for further regulating the sale and consumption of fermented and spirituous liquors in New South Wales. See George Gipps to Lord Stanley, New South Wales Governors’ Despatches to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, vol. 44, January - April 1844, ML A1233, 24-25.

⁴⁵ Cited in Roe, *Quest for Authority*, 174.

⁴⁶ George Gipps to Lord Stanley, ML A1233, 25.

⁴⁷ 7 Vict. No. 8: An Act to explain and amend the laws relating to Distillers and Rectifiers in the Colony of New South Wales; 7 Vict. No. 28: An Act to authorise the issue of Wine, duty free, to Military Officers serving in the Colony of New South Wales.

quality of wine to consumers - because the alcohol in wine was taxed at a higher rate than the alcohol in rum. In New South Wales, where Cape wine in particular could be imported at a very low duty compared with spirits due to moral reforms, revenue could be affected if wine was added to spirits, and any 'fraudulent' adulteration of alcohol was to be discouraged.⁴⁸

The third New South Wales law was more controversial. It allowed military officers serving to receive their mess wine duty free. And its acceptance, despite earlier advice from Whitehall that nowhere in the empire could officers do this and it would be an indulgence to allow it, signalled that imperial policy had to shift, as with immigration, when colonial circumstances warranted it.⁴⁹ Colonists also sought permission to import French wine directly from France or French colonies in French ships but such trade had been outlawed across all British possessions and the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade in London refused to alter that policy.⁵⁰

Why such strong legislative support for wine growing in New South Wales when it still represented such a small part of colonial production? Driscoll argued that legislative encouragement for colonial wine growing arose partly from the membership of Richard Windeyer and James Macarthur in the Legislative Council.⁵¹ But apart from Windeyer and Macarthur, as of the first election of twenty-four representations to the Legislative Council in 1843, a further eleven members of the council either had vineyards or connections to them.⁵² This concentration of interest also surely led to the

⁴⁸ George Gipps to Lord Stanley, ML A1233, 26-28.

⁴⁹ Lord Russell to Governor George Gipps, 4 July 1841, Secretary of State for the Colonies' Despatches to the Governor of New South Wales, April – July 1841, ML A1285, 609-611.

⁵⁰ Lord Russell to Governor George Gipps, 28 March 1841, ML A1284, 763-771.

⁵¹ Driscoll, *Beginnings of the Wine Industry*, 63-64.

⁵² These members were: Alexander Berry, William Bland, Charles Cowper, Edward Cox, John Dunmore Lang, William Lawson, Hannibal Macarthur, William Macarthur, Thomas Mitchell, Alexander Park and

legislature's recommendation, in the same year, to begin collecting the first formal statistics for the Colonial Secretary on wine growing as a commercial crop.

Under this new system of data collection, Returns of Vineyards forms were filled in by Police Magistrates in each District. The first year proved chaotic due to the difficulties in visiting vineyards, the reluctance of at least one grower to give details of his crop and the inability of others to provide information because they had not measured their produce. A long comment accompanied the District of Port Phillip return, for example, to the effect that figures on vines acreage, wine production and brandy manufacture could not be provided:

although a considerable quantity of vine cuttings have been introduced into this District within the last two years, no cultivation of the grape vine to any extent has hitherto taken place. From information which I have gathered I am led to conclude that all the vines cultivated in gardens, or on a more extended scale throughout the District, up to this date, would not amount to more than between three or four acres dispersed chiefly in the neighbourhood of the principal towns and...no attempt having been made, as far as I can learn, to estimate the same.⁵³

At Brisbane Waters, on the Central Coast of New South Wales, five-and-a-quarter acres of vines had resulted in ten cubic weight of grapes and forty gallons of wine but only one grower had kept records. At Patrick's Plains, growers were not in the habit of weighing their grapes. In the Newcastle and Raymond Terrace Police District, James King refused to hand over any details of his production though his refusal appeared to be rare. The more significant result of the first year of data collection was that growers were

William Charles Wentworth. The Legislative Council had been an appointed body since 1824 and some positions remained so while twenty-four seats were made available for election in 1843.

⁵³ Letter dated 4 March 1844, Colonial Secretary Correspondence 1844-1851 Returns of Vineyards, SRNSW 4/7263.

encouraged to keep figures from that point on.⁵⁴ Better record-keeping meant more reliable data and more relevant policy determination from government.

Data collected between 1843/4 and 1851 shows that grape production increased from the mid-1840s and many wine grape vines came into bearing from 1849 on. Before the 1850s gold rushes drew vineyard workers, along with other farm labourers, to the gold fields, grape vines spread even further from the estate garden to commercial-purpose vineyards. In addition to known regions, three acres of vines were reported at Yass in 1844 and that figure grew steadily to ten acres in 1850. From the four acres of vines recorded in the Bathurst district in 1845, acres under vine had increased to thirty-two a year before the official discovery of gold in the district in 1851. In 1846 there were thirty-five acres reported for the Goulburn district and in 1847 vines were recorded as planted in the Murray and Murrumbidgee regions.⁵⁵ The 1850 Returns describe the plantings beyond the Settled Districts: three quarters of an acre at Clarence River; three acres at Gwydir; an acre on the Macleay River; an increase to five acres on the Murrumbidgee; two acres at Wellington. The results of the Returns of Vineyards were published in local newspapers, accompanied with the familiar refrain that ‘we may look forward with confidence to wine soon forming, in its aggregate value, one of the most important products’ of the Hunter (in this case).⁵⁶ Details of the seasonal cycles relating to wine grapes were also published as a matter of course in the colony’s newspapers.⁵⁷

The romance of colonial vine growing

⁵⁴ For further details and a calculation of total figures from the Returns of Vineyards see Appendix Three.

⁵⁵ Walker had three acres of vines planted at Kyeamba, Wagga Wagga, ‘which have as yet produced no fruit’, Returns of Vineyards, SRNSW 4/7263.

⁵⁶ *Maitland Mercury*, 7 December 1850.

⁵⁷ See for example, *Maitland Mercury*, 1 March 1851.

At the same time, plant and produce exchanges functioned within the small settler communities of the expanding colony to ‘create or cement social connections, assert class likeness or overcome class difference’.⁵⁸ Local wine in this context took on a meaning derived from English cottage-style production; an object of pride and neighbourly interaction tied into the culture of gardening as a means of taming the landscape. Young Kate Hassall wrote to her brother, the Reverend James Hassall, in 1846, for example, that she and their sister had just returned from a neighbour’s property with ‘three good looking melons, a basket of grapes and a little colonial wine’.⁵⁹

Kate Hassall was the granddaughter of Rowland Hassall, Calvinist Methodist and member of the London Missionary Society, who worked as a missionary in Tahiti before moving to Sydney. He quickly became a part of the colonial establishment so his connections with early wine growing advocates were strong. Marsden encouraged Governor King to appoint Hassall as government store-keeper and Hassall later became superintendent of government stock. His landholdings amounted to a total of three thousand acres divided between Parramatta and on the banks of the Nepean at Camden where he surely encountered William Macarthur. James, Kate and Eliza were the children of Rowland’s son, Thomas, the only one of Rowland’s offspring to enter the ministry.⁶⁰

The Hassall girls approached the vintage at their family vineyard with the enthusiasm of Protestant industriousness and their experience illustrates common practice in estate vineyards in this period. The 1846 vintage commenced with an early

⁵⁸ Holmes et al, *Reading the Garden*, 37.

⁵⁹ Kate Hassall to Reverend James Hassall, 15 & 16 February 1846, Hassall Family Correspondence, ML A1667-3, 3011.

⁶⁰ Biographical details from Niel Gunson, ‘Hassall, Rowland (1768-1820)’, *ADB*, vol. 1, 521-522.

morning grape harvest. Kate and Marianne were up from bed and among the vines at six o'clock; Lizzy, Shelley and a farm employee were 'indefatigable [sic]' and all of the 'black clusters were picked before light o'clock'.⁶¹ Casks were filled in the afternoon, with about forty-eight gallons of wine.

Two years later Kate wrote particularly to describe the vintage. 'My dear James', she began, 'Mr Swinton gathered the black cluster on Wenesday [sic] the 16th and every body helped to pick them, a great many were sported; it fermented very nicely in the tub, we then put it into an 18 gallon cask and one gallon is over to fill it up with'. Work continued the next day:

we picked the Muscadel and after they were fermented 10 gallons were over. On Monday the 21st we did the Sherry as Swinton calls it, but I do not think that it is the Sherry. On Tuesday we did the Goue [presumably gouais] and another white grape. We have not picked the Madeira yet, nor the all sorts as Swinton calls them.⁶²

The harvest plan seems to take little account of the varying ripening of varieties, but the Hassalls' experience does demonstrate the notion of vine growing creating an Arcadian paradise in the young colony.

Similarly, during Thomas Mitchell's twelve month journey to find an overland passage to an imagined mighty inland river, the Surveyor-General's thoughts of home included the idyll of the vintage at his Parkhall estate. From bleak 'Narran swamp' he wrote to his son Roderick:

I was as you may suppose glad to receive a letter from your mother and from Livy_How vexatious to find therefore that [?] has prevented their going to the vintage at Parkhall, where I was hoping during the months of February that the children would be enjoying themselves_, Livy promises a

⁶¹ Kate Hassall to Reverend James Hassall, 15 & 16 February 1846, ML A1667-3, 3011.

⁶² Eliza Hassall to Reverend James Hassall, 23 February 1848, ML A1677-1, 315.

good strong wine however, from the dry and warm summer,
and I shall live in the hope to see you and him there_and put
it to the trial.⁶³

For Mitchell the grape harvest and consumption of his own estate wine had become part of nostalgic colonial culture; a signifier of 'home' just as Busby had hoped for settlers of less means than Mitchell.

Mitchell numbered, too, among the many colonial entrepreneurs whose enthusiasm for wine growing extended to researching it outside Australia. He may have first encountered vine growing during service in Spain during the Peninsula War before migrating to New South Wales to serve as colonial surveyor in 1827.⁶⁴ Mitchell had planted wine and table grapes as early as the mid-1840s and employed a French vinedresser to tend them.⁶⁵ He published the book known as *Notes on the Cultivation of the Vine &c., in Spain* in 1849 after a side trip to Andalusia during a return to England.⁶⁶ This publication led to communication with the Hunter River Vineyard Association (HRVA) about particular plant stock he had imported (though this could also have been

⁶³ Thomas Mitchell to Roderick Mitchell, 12 March 1846, Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell Papers, ML 295-2, 106.

⁶⁴ A reference to Mitchell's Peninsula War service, and that several other colonists had also served there, is made in Judith Keene, 'Surviving the Peninsula War in Australia: Juan De Arrieta - Spanish Free Settler and Colonial Gentleman', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 85, no. 1 (1999): 40.

⁶⁵ Mitchell's gardener purchased for his employer more than seven thousand cuttings of several varieties from Macarthur in 1844; William Macarthur to Thomas Mitchell, 26 July 1844, Macarthur Papers, vol. 37B, ML A2933, 70. Cuttings were also purchased from James King at Raymond Terrace; James King to Thomas Mitchell, Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell Papers, 31 July 1848, ML A293. Macarthur mentioned the vinedresser in a letter to another colonist, on the vinedressers' behalf as he was seeking further employment after working with Mitchell for 'a year or two', William Macarthur to 'Mr Lawson', 7 August 1846, ML A2933, 98.

⁶⁶ Thomas Mitchell, *Notes on the Cultivation of the Vine and the Olive; and on the Methods of Making Wine and Oil...In Southern Parts of Spain, Taken During a Tour through Andalusia In...1847* (Sydney: D.L. Welch, 1849). Mitchell's comments on the wine grape varieties 'doradillo' and 'tempranas' were cited in the later key publication, Kelly, *The Vine in Australia*, 192-93.

olives, which HRVA members were interested in for eating with wine, in the Mediterranean tradition).⁶⁷

Returning again to Europe in 1854, Mitchell and James Macleay, another prominent colonist, together visited vineyards and wineries at the Cape and noted methods of cultivation and vinification. Mitchell reported that vines were not staked or trellised (as opposed to German and Greek practices), leaves were removed at a certain time to promote ripening and many grapes remained on the vine until very ripe and shrivelled, which would have resulted in a high sugars and heavy-bodied, sweet wine. After harvest the berries were crushed by foot at the well-established Van Drenan and Cloete estates, no spirit was added to the must; sulphur prevented a second fermentation of the wine.⁶⁸ Inspecting the wine farms of the Cape and discussing production had more than a practical purpose. Mitchell and Macleay also enhanced their senses of self as ‘civilized’ at the imperial fringe where reference to known manifestations of ‘civilization’ and a constant process of ‘improvement’ were required to ensure a legitimate colonial identity.

Literature

Books in English on wine production and consumption, such as Mitchell’s, were rare in the formative years of the colony of New South Wales. This changed in the 1840s along with greater access to skilled labour and the beginning of a greater legislative focus. Until then Alexander Henderson’s *The History of Ancient and Modern Wines*, published in London in 1824, was ‘perhaps the first book in English to attempt to give

⁶⁷ See the report from a meeting of the HRVA in *Maitland Mercury*, 9 November 1850.

⁶⁸ Journal of Sir Thomas Mitchell, ML A295-2, 179-180.

descriptions of a broad range of wines'.⁶⁹ As discussed above, Busby's *Treatise* appeared in New South Wales in 1824, followed in 1830 by his *Manual* and in 1833 with *Journey of a Tour*. Cyrus Redding also published *A History and Description of Modern Wines* in 1833 but it did not appear immediately in the Australian colonies. Suttor's New South Wales-inspired but London-published *Culture of the Grape-Vine* appeared in 1843, the same year as South Australian gardener George McEwin's *Vigneron and Gardeners' Manual Containing Plain Practical Directions for the Cultivation of the Vine*.⁷⁰ McEwin's volume may have contributed to rising interest in viticulture in that colony. William Macarthur's plant nursery records show, for example, that pastoralist George Anstey was developing extensive vineyards in this period.⁷¹ Macarthur also exchanged vine stock with George Stevenson, employer of McEwin.⁷²

William Macarthur's *Letters on the Culture of the Vine* followed McEwin's, in 1844. The *Letters* were the collected practical contributions of Macarthur under the pen name Maro to *The Australian* in 1842, with additional autobiographical comments by the author.⁷³ Also in 1844, a translation of J.S. Kercht's *Improved Practical Culture of the Vine* appeared and Henderson's *History* could be purchased in New South Wales.⁷⁴ In 1845, Richard West Nash authored *A Manual for the Cultivation of the Vine and Olive in Western Australia*. Dublin-born Nash, a lawyer, acted as honorary secretary of the western colony's Agricultural Society from 1842 to 1845 and played a key part in early

⁶⁹ Robinson, ed., *Oxford Companion to Wine*, 405.

⁷⁰ George McEwin, *The 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, Etc Etc* (Adelaide: James Allen, 1843).

⁷¹ William Macarthur to George Anstey, 11 June 1844 and 1 July 1844, Macarthur Papers, ML A2933, 31, 37-39

⁷² See for example, William Macarthur to George Stevenson, 11 June 1844, ML A2933, 20-27.

⁷³ Maro (William Macarthur), *Letters on the Culture of the Vine*, i.

⁷⁴ Driscoll, *Beginnings of the Wine Industry*, 37.

farming experiments.⁷⁵ Details of the colonial experience of London-born Huguenot, Francis Lochee, point to the joint nature of the production of the *Manual*. Also a lawyer, newspaper owner and close friend of Governor John Hutt, Lochee published the *Manual* for the Western Australia Vineyard Society (Australia's first) of which he was a member.⁷⁶ In 1850, Thomas Mitchell's *Notes on the Cultivation of the Vine &c., in Spain*, as mentioned, received favourable comment from the HRVA, a fact reported in Western Australia.⁷⁷

As Driscoll found, 'the press and book publishers were aware of the growing interests and needs of the industry'.⁷⁸ More than that, however, a distinctive colonial literature was taking shape which would later include a short treatise by James King from the Hunter and a raft of works from Victoria and South Australia as wine growing interest also created a demand for printed knowledge and debate in those colonies.⁷⁹ While the new generation of colonial publications offered practical advice most also contributed to both the symbolic and cultural capital of wine by arguing for its value not

⁷⁵ David Mossenson, 'Nash, Richard West (1808-1850)', *ADB*, vol. 2, 278.

⁷⁶ Merab Harris Tauman, 'Lochee, Francis (1811-1893)', *ADB*, vol. 2, 121-122.

⁷⁷ *Perth Gazette*, 29 March 1830.

⁷⁸ Driscoll, *Beginnings of the Wine Industry*, 37.

⁷⁹ John Belperroud and David 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); John Ignatius Bleasdale, *On Colonial Wines: A Paper Read before the Royal Society of Victoria, 13th May 1867/ by J.I. Bleasdale, Together with the Report of the Late Intercolonial Exhibition Jury in Class 3, Section Ix, Wines* (Melbourne: Printed by Stillwell and Knight, 1867); Hubert De Castella, *John Bull's Vineyard* (Melbourne: Sands & McDougall, 1886); Kelly, *The Vine in Australia*; Alex Kelly, *Wine-Growing in Australia* (1867) Facsimile ed. (Sydney: David Ell Press, 1980). The United States had a larger body of literature on wine growing; thirty-seven publications by the 1860s, according to Thomas Pinney, *A History of Wine in America*, 221-22. These included Hungarian migrant Agoston Harazthy's *Grape Culture, Wines and Wine-making*, published in 1862 and known to be sent to a Riverina grower 'by the kindness of a friend' the following year; *The Albury Banner*, 17 October 1863. New South Wales growers rarely mention United States publications. In 1883, South Australian vigneron Thomas Hardy toured the vineyards of California and published his observations in Thomas Hardy, *Notes on Vineyards in America and Europe* (Adelaide: Printed by L. Henn, 1885).

only as a commercial crop but as an improving crop with produce that could benefit the colony by encouraging temperance.

Agricultural organisations and associations

The role of organised societies and associations served a vital role in increasing knowledge of wine growing. The Western Australia Vineyard Society first met in 1842 and established an experiment to test vine cultivars which members hoped would become a model.⁸⁰ In New South Wales, geographic and social fragmentation of settlement coupled with severe economic depression in the early 1840s then the gold rushes of the early 1850s left the colony without even an umbrella Agricultural and Horticultural Society in the two decades from 1836. The *Sydney Gazette* lobbied vigorously for the revival of a colony-wide society from 1841 but, as Brian Fletcher argued, circumstances were hardly favourable; ‘few of the larger settlers could have been in any position to contemplate forming agricultural societies at a time when they were struggling to remain solvent’.⁸¹ Separate societies were formed in the most settled districts from 1827 when the Hunter River Farmers’ Club promoted agriculture, including viticulture. Its inaugural president, James Webber, was a known vine grower at Tocal. The first specialist society formed before the revival of the New South Wales Agricultural and Horticultural Society in 1857, was the HRVA, from 1847. The New South Wales Vineyard Association (NSWVA) followed the HRVA in mid-1850, though it did not enjoy the success of the Hunter group.⁸² Across the Pacific, the first society exclusively for grape and wine growers (as Pinney described, the ‘last refinement of specialization’) did not begin until

⁸⁰ Merab Harris Tauman, ‘Lochee, Francis (1811-1893)’, *ADB*, vol. 2, 121-122.

⁸¹ Brian H. Fletcher, *The Grand Parade, a History of the Royal Agricultural Society of New South Wales* (Sydney: The Royal Agricultural Society of New South Wales, 1988), 35.

⁸² Fletcher believed this was due to wine growers being more dispersed on the Cumberland Plain whereas the Hunter had a greater ‘identity of interest’ in wine growing. Fletcher, *The Grand Parade*, 41-42.

1849; next was the American Wine Growers' Association, chartered in Cincinnati in 1851.⁸³

The HRVA grew out of the Hunter River Agricultural Society (HRAS) when members divided over supporting viticulture. A chief dispute related to payment of workers in wine at estates with vineyards which allegedly attracted labourers away from other properties. Hostility arose at a HRAS dinner in 1846 when Henry Carmichael declared grape vines a more important crop than wheat. A year later similar comments outraged members not growing grapes. Carmichael claimed wine had no less importance than the 'now much vaunted main staple, wool' and declared an acre of vines could be as profitable as a thousand sheep; ten acres of vines, ten thousand sheep.⁸⁴

Carmichael subsequently formed the HRVA and its first meeting attendees were many of the high profile growers from the district: James King, William Kelman, Andrew Lang, Archibald Windeyer, William Burnett, Edwin Hickey, J. Phillips, W. Dunn and W.E. Hawkins. Membership excluded those not involved in winegrowing – a key difference from the NSWVA - and all members were to contribute to the combined knowledge of the Association at least once a year and provide at least four bottles of wine each year to be tasted and discussed by the group. Through joint efforts the wine growers aimed to promote 'the culture of the vine' and turn its products to 'the most profitable account.'⁸⁵ In 1850, a Perth newspaper glowingly anointed the HRVA as the most

⁸³ Pinney, *Wine in America*, 217. The first group was the Gasconade Grape Growing Society of Hermann, Missouri.

⁸⁴ Driscoll, *Beginnings of the Wine Industry*, 50.

⁸⁵ 'Regulations of the Hunter River Vineyard Association, instituted 19th May, 1847, for the Purpose of Promoting the Culture of the Vine, and Turning its Products to the Most Profitable Account' in *Historical Summary of the Proceedings and Reports of the Hunter River Vineyard Association, from its Origination to its First Annual Meeting in the Year 1853* (Sydney: W. R. Piddington, 1854), 3-4.

successful institution established to develop and exploit colonial resources. This success reportedly stemmed from its narrow focus and business-like approach.⁸⁶

By 1855, the HVRA claimed, during a visit by the Governor William Denison to the Hunter, that their collective efforts had indeed borne fruit. The Association presented Denison with a copy of a tract by King summarising their achievements (though King wrote mainly about himself) and declared, further, that their success had come through faith in the suitability of the region for wine growing, ‘the outlay of a large amount of capital’ and ongoing experimentation so that some of their wines were now comparable with those of France.⁸⁷

The NSWVA formed a few years after the Hunter group, chiefly under the influence of William Macarthur. Its membership comprised more powerful colonial figures across a diverse range of occupations but few growers with the same determination to turn a profit from wine as those in the Hunter. Members included James Macarthur, J.B. Bettington, George Bowman, Alexander Campbell, Charles Cowper, Edward Cox, George Cox, Stuart A. Donaldson, Henry Gratin Douglass, John Fairfax, Henry Fisher (Glenmor), Hermann Haege, Henry Hall, Edwin Hickey, Arthur Todd Holroyd, Didier Joubert, Charles Kemp, William Lawson, A.L. McDougall, J.P. McKenzie, George Macleay, Thomas Mitchell, Thomas Sutcliffe Mort, James Norton, George Rankin, George Rees, George Suttor, Captain Weston, Arthur Wrixon, Reverend George E. Turner and the Lord Bishop of Sydney. Those who exhibited wines in the first

⁸⁶ *The Perth Gazette*, 29 March 1850.

⁸⁷ *Maitland Mercury*, 21 April 1855.

two years comprised a relatively short list: Hickey, William Macarthur, Cowper, the Coxes, Fisher, and Macleay; in contrast with the requirements of the HRVA.⁸⁸

Hickey, of Osterley on the Hunter River, distinguished himself with membership of both associations. He had a key role in the HRVA, being present at the inaugural meeting, participating regularly and being elected president in 1850.⁸⁹ William Macarthur attributed Hickey with the formation of the NSWVA and the Hunter-based grower went on to be honorary secretary of the short-lived Cumberland Plains group.⁹⁰ Hickey's colonial interests included steamship transport and he clearly embodied the entrepreneurship of the era that saw colonists, such as Blaxland, the Macarthurs and the Wyndhams, seeking involvement in a range of profit-making ventures.⁹¹

The demise of the NSWVA came with the formation of the Cumberland Agricultural Society, in 1857, which became the Agricultural Society of New South Wales (ASNSW) in 1859. The broader agricultural interests of most of the members of the NSWVA - including William Macarthur - is evident in the fact that eighteen of them later became office-bearers of the ASNSW. Five NSWVA members - the Macarthur brothers, the Coxes and Mort - also went on to serve as presidents of the Agricultural Society.⁹² For men with diverse farming and grazing interests, exhibiting across many products administered by a single organisation became preferable to the specialisation of the NSWVA.

⁸⁸ *Annual Report of the New South Wales Vineyard Association (NSWVA)* (Sydney: Printed by D.L. Welch, c1851), 7, 13-15.

⁸⁹ *Maitland Mercury*, 4 November 1848; *Maitland Mercury*, 4 May 1850; *Maitland Mercury*, 9 November 1850; *Maitland Mercury*, 10 May 1851.

⁹⁰ *Annual Report of NSWVA*, 7.

⁹¹ See, for example, reference to Hickey's ongoing correspondence on steamship investment in *The Moreton Bay Courier*, 12 June 1852. Reference to construction of a ship for Hickey in England is made in *Maitland Mercury*, 5 April 1854.

⁹² The office-bearers are listed in Fletcher, *The Grand Parade*, 313-322.

Despite the lack of an umbrella agricultural society in the colony for some years, systematic wine show judging developed in agricultural districts in addition to the peer-comparisons encouraged by the HRVA. This created the need for a body of experts, who clearly had feet of clay to begin with. When, for example, George Cox's Winbourne wine earned a third place at the Richmond Show in February 1847 he suspected first prize had gone to an *imported* sherry.⁹³ Positive publicity also flowed from showing wines. Parramatta grower, Henry Whitaker received an award from the Sydney Show in 1849 which led to details of his wine (verdelho), vines (six acres in extent; seven years old) and soil being broadcast further afield in the colony.⁹⁴ Shows and associations proved to be the forerunners of government agencies in facilitating exchange of knowledge and technology.⁹⁵

Conclusion

Wine growing formed an increasingly entrenched part of elite colonial culture in New South Wales up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Wealthy pastoralists and entrepreneurs believed in the symbolic and cultural capital of growing wine grapes and making wine. For example, Charles Cowper, one of the colony's first premiers after the declaration of responsible self-government in 1851, had a considerable vineyard at his Wivenhoe property north-west of Camden and his close relationship with the Macarthurs led to his hiring of German vinedressers. Cowper's role in the all-important colonial exchange of vine stock in turn included the provision of a thousand 'Hermitage' vines to George Cox in 1848.⁹⁶ In the era of securing responsible self-government for the colony

⁹³ Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 127.

⁹⁴ *Maitland Mercury*, 20 October 1849.

⁹⁵ Dunphy and Lockshin, 'A History of the Australian Wine Show System', 89.

⁹⁶ Some detail on Wentworth and Cowper is provided in Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 55 and 166.

such power-brokers and capitalists as these, in their desire for a 'civilized' industry, had created the conditions for 'intelligent industry' in viticulture and viniculture. But wine growing still meant little to most British Australians in this era.

Early in the 1840s, two of the colony's most experienced wine growers declared that the cost of labour and the shortage of skilled vineyard labour, respectively, formed the main impediments to anticipated progress of colonial wine growing. Suttor claimed high wages were the single most serious obstacle to colonial wines competing with imports from Europe or the Cape. Wine from the Cape, for example, cost 10 shillings a pipe in Sydney, cheaper than it could be produced from wine grapes grown in the Australian colonies. Suttor believed the advantage for Cape producers lay in their use of slave labour which, despite abolition since becoming a British possession, 'may be still available to them'.⁹⁷ William Macarthur blamed the slow pace of the development of the industry entirely on the British administration's reluctance to support the importation of skilled labour. 'It may naturally be asked how it happens', he wrote, 'if the soil and climate be so favourable for vineyard culture, that we do not see our hills clothed with vines, and their produce the common beverage, of every class in the community?' The reply, he continued

is simple and obvious; it is owing to the almost entire absence of practical acquaintance with its details. Had our Home Government fulfilled its duty, there would have been conveyed to our shores, during the prevalence of the Bounty System of Emigration, two or three hundred families of German, Swiss, or French vinedressers. Had this been done, vineyards would, ere this, have become common amongst us. Not only have they omitted to perform that which would have been the act of a wise and paternal Government, but they absolutely interfered with private arrangements, and refused their assent to a wise and

⁹⁷ Suttor, *The Culture of the Grape-Vine*, 18.

salutary measure of Sir Richard Bourke's Administration, which authorised the introduction, under bounties, of a limited number of foreigners, conversant with this species of culture, because, forsooth, they chose to assume that such introduction would, *pro tanto*, interfere with Emigration from the British Islands!⁹⁸

Macarthur's assessment was more practical than Suttor's but both failed to take account of other factors, most crucially the lack of a domestic market for wine growing. Many of Sexauer's 'inputs' began to take shape by the end of the 1840s but the challenge remained to encourage consumption of colonial wine beyond estates and select homes.

⁹⁸ Maro (William Macarthur), *Letters on the Culture of the Vine*, iv-v.

Chapter Six

'More a fancy than an industry': two steps forward and one step back in the 1850s

Despite the lack of a domestic market for colonial wine in the 1850s its key growers bravely submitted wines for scrutiny and critique in Europe and Britain. Some encouragement resulted; first at the Great Exhibition in London in 1851 then, at the heart of Old World wine production: the Paris Exhibition of 1855. But exposing colonial wine to judges and consumers in Europe also led to more realistic assessments of the quality and quantity of colonial wine production and New South Wales growers were forced to recognise the need for improvements. Potential for improvement was enhanced as greater sophistication in scientific knowledge in European viticulture and viniculture benefitted colonial growers.

Exhibitions

The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations, in London in 1851, showcased the western industrialisation led by the United Kingdom and fed by raw and manufactured goods from its colonies. To house the exhibition, Hyde Park's Rotten Row in London was transformed with the construction of the dazzling Crystal Palace. Products and processes from around the world were exhibited.¹ Two particular points characterized the Great Exhibition: its role as the original British exhibition which lent it a 'nearly religious aura' in subsequent years and the disappointing lack of colonial exhibits.² Contemporaries declared that notice was too short for any of the colonies – either 'subject colonies' or 'settler societies' - to be properly represented, 'the

¹ *The Times of London*, 23 February 1850; *Times of London*, 26 February 1850.

² Hoffenberg, *Empire on Display*, 5-8.

undertaking was hurried; the project was quite new and not clearly understood, and moreover, most of the colonies were scarcely in a position to go to much expense for contributions'.³ This contrasted with the Paris Exhibition, at which British colonies ensured suitable representation.⁴ New South Wales and Tasmania did manage to give a 'credible' showing in 1851.⁵ The Macarthurs sent several products, including Camden Wine; their preparedness likely resulted from their London connections through family and trade.

To accompany his wine to the Crystal Palace, William Macarthur wrote a specially-printed pamphlet entitled *Some Account of the Vineyards at Camden on the Nepean River, Forty Miles South West of Sydney, the Property of James and William Macarthur*. The wines included a blend of 'La Folle' and 'Verdeilho', a non-blended 'Verdeilho', a 'White Muscat of Lunelle' fortified with brandy, a 'Red and Black Muscat of Frontignac', a 'Riesling', a blend of 'Muscat Noir de Frontignac' and 'La Folle', a 'Scyras' grown from cuttings from Hermitage in France and an unfortified variation of the 'Red and Black Muscat of Frontignac'.⁶ 'These Wines', explained William,

have a certain dryness and bitterness peculiar to the Wines of New South Wales to which the palate becomes accustomed: but with age this bitterness passes off, as in the specimens now in England. The Wines at Camden are rarely fit for use until three years old, and greatly improve by the keeping. They are very wholesome, and are

³ 'Mr Hollingshead' cited in J.G. Knight, *The Australasian Colonies at the International Exhibition, London, 1862* (Melbourne: John Ferres, Government Printer, 1865), 5, from David Scott Mitchell Collection (DSM) 042/P12, SLNSW. Differentiation between the 'subject colonies', such as India, and 'settler societies', such as Australia, is made in this publication, xiv.

⁴ Knight, *The Australasian Colonies*, 9.

⁵ 'Mr Hollingshead' cited in Knight, *The Australasian Colonies*, 5.

⁶ Macarthur, *Some Account*, 4. This booklet appeared to be published in 1849 but a note on the cover of the copy in the Macarthur archive has the date changed to '51' and a note 'June 1851' In the top right hand corner of the cover; Macarthur Papers, ML A2969.

extensively used by persons who have acquired a taste for them.⁷

He wrote also, in the handwritten notes that became *Some Account*, that the wines were susceptible to deterioration but this was edited out of the printed booklet.⁸ Instead, added perhaps by Edward, *Some Account* concluded with reference to John Macarthur's founding role in the wool industry and the desire of colonial wine producers to

succeed in like manner as they have already succeeded with the "Golden Fleece". They will then have strengthened by another legitimate tie, the existing well-balanced relations between England and her possessions. For years have they supplied the unmanufactured material, which gives occupation to tens of thousands of Her Majesty's subjects. Whether these colonies can also hope to provide for the benefit of every class here at home [in Britain], and at an equally moderate rate another exportable product, remains yet to be seen – so that even the tired artizan, in his hours relaxation from toil, may not unseldom exclaim, "Go fetch me a quart of (Australian) Sack".⁹

Meanwhile, Carmichael (who famously thought vine growing superior to pastoralism) announced he would send wine to London from his property Porphyry; a case of eighteen bottles of 'Shepherd's Riesling' (semillon) and eighteen bottles of a blend of pinot noir and a wine grape known as the 'Black Spanish'. Both wines were at least two years old. Mindful of the concept of *terroir*, Carmichael detailed the soil of his vineyard and the type of planting style used, including trenching to a depth of nearly thirty-six inches and adding charcoal to the trench before backfilling it. Carmichael recognised the experimental nature of his wine growing when he wrote:

In sending these specimens of wine from New South Wales to be presented at the Great Exhibition...it is not presumed that such wines can yet be brought into successful

⁷ Macarthur, *Some Account*, 5.

⁸ Handwritten draft entitled 'Wines from Camden', Macarthur Papers, ML A2869.

⁹ Macarthur, *Some Account*, 11. Sack was a colloquial term for type of common wine.

comparison with European wines of long established character and high estimation. The culture of the vine and the management of its produce are beats of exertion foreign to the British population and to reach a point of excellence such as might challenge the comparison alluded to, would involve the results of a far more lengthened experience and more intimate knowledge of wineology in all its details that can yet be laid claim to by any wine-grower in New South Wales. The acquisition of this knowledge and experience must necessarily be gradual...At present, vine-culture is with us altogether in its infancy [however] viewing this colony as one of the integral parts of the empire, the raising of wine here, sufficient to meet the demand of the United Kingdom...would be in reality the creation of a new source of capital permanently available, to the extent of [a] large amount of expenditure, for the advancement of the peculiar interests of the British population.¹⁰

Carmichael then made the same argument that caused a scene at an earlier meeting with Hunter pastoralists, that wool growing only used ‘waste-lands’ and also prevented more permanent agriculture and a yeomanry – or as he put it, ‘the direct employment and maintenance in comfort of a dense and industrious tenancy’ but that wine growing promised to be a ‘boundless sphere’ for the ‘employment of the teeming multitudes of the mother country’.¹¹ What became of the Porphyry wines is not clear. Carmichael later expressed grave concern that the colonial government had taken no steps to forward colonial products to the Great Exhibition.¹²

Macarthur’s initiative in shipping wines to the Crystal Palace without government support angered James King who claimed he had intended to send bottles from Irrawang as well as neighbouring Porphyry (where he made the wine for Carmichael). And, in his anger at his wine being omitted, King blamed the Australasian Botanic and Horticultural Society - to whom he said he forwarded a case of samples - and a lack of interest by

¹⁰ *Maitland Mercury*, 13 November 1850.

¹¹ *Maitland Mercury*, 13 November 1850.

¹² *Maitland Mercury*, 9 November 1851.

colonial officials. He claimed that he had been so upset by the whole affair of his wines missing the Great Exhibition that he sold them in New South Wales then had second thoughts, recovered the case of samples from the buyer and sent them to London himself; directly to Prince Albert. The Macarthur brothers, James and William, responded calmly to King's public outburst. Indeed, William reported on the royal response to King's wine at a meeting of the NSWVA. 'The white wine was considered neither good nor bad; but the red, a sort of Burgundy or Hermitage, was considered *excellent*', he said. 'It was tried at several parties at the Palace, and deemed excellent at all of them, being allowed to take its chance at table, and being left to the opinion of the guests.'¹³ King's antipathy seemed assuaged by this and he offered his gratitude by remarking at a subsequent meeting of the HVRA that earlier pejorative comments he had made about NSWVA president, William Macarthur, were not intended 'in a spirit of silly cavil or childish antagonism', despite clear appearances to the contrary.¹⁴

Other ambitious colonists learned a lesson from the confusion over submissions to the 1851 Exhibition and, as the Exhibition proceeded, met to discuss how to convince 'the people of England that the colony was not quite so apathetic as the entire absence of its product from the Great Exhibition would seem to evince'.¹⁵ The determination of elite colonists to capture interest from the European market is reflected in the minutes from a meeting of the Australian Society in 1851 at which Edwin Hickey presented the first of a series of essays on cultivating wine grapes and James King's views on viniculture were read aloud. Merchant and auctioneer Thomas Sutcliffe Mort commented

¹³ King related this story, including the report on the Macarthurs, in Hunter River Vineyard Association (HRVA), 'Historical Summary of Proceedings and Reports', (Sydney: Hunter River Vineyard Association, 1854), 31. Emphasis in the original.

¹⁴ HRVA, 'Historical Summary', 35.

¹⁵ *Maitland Mercury*, 17 May 1851.

at the meeting on matters such as the need for complex wine making equipment and export. He said, of the first that, ‘some of the finest colonial wine he had tasted’ had been manufactured in a slab hut at Bathurst; inferring that good wine could be made in rudimentary circumstances. On the second point he mentioned that Camden Wine had captured the notice of a Russian visiting London who ordered six hogsheads from the Macarthur stocks of colonial wine.¹⁶

The colony’s progress in attracting attention at the centre of empire received a boost in Paris in 1855. William Macarthur served as a Colonial Commissioner for this exhibition and produce from Camden and Irrawang formed the principal part of the New South Wales display of wine alongside produce from others including King and Maria Windeyer. Macarthur also sent wool and wood as part of his family’s broader interests but William’s letters home to James indicated particular concern for the fate of his colonial wine.¹⁷ Before New South Wales wines were inspected he made sure to watch the Paris wine jurors at work in the bedazzling surroundings of the international arena. At first, the experience of witnessing the ‘jury of “experts”’ testing upwards of a hundred and fifty wines in a single sitting left William ‘in a funk for our wine’. But, his letter to James went on to say that, when at eight o’clock the next morning the tasting of the New South Wales wines began, ‘there was a long pause at the tasting of the first [James] King’s red of 1852[,] a look of surprise, and then of approval “jolie vin” “tres bon” ...and ten called out.’¹⁸ (Scores were given out of twenty.)

¹⁶ *Maitland Mercury*, 4 January 1851.

¹⁷ William Macarthur’s role at the Paris Exhibition is discussed in 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. 2 (2007): 434-35.

¹⁸ William Macarthur’s emphasis.

After the judging was over William calculated that ‘the averages of the six samples from Irrawang, was 10-and-a-half to that of samples of Camden Wine [which] was 11-and-two-thirds’. When he later plucked up the courage to speak to a wine judge he was told (as he reported to his brother):

we were all perfectly astonished at the quality of the Australian wines – we had tasted the slightest...of it, & it is evident that in addition to soil and climate favourable to their growth first care must have been taken in their manufacture. They do your colony infinite credit. I asked to what European or other wines he could compare them. He said “we were unanimous in giving them a place in strength & flavour between the wines of Madeira and those of the Cotes du Rhone – they have some resemblance to both.” I cannot describe the number of applications as have since had to be showed to taste.¹⁹

The following day Queen Victoria and her entourage stopped at the New South Wales exhibit. Victoria asked to taste the wines and, with a ‘certainly your majesty’, colonial wine finally began to gain some cultural capital, not only in Paris but London as well.²⁰ William’s account of the experience was published in several colonial newspapers.²¹ This contributed also to the reputation, if not the quality, of colonial wine within New South Wales.

The *Times of London* reported that during Queen and Prince Albert’s visit to the Paris Exhibition: ‘Mr McArthur [sic] was too modest to tell the Prince a “fact” which is creating a great sensation here, viz. – that Australia exhibits wine of extraordinary excellence, Tokay especially being fairer than the best produced in Hungary’.²² Now,

¹⁹ All direct quotes on the Paris Exhibition wine judging to this point are from: William Macarthur to James Macarthur, 12 August 1855, Macarthur Papers, ML A2934, 98-104. Macarthur’s emphasis.

²⁰ William Macarthur to James Macarthur, 1 September 1855, ML A2934, 120-122.

²¹ Reprinted from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 November 1855 in *Maitland Mercury*, 1 December 1855.

²² *Times of London*, 27 August 1855. The detail about Macarthur’s modesty was reprinted in the colony; *Maitland Mercury*, 5 December 1855.

some imperial prejudice was no doubt at work here, really it was outrageous to claim colonial ‘Tokay’ was better made in New South Wales than in Tokaji but the comparison to Old World wine was no doubt welcome. King, and Windeyer of Tomago, also received honours for their wines at Paris.²³

Colonists with sufficient reserves of wine received a rush of overseas orders after this. In 1855 close to twenty-five thousand gallons of Australian wine (from New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia) was imported into the United Kingdom, a figure which would not be repeated again until a decade later as this likely came from stockpiles of wine and future production was fairly evenly matched with demand in the colonies.²⁴ Paris marked the beginning of a strong exhibition culture for Australian wines and gave growers and agricultural societies leverage to seek increased support from the British government and ‘overseas learned societies’ to promote colonial wine in Europe.²⁵ In the heady new climate of success a *Times of London* report of 1857 predicted ‘in a few years we hope to see the names of “Camden Park, Irrawang, Tomago, Lochinvar, Cawarra, Tuteela, &c. rank as high in the wine-market as [the French first growth vineyards of] Lafitte [sic], Latour, Chateau-Margaux’. The report went on to predict - prematurely - that wine would eventually equal ‘wool, tallow, gold and coal’ as export commodities from the eastern Australian colonies.²⁶

Science

²³ See Hoffenberg, *Empire on Display*, 108; David S. McMillan, ‘King, James (1800-1857), *ADB*, vol. 2, 54-55 and ‘Certificate of Merit to Maria Windeyer of Tomago Wines’, ML A3812.

²⁴ Laffer, *Wine Industry of Australia*, 123.

²⁵ Hoffenberg, *Empire on Display*, 108.

²⁶ *Times of London*, 20 July 1857.

King's efforts with respect to policies favouring colonial wine production included a petition to the Legislative Council of New South Wales to lobby Whitehall for a lowering of the duties for the importation of colonial wine to Britain. He began, too, a valuable correspondence with German chemist Justus Liebig. Recruiting Liebig to discuss New South Wales wine was both inspired and progressive. Historians of the Australian wheat industry believe 'modern agricultural science made its debut in 1840' when the same Baron Liebig presented his report *Organic Chemistry in its Applications to Agriculture and Physiology* to the British Association.²⁷ Liebig pioneered wine science with his experiments on manuring vineyards and, especially, on the role of yeasts and sugars in fermentation of wine grapes and the spoiling effects of oxidisation of wine.²⁸

In 1849, the *Sydney Morning Herald* had re-printed an article by Thomas Collins Banfield, a researcher on Rhinegau agriculture in the late 1840s who challenged Liebig's findings. The article had been sent by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of the Cape, from where an interested party forwarded it to Sydney. In the spirit of improvement - and metropolitan superiority - so embraced by the British, Banfield wrote:

It will not appear singular that principles for wine-making should be wanted in distant colonies, when we consider that, with all the progress that has been made in chemical experiments, the true principle which ensures a constant quality of wine from the same grape, when ripened equally, has only within a few years been established satisfactorily in Europe.²⁹

²⁷ A.R. Callaghan and A.J. Millington, *The Wheat Industry in Australia* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1956), 4.

²⁸ See for example, Justus Liebig, *Chemistry in Its Application to Agriculture and Physiology*, trans. Lyon Playfair (Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co, 1843), 86 and 103-107.

²⁹ *Maitland Mercury*, 12 May 1849, in James King Papers, 1826, 1839-1920, ML 682/3x.

He warned, however, against following all of Liebig's recommendations, arguing his observations of wine growing on the Rhine showed manuring worked to increase vine health and yield but Liebig's ideas about fermentation reduced the flavour of wine. By having access to these ideas, British wine producing colonies - principally the Cape, nascently New South Wales - benefitted from scientific advances in viticulture and viniculture as they occurred in the Old World. A similar trend occurred in technical advances in colonial agriculture generally; '[f]rom the outset, Europeans in Australia were linked into the expanding and deepening international networks of technical information'.³⁰

Liebig's ideas probably came to King's attention as a result of Banfield's critique. King also sent wine samples to Liebig in 1850 and finally received a reply more than two years later. The proprietor of Irrawang may have been privately unimpressed to discover the eminent chemist examined his wine alongside of Camden wines sent by Edward Macarthur, however, King proudly shared Liebig's advice on his wines with the HRVA. This included the encouraging assessment that '[t]he red wine has many properties in common with Burgundy...It might be possible to procure a sale for this wine in England and Russia, were you to succeed by carefully conducted fermentation, in producing a stronger bouquet'.³¹ Any export to Russia could not, however, precede empire trade.

King's interest in expert opinion led to German wine expert, F. Gerstaeker, visiting Irrawang in 1852. Gerstaeker joined the throng of predictions that Australia would 'some day become an extraordinary country for wine'; he complemented King's wines describing a white as 'equal to our German hochheimer', and a red 'equal to our

³⁰ Raby, *Making Rural Australia*, 153.

³¹ HRVA, 'Historical Summary', 40.

Asmannhouser'.³² King's German influences contrasted with Macarthur's preference for French products and producers. This could only be a benefit in an environment where wide experimentation was needed to establish how best to grow and process European wine grapes with such a vast range to select from.

Following the triumph of New South Wales wines in Paris in 1855, King seized the opportunity to promote his wine in Britain and Europe. In 1856 he met with Liebig in Munich, which he reported with relish in his 1857 publication *Australia may be an Extensive Wine-Growing Country* (printed by the author in his home country of Scotland). The sixteen page booklet was likely aimed at influencing the Committee of the House of Commons which King believed to be considering increasing wine imports from New South Wales. King outdid himself in the language of his introduction in the booklet, not only making a persuasive argument for the potential importance of colonial wine production but positioning himself as a quintessential Enlightenment man. His opening paragraph, invoking Smith's description of sober European peasants (and notions of habitus), claimed '[h]ad any of the numerous possessions of the British crown been extensive producers of good wine, ardent spirits would never have become the common beverage of the labouring population of this country'.³³ He focused on the opportunities and drawbacks in Australia's economic boon from gold, arguing,

[t]he gold-mines will assuredly become less productive, consequently less attractive, being then unprofitable. When that takes place, there will remain in Australia, before thousands of emigrants who have been attracted thither by the magnetic influence of the gold, an extensive, unbroken,

³² Cited in Cecily Joan Mitchell, *Hunter's River, a History of Early Families and the Homes They Built in the Lower Hunter Valley between 1830 and 1860* (Sydney: The Family of Cecily Joan Mitchell, 1984), 41-42.

³³ James King, *Australia May Be an Extensive Wine-Producing Country* (Edinburgh: Printed for private circulation, 1857), 3.

exhaustless, and profitable field of employment for all their labour in the production of wine.³⁴

If only they could be trained in wine growing, that is, which would have to replace their habitus as cultural consumers and practitioners from Britain where there was no commercial wine industry and little wine consumed by the common folk!

The short introduction to the booklet concluded with a quote from Liebig; another classic use of emotive language to extol the virtues of wine which foreshadowed Henry Lindeman's work in New South Wales to encourage wine drinking for its health benefits.

Liebig reportedly believed:

As a restorative, a means of refreshment, where the powers of life are exhausted; of giving animation and energy where man has to struggle with days of sorrow; as a means of correction and compensation, where misproportion occurs in nutrition, and the organism is deranged in its operations; and as a means of protection against transient organic disturbances – wine is surpassed by no product of nature or of art.³⁵

Marshalling Liebig's eloquent description of the benefits of wine lent gravitas to King's short treatise. Liebig made wine sound like a miracle drug; King, for his part, less of a moral economist than a disciple of Smith, intuited that prudent decisions in business created multiple flow-on effects, increasing the cultural capital as well as profits of his enterprise.

With his flair for self-fashioning, King's booklet included the most impressive of his correspondence on the tangible commercial potential of colonial wine. A letter from the merchants J. Mott & Co at Leicester indicated the company had returned a dozen

³⁴ King, *An Extensive Wine Growing Country*, 4.

³⁵ King, *An Extensive Wine Growing Country*, 4.

bottles of wine to King so he could distribute them himself. The letter indicated the future was bright for this produce.

After the leading article in the *Times*, some three months ago, we advertised [the wine] at 42s., bottles and hampers included, and sold a few dozens. We had previously sold a little at 32s., and we now quote at 38s., without bottles. We have only a few dozens left, and are not anxious to sell them, being willing to keep the wine for another year or two, to see how it develops in bottles. If any more is sent over from your estate, we shall be glad to have the offer of it.³⁶

King, for his part, would surely be glad of the orders. He claimed he had found a market for his annual production of only two thousand gallons within New South Wales but his ambitions were wider.³⁷

Sadly, King did not return to New South Wales to expand his wine growing enterprise. He died in London in late November 1857, at fifty-seven years of age.³⁸ His determination to develop a colonial wine industry made him a crucial figure alongside his contemporary Macarthur and earlier advocates such as Blaxland and Busby.

The status of the colonial wine ‘industry’

The difficulty in securing a colonial market for colonial wine despite a large demand for alcohol continued to be attributed, by some, to the poor quality of the product. An unidentified newspaper article, among King’s papers, that had been published after the 1855 Paris Exhibition gave a very disparaging account of colonial wine.

³⁶ King, *An Extensive Wine Growing Country*, 16.

³⁷ King, *An Extensive Wine Growing Country*, 16.

³⁸ David S. Macmillan, ‘King, James (1800-1857)’, *ADB*, vol. 2, 55. This entry appears to rely almost entirely on King’s own writing and contains several errors such as the year the HRVA was formed, stating the year as 1853 rather than 1847.

Commercially speaking, wine making in this colony has no history; for though attempts have been made to establish cellars in Sydney, for the sale of colonial wine, these undertakings have successively failed for the simple reason that a high price was asked for a poor ill made wine.³⁹

From this point the article stands in such dramatic contrast to the usual encouraging material on wine growing published in colonial newspapers, that a lengthy passage must be quoted:

The quality of the wines hitherto made, has for the most part, been anything but satisfactory; they have generally been allowed to become acid, and then all hope was gone of their ever developing with age into first class or even drinkable wines; and judging from the contempt in which they are held, the acidity has extended to the tempers of those who otherwise should have had “their hearts made glad” with the pure and healthy juice of the grape. At the present moment there are cellars containing as much as ten, twenty, and thirty thousand gallons each of this sour stuff fit only for spoiling the casks containing it, and yet cherished in the hope that it will one day recover itself, the owners had better a hundred times throw it away – scald out their casks and begin a new [sic] with the humble wish to improve, they may rely on its never being anything but a disgrace to themselves and their country...[T]he fault does not lie in the quality of the grape, in climatic causes, want of sun to ripen, and the like, but in the manufacture and neglect when made. Negligence has done more harm than the want of knowledge. Wine making has been the hobby [sic] horse of the rich, and like all hobbies, was either petted or starved; wine, however, is high spirited, will not brook neglect, and revenges itself immediately for any inattention by becoming sour. Had the vineyards of the colony been in the hands of men depending on them for their livelihood, there would ere this have been wine, and noble wine, too, in every corner of Australia.⁴⁰

These were possibly the most accurate, if unwelcome, comments on colonial wine to date. The argument about the need for wine growers to focus on profit rather than

³⁹ ‘Australian Wine’, Unknown newspaper in James King Papers, ML 682.

⁴⁰ ‘Australian Wine’, in James King Papers, ML 682.

pleasure demonstrated an assumption that the European culture of wine growing, if transplanted in New South Wales along with vine plants, would reap greater results. This ignored the uncertainties of colonial transplantation and adaptation; biological and cultural.

The critic was right to point out that the skills of wine making had been neglected within the colony while vineyard skills were refined to the point where there were decent grapes to crush for wine. And he (more likely than she) may have been fair about the universal execrability of colonial wine despite the warm response at Paris. The Parisian judgements may have been partly attributable to the novelty value of colonial wine within an atmosphere of international co-operation and display of innovation. Indeed, the Colonial Commissioners had reminded the Paris judges to make allowances in 'estimating the qualities of our Australian wines...[as] they are the product of a new Country'.⁴¹

After the initial diatribe, the critical article extracted above provided instructions on wine making and concluded, confusingly, with the following:

However unaccustomed we may have been to wine making, if it be undertaken with the same industry and intelligence which characterizes us in other pursuits, no matter how disheartening the retrospect may be our bright sky will yet shine on thousands of acres of green vineyards and our healthy noble wine be the pride of our country.⁴²

Here again, was the case for 'intelligent industry' and, in the end, the article aimed to promote wine growing! Perhaps the critic was King himself.

⁴¹ 'Colonial Wines' in the *Catalogue of the Natural and Industrial Products of New South Wales Exhibited in the Australian Museum by the Paris Exhibition Commissioners* (1854) cited in Hoffenberg, *Empire on Display*, 108.

⁴² 'Australian Wine', in James King Papers, ML 682.

A separate article, among the Macarthur Papers, told a different story of the reaction to wine within the colony from the 1850s. It suggested that while distribution of colonial wine had been established, education of merchants and consumers could improve the state in which wine arrived at the purchaser's table:

The consumption of wine, the produce of New South Wales, having increased very considerably at the out-ports, and in the neighbouring colonies, it is thought advisable to print a few simple directions, by attending to which, it may be used on draft for a considerable period without risk of deterioration.⁴³

To prevent deterioration, the barrelled wine should be allowed to rest for up to a month, and for another fortnight to three weeks if still cloudy. Fining – or clarifying – could clear up any suspended sediment remaining. Egg whites at the rate of two to three dozen per one hundred gallons of wine for reds; isinglass for white wines, 'at the rate of ¼ oz. mixed with about half its weight of tartaric acid, per 100 gallons'.⁴⁴ The article appeared in autumn of 1851 then received a separate print run and distribution. Its tone is reminiscent of the matter-of-factness of William Macarthur and could have been written and circulated by him in an effort to inform consumers who might otherwise attempt to drink wine too soon after its sediment had been disturbed by transport or bottled in a less than hygienic way, which would reduce its drinkability.

The comparison of these two articles provides a background against which to consider an exchange about colonial wine in the London press after the Paris Exhibition which may also have inspired James King's booklet *Australia may be an Extensive Wine-Growing Country*. A British superintendent of the Paris Exhibition, Philip Cuncliffe-

⁴³ 'Australian wine' extracted from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, of 28th April 1851 and printed by Kemp and Fairfax, in Macarthur Papers, ML A2969.

⁴⁴ 'Australian wine', ML A2969.

Owen (from the new Department of Science and Art, who went on to become a key figure in British exhibitions) had reported on the success of colonial wine.⁴⁵ Owen's comments on colonial wine appeared in a short *Times of London* piece signed by 'W.H.C.' It read:

In the department of Australia (New South Wales) the evidence of the increasing importance of the vineyards of that colony, in the specimens of the wines exhibited by Messrs. Macarthur, King and Brown, is deserving of special mention... The verdict of the experts was much in their favour, for whereas in the wine of Europe the numbers indicative of quality ranged from as low as 2 to 18, the lowest number assigned to the Australian specimens was 7, the highest 15, and the average number was 14½, being as high as that of the wines of Austria, and much exceeding that of the wines of the Cape, or any other of our wine-producing colonies. Now, Sir, why do we not import wine from Australia? The wine which is made there is of very good quality... and, now that the vineyards are failing in Madeira and on the continent, I think it would be only just to the colonies themselves to lower the import duty which is now placed on them. There is not the slightest encouragement given to our colonies to send us their products. At present there is scarcely a person in England (except those who have been to the colonies) who has tasted any of this wine, and there are also great numbers who do not even know that wine is made there at all; this, I think, ought not to be.⁴⁶

Owen's assessment represented a significant step forwards in the project of colonists aiming to export wine to Britain. If consumers requested colonial wine, a market would be more assured.

But, the question 'why do we not import wine from Australia' received a quick response that included sentiments about the need for wine producers dependent on

⁴⁵ H.T. Wood (revised by R.C. Denis), 'Owen, Sir Francis Philip Cuncliffe- (1828-1894)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy2.library.usyd.edu.au/view/article/20997> [accessed 30 April 2008].

⁴⁶ *Times of London*, 22 November 1855.

viniculture for income. ‘Soif’ wrote that ‘[t]he answer, Sir, is simple, but sufficient – because there is really none to import’. The letter to the editor continued:

[t]he cultivation of the vine in Australia is as yet only the pursuit of a few wealthy landowners, who carry it on in the spirit of amateurs, as a branch of horticulture. It is more a fancy than an industry; and has not told with any appreciable effect on the taste or commerce of the colony. Hence, though we hear frequently of the wine of Australia, it is all sample and no bulk. It figures prominently in reports, as now in Paris, and in nearly all the books about the colony; but it has not yet found its way into the cellars and ledgers of “the trade”. The few winegrowers of the colony are too easily satisfied with proving that it can be produced, and it must be admitted they have proved it. But the period of experiment in this matter has exceeded all reasonable limit. The work wants a little pushing from the spirit of gain. Industries that potter on in the state of infancy for a generation are apt to be slighted and forgotten; dwelling continually in the region of expectation and promise, they rank at last with the sea serpent and the “coming man”. In some such limbo is the wine trade of Australia, and there it is likely long to remain.⁴⁷

Soif (who obviously subscribed to principles of free trade and the work of John Stuart Mill) considered colonial wine growing weak to have been an ‘infant industry’ for such a long time.

The words in the letter that must have caught King’s eye were:

[l]et the Australian winegrowers enlarge the borders of their vineyards, cease being too curious in exquisite varieties, and aim at quantity from the two or three sound stocks they have already obtained. When they have freighted their first half-dozen ships to the London Docks, people will begin to believe Australia really is a wine-producing colony.⁴⁸

Good advice. But, was New South Wales wine production so far from being able to be called an industry? There is a clue to what lay behind Soif’s concerns in a critique of the

⁴⁷ *Times of London*, 27 November 1855. Soif is ‘thirst’ in French.

⁴⁸ *Times of London*, 27 November 1855.

concept of 'Imperialism of Free Trade'. In the post-Corn Laws environment of free trade in Britain, the idea of protecting what Mill termed 'infant industries' meant Englishmen both 'grumbled at the expense of administering and defending Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand [and] disliked the erection of colonial tariff barriers to protect infant industries'.⁴⁹ Let colonial industries grow and trade without favour and fail if necessary, it seemed.

The economy of New South Wales had grown from multiple forms of wealth production, not unlike Britain but Soif's challenge went to the core of the extent to which the colony could call itself 'civilized'. The inference that wine production would have been better served by single-staple producers demonstrated a refusal to consider both the complexity of rapidly developing a European-style economy out of a convict-labour-based British outpost and the extent to which (as Raby has argued with respect to agriculture generally) colonists in New South Wales established a thriving economy, borrowing heavily from British economic knowledge but also, out of necessity, responding to the particular circumstances of the environment.⁵⁰ Monocultural production of wine grapes could not yet support producers: colonial investors in wine production could not rely on income from it until a drinkable product resulted from ongoing experimentation.

At this stage a definition of the point at which wine growing did become an 'industry' in New South Wales is needed to avoid the trap of a teleological approach.

⁴⁹ D.C.M. Platt, 'Further Objections to an 'Imperialism of Free Trade', 1830-60', *The Economic History Review*, New Series 26, no. 1 (1973): 77-78. Platt points out, however, that this did not mean these Englishmen wanted to sever ties with their settler society colonies but rather 'they favoured the preservation of the imperial connexion with each of the white colonies, both for economic and for sentimental reasons'.

⁵⁰ Raby, *Making Rural Australia*, esp. 20-60.

The most useful starting point for a working definition of 'industry' must take account of the difference between an agricultural industry and manufacturing industry, the second being the most common usage of the word. In Enlightenment-influenced arguments, such as Eric Hobsbawm's *Industry and Empire, An Economic History of Britain since 1750*, 'industry' was analogous with aiming to 'develop' or industrialise. By the mid-nineteenth century, industrialisation - as an ideology inside the emerging philosophy of economics - depended on continual advancement along a linear spectrum just as Adam Smith's stages of development were a linear shift from pastoralism to commercialism. From 'infant industries' in the process of 'industrialising' grew 'industrialised' countries - later 'nations' - which became the 'advanced world'. According to Hobsbawm, Britain was the only modern economy between the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846 (when free trade began to replace protectionism) and the Depression of 1873, by which time a rivalry existed between 'developed' countries: Britain, Germany, France and the United States.⁵¹ 'Industry' and economics became inseparable. When economic historians in Australia, and elsewhere, have conducted their research, they have studied 'industry'.⁵²

The term 'industry' can also be applied to agriculture. In the Oxford English Dictionary 'industry' is '[a] particular form or branch of productive labour; a trade or manufacture' or 'the practice of a profitable occupation'.⁵³ An 'industry' is not only production but profitable production. (In Australia both the wool and the wheat industries had their historians very early in the development of Australian historical

⁵¹ Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, 113-15.

⁵² See, for example, the entry on 'economic history' in Davison et al, *Oxford Companion*, 204-205.

⁵³ <http://dictionary.oed.com.ezproxy1.library.usyd.edu.au/cgi/entry/50115742> [accessed 8 April 2008].

research.⁵⁴) Economist Kenneth Boyer recognised in the 1980s, however, that his discipline lacked a specific, formal definition of ‘industry’ and he set about defining it in such a way that a ‘firm’ belongs to an ‘industry’ of ‘that group of sellers with which a firm would find it most profitable to collude’; essentially, to belong to an ‘industry’, a producer must be a competitive ‘seller’.⁵⁵ This barely applied to colonial wine producers in the 1850s who, as Soif pointed out, had not yet fulfilled their ambition to become exporters.

As producers sought to become ‘sellers’, export efforts were largely directed London-wards but Arthur Holmes, a Sydney wine merchant from the Hunter family that built Caerphilly and Wilderness, sold fortified wine to the Pacific Islands and at least one wine writer has claimed colonial wine was also sold in the Pacific Islands.⁵⁶ Small quantities may have been sold this way but the wine sent to the Islands was largely imported from the northern hemisphere then shipped to the South Seas. Import and export figures for 1854, for example, show that imported wine arriving in Port Jackson had been shipped via Great Britain. Close to 270,000 gallons of it was imported. This represented a fifth the quantity of spirits and three per cent of the total value of imports. In the same year, £50 pounds worth of colonial wine was sent to the South Sea Islands, a tiny amount compared with the £4,229 worth of foreign (or imported) wine shipped there. The Holmes family obviously benefitted from having a merchant in the family but the amount of colonial wine sold this way should not be exaggerated.

⁵⁴ See Callaghan and Millington, *Wheat Industry*, Alan Barnard, *The Australian Wool Market 1840-1900* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press on behalf of Australian National University, 1958).

⁵⁵ Kenneth D. Boyer, ‘Is There a Principle for Defining Industries? Reply’, *Southern Economic Journal* 52, no. 2 (1985): 542. The wine industry could be understood to include not only vigneronns but producers of equipment for vine growing and wine making.

⁵⁶ Max Lake, *Hunter Wine* (Brisbane: Jacaranda Press, 1964), 26.

Just as it was premature to call colonial wine growing an ‘industry’ in the 1850s, there were not yet wine ‘companies’ (though there were prominent producers). This did not mean, however, that New South Wales was ‘backwards’ in its approach to business and capitalisation but rather - with reference to wine growing – not yet requiring a complex structure of investment and management. As in Britain, colonial enterprises - with exceptions such as the AA Company, were family-based and funded by ‘personal capitalisation’.⁵⁷ Key family-run wine companies did emerge in the colonial century and survive beyond the original founder - chiefly the Wyndhams and Lindemans - and the second generations of these families contributed to what became a colonial wine ‘industry’ by the 1870s.

Conclusion

Participation in the exhibition culture that would come to dominate exchanges of knowledge about industrial and cultural developments in the western world throughout the second half of the century proved to be a mixed experience for colonial wine growers. Exposing colonial wine to scrutiny in Europe brought both encouragement and an introduction to the harsh climate of industrial competition. By the end of the 1850s, there was greater knowledge of colonial wine growing among potential consumers abroad but also greater clarity for colonial producers about the difference between encouragement for wine production and the realities of the export balance sheet that indicated the

⁵⁷ The idea of ‘personal capitalisation’ was first defined by American business historian Alfred Chandler who concluded that British industry was characterized as ‘personal capitalisation’, distinct from the ‘competitive’ and ‘co-operative’ capitalisation of the United States and Germany, respectively. ‘Personal capitalisation’ involved ‘a close relationship between control and ownership, with little delegation of responsibility to professional managers allowed by a highly individualistic business culture’. Chandler’s theories related only to large-scale industry which he believed underpinned modern economies. The notion of ‘personal capitalisation’ does, however, provide a conceptual framework to understand the economic environment in which New South Wales wine producers organised their businesses. Cited in John F Wilson, *British Business History, 1720-1994* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 22.

Australian colonies may have overestimated their achievements within an imperial and extra-imperial context. Most agricultural 'inputs' may have been reached but the critical mass achieved in broader economic terms by the 1840s in New South Wales had yet to be achieved in wine growing. Ahead: the 1860s Land Acts would bring a new breed of growers; small capitalists willing to try their hand at wine growing as well as bigger investment by larger producers now more confident of access to labour, plant stock and knowledge about viticulture and viniculture. Debates about the legitimacy of colonial wine growing in the absence of an export industry did not slow interest in continuing the project to advance and 'civilize' the colony with wine grapes.

Chapter Seven

'Thousands of acres...will smile with the vine': a new breed of growers from the 1860s

From the 1806s, land reform emerged as a stimulus to growth of the burgeoning colonial wine industry up until the turn of the century. The Robertson Land Acts fostered selection of small farming properties in regions suitable for crops that included grape vines, and with less capital, the new breed of growers possessed a stronger imperative to produce income from vine growing than colonial 'hobbyists'. They also benefitted from being able to purchase existing acclimatized plant stock and access advisory publications and newspaper articles. In the Riverina, for example, selectors planted vines 'believing that in three years they would get a good return for their outlay'.¹ Some new small-holders were Germans who had completed their indentures with elite wine growers, others were first or second generation British Australians just as likely to work the vines themselves as hire labourers. Increases in vine planting occurred mainly in regions already established as suitable for vine growing such as parts of Sydney, the Hunter, the Riverina, the Central West and Port Macquarie.

Colonial expansion

The expansion of wine growing occurred within a broader climate of colonial growth. Between 1861 and 1871 the population of New South Wales increased by about a third. From 1871 to 1891 it doubled to 1,123,954; almost level with Victoria's gold-fever figures.² Developing transport networks facilitated the transmission of viticultural and vinicultural knowledge out from Sydney and the Hunter into other regions through

¹ *The Albury Banner*, 10 November 1866.

² Comparison from Beverley Kingston, *A History of New South Wales* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 61.

word of mouth as well as books, newspapers and lectures. Better transport also meant increased ease of movement of casks and bottles of wine to general merchant stores in wine districts and a few dedicated wine retail outlets in Sydney, Newcastle and Albury. Paddle-steamers arrived in the 1830s but services improved when steamships were employed on the Hunter River from the 1840s and to most other rivers by the 1870s. Waterway trade peaked in the 1880s when some six-and-half thousand kilometres of river and coastline was serviced by more than two hundred steamboats. Railways also depended on steam and the first rail transport appeared in Australia in the mid-nineteenth century, a mere decade after the British rail boom of the 1840s. The differences in rail gauges presented little problem until Federation and the construction, operation and maintenance of railroads linked urban and rural colonists.³ Road transport was often on foot or by horse and wine producers, like other farmers, relied on bullocks to haul heavy loads such as wine barrels.⁴ Transport networks into other colonies also augmented a flow of information, vine plant stock and wine beyond the borders of New South Wales.

Robertson's Land Selection Acts, from 1861

The Crown Lands Alienation Act and the Crown Lands Occupation Act were aimed at wresting control of large tracts of colonial land from wealthy pastoralists by allowing settlers to select up to 250 acres (later 640 acres) of pastoral runs or Crown land. Robertson's Acts became law the year after Victoria's land reforms and the other colonies followed. The 'reformers envisaged a society of self-sufficient producers that

³ See 'River Transport' and 'Railways' in Davison et al, *Oxford Companion*, 547-549 and 63-64.

⁴ The comment about the importance of bullock drays to colonial wine growers in the Hunter is made in Max Lake, 'The Wine', in *Mines, Wine and People: A History of Greater Cessnock* (Cessnock: Council of the City of Greater Cessnock, 1979), 239.

would channel the energies of the people into productive contentment'.⁵ Here again, faith in the transformative powers of idyllic yeomanry.

Acts architect, Robertson, counted himself among the number of well-capitalised landowners growing wine grapes.⁶ He had arrived from England with his parents as a six year-old in 1822, became the first student enrolled at a primary school established by wine growing advocate John Dunmore Lang and maintained a life-long friendship with the Presbyterian minister. Robertson also supported the political aspirations of Richard Windeyer at Tomago and served in government with men such as Charles Cowper and William Charles Wentworth - all wine growers. He undertook a colonial version of the Grand Tour in 1833, aged seventeen; a journey which took him to England, Scotland, France and Brazil.⁷ Robertson surely observed vineyards in France and inspected them with the same enthusiasm as other New South Wales colonists. Robertson had properties in the Hunter region where wine growing continued to be strongly represented, compared with some other districts in the second half of the nineteenth century.

One of the central surveyors in the process of administering the Robertson Acts also became an accomplished wine grower. Philip Adams - born in Suffolk, England, in 1812 – came to New South Wales via Ireland, Canada and North America. He tried his luck during the California gold rushes before migrating to New South Wales in 1854 to become a district surveyor at Maitland, in the Hunter. On transferring to Albury, Adams established Ettamogah vineyard which earned a good reputation among Murray region plantings. He also gave evidence to a Select Committee hearing on grape-vine diseases.

⁵ Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia* (Oakleigh: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 98.

⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 September 1862.

⁷ Biographical details from Bede Nairn, 'Robertson, Sir John (1816-1891)', *ADB*, vol. 6, 38-46.

After retirement, Adams planted vines at his Liverpool property, Casula, published on wine growing and judged at wine shows.⁸

Sydney and the Cumberland Plain

Of the rich colonists in and around Sydney, Alexander Berry, for one, grew grapes and made wine for his own use at ‘Crows Nest’, North Sydney, presumably until his death in 1873. Diversification from mid-century, however, included the Marist Brothers who planted vines first at The Priory at Gladesville some time after 1847 then at Hunter’s Hill from the mid-1860s for both fruit and sacramental wine for the Catholic mass. Frederick Norton Manning included a vineyard in his program of agriculture for inmates at Gladesville Psychiatric Hospital around 1870. Vines for wine were part of a market garden at present-day Mona Vale.⁹ Vineyards were said to be ‘ubiquitous’ in the Ryde area – probably especially after the land acts; and Horsley, at Fairfield, continued to produce wine grapes throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. There were smaller vineyards around Fairfield cultivated by Jacob Stein, Philipp Ettinger, Joseph Klein, Asimus and Thomas Ireland; the first three German immigrants came either as sponsored vinedressers - in Stein’s case - or hoping to strike it rich on the goldfields.¹⁰ Many of these vineyards likely grew table grapes instead of, or in addition to, wine grapes.

Minchinbury, a well-known wine growing property on the Great Western Road, was first planted in the mid-1860s by Irish-born doctor Charles McKay. A report in *Town and Country Journal* in 1872 described McKay as a ‘true colonist’ for ‘studying the best means of developing the resources of the estate. Among the chief of his labours

⁸ Joanna McIntyre, ‘Adams, Philip Francis (1828-1901)’, *ADB*, vol. 3, 16.

⁹ Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 55, 58-61, 61-67, 69-70.

¹⁰ Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 78, 82, 87-89.

has been attention to the cultivation of his vines, and in this he has been eminently successful'.¹¹ The vineyard at Minchinbury covered more than forty acres and the winery could hold eighty thousand gallons of wine. McKay also planned a substantial planting of mulberries to feed silk worms; a capitalist farmer was not expected to rely on one crop. McKay's achievements included equal first prize for the best full-bodied white wine 'not older than vintage 1871' at Sydney's Intercolonial Exhibition in 1873, administered by the ASNSW. McKay's verdelho shared the prize with producers from Victoria and South Australia and bested exhibits from second place winner Carmichael of Porphyry, who submitted a semillon (known then as Shepherd's Riesling), and third place recipient John Wyndham's verdelho.¹²

McKay sold the property to Scottish-born James Angus who had made his money on the New Zealand goldfields and in railway construction in the 1880s and 1890s. Angus ran the two thousand acre Rooty Hill property as a mixed farm with a seventy-five acre vineyard producing twenty thousand gallons of wine a year by the turn of the century. Angus's son John seemed a promising agriculturalist; 'a good dairy manager, a good cultivator, and is conversant with vineyard management and wine-making'.¹³

The Kaluna vineyard just outside Fairfield had been established by J.A. McLean before being managed by Ambrose Laraghy who learned viticulture from Henry Lindeman then established his own vineyard, called Duraka, at Tamworth. Laraghy also worked at Kirkton in the Hunter before becoming the winemaker at Fiaschi's Tizzana in

¹¹ Cited in Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 104.

¹² 'Pamphlet of Juror's Awards, Metropolitan Intercolonial Exhibition, Sydney' (Sydney: Printed by Gibbs, Shallard, 1873), DSM 041/P41, SLNSW.

¹³ Cited in Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 111.

the Hawkesbury. Duraka later came under the Wyndham business banner.¹⁴ Tizzana was first planted in the 1880s and Dr Thomas Fiaschi was probably the first colonist to introduce Italian vines and viticultural practices.¹⁵ Florence-born Fiaschi spent time on the Queensland gold fields before practicing as a surgeon in Sydney. In addition to Tizzana he had a vineyard at Mudgee and cellars in Little George Street, Sydney. He served as president of the Australian Wine Producers' Association of New South Wales from 1902 until his death, aged seventy-four, in 1927.¹⁶

Vinedressers from Camden also settled in the Sydney area after completing their contracted indentures: John Bruchhauser, Martin Thurn, Christian Lenchel, Bernard Herzog and Henry Feldt. George Macleay had a vineyard planted on his Brownlow estate at Camden. Other Camden vineyards were planted at 'Cawdor' and 'The Hermitage'.¹⁷ In the Hawkesbury district, Vineyard on the Old Windsor Road near Box Hill earned its name because of the proliferation of vineyards between 1860 and 1890.¹⁸ Sydney financier, Isaac Himmelhoch planted the vineyard 'Grodno' on his 640 acre selection near Liverpool. By 1901 it had seventeen acres under hermitage (shiraz) and malbec and another fifteen acres ready to be planted.¹⁹

The Hunter Valley

Hunter wine growing grew from strength to strength in the second half of the nineteenth century. Production began to include small-holders, clergymen and storekeepers who had profited from the growth of European settlement in the district.

¹⁴ Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 89, Lake, 'The Wine', 244.

¹⁵ J. A. Despeissis, 'Choice Italian Grapes', *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 2, December 1891: 804-806.

¹⁶ G. P. Walsh, 'Fiaschi, Thomas Henry (1853-1927)', *ADB*, vol. 8, 491-492.

¹⁷ Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 165-66.

¹⁸ Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 145.

¹⁹ Norrie, *Vineyards of Sydney*, 177.

Looking region-wide, between 1850 and 1875, the HVRA became a who's who of wine producers on the Hunter, Paterson and Williams Rivers: the Wyndham brothers, Lindeman, Charles Boydell of Camyrallyn, T.D. Patch and John Glennie of Orindinna, Frederic Muspratt who managed Irrawang and Tureela after King died, William Keene of Frankland, James Warrick Duckland Jnr of Lochinvar, J. D. Brown of Colstoun, Richard Blight of Riverstone, John Moore of Singleton, T. Tourle of Waratah, Charles Reynolds of Tocal, J.F. Doyle of Kaludah, G. Jackson, Frederick Wilkinson of Cote d'Or (Hill of Gold), E.C. Close of Quarrybolong, C.J. Cliff of Lochinvar, McCormack of Clevedon, James Kelman of Kirkton and John Wilkinson. The vineyards of Wilderness and Caerphilly were run by the Holmes family. Exeterman, Joseph Broadbent planted a small vineyard on the banks of Black Creek with two thousand cuttings from Dalwood.²⁰

The Wyndham enterprise had survived colony-wide hardship in the 1840s depression due to George's retreat to his inland properties. Once finances were stable again part of the family returned to the Hunter. George's sons John and Alexander replanted Dalwood and extended the vineyard considerably. In 1867 the Wyndhams were cultivating thirty-five acres of vines at Dalwood, twelve acres at Fernhill and eighteen acres at Bukkulla. John Wyndham began managing the family's wine business in the late 1850s. John attributed his wine growing success to knowledge gained from Lindeman.²¹ By 1870, Bukkulla produced eleven thousand gallons of wine per vintage. 'In the early days the grapes were taken to Bukkulla Homestead to be processed', wrote a family historian of the Wyndhams. 'The old yellow jacket tree North of the Homestead has a hole into which the lever of the [wine] press fitted. Later, the whole of the

²⁰ Lake, *Hunter Wine*, 25.

²¹ Lake, *Hunter Wine*, 25.

processing was done at the Vineyard itself'.²² By the late 1880s, the Wyndhams had earned a reputation for excellent wine from their almost eighty acres of vineyard.²³

Tragedy struck, however, when Wadham Wyndham murdered his wife, Elizabeth, and three children 'at Bukkulla, the well-known v/yd abt 20 m f Inverell' in 1887. Wadham's son gave evidence to the police about the killings before he died from his wounds.²⁴ The crime is not mentioned in the family history of Bukkulla. What is mentioned is that the property passed out of the Wyndhams' hands at this point. The family lost Dalwood, too, when the Commonwealth Bank took over its homestead block of just over 250 acres from John Wyndham's estate in 1892 then sold it to Fred Wilkinson for £6500 in 1901.²⁵

Meanwhile, in a note in her family bible, Emily Doyle daughter of John Doyle of Kaludah, recorded that:

Father came to 'Kaludah' on 7th July, 1859. Mother and children came by boat to Morpeth where we were met by Thomas Cadell who drove us out here. Father came overland to 'Kaludah' then called 'Lochinvar House' and was bought from the Aberdeen Company which had been managed for many years by Mr. John Garland. The vineyards and cellars were managed by M.P. [Monsieur Philobert] Terrier. In 1867 James F. Doyle (son of John Frederick) came to learn the business and devoted himself to perfecting 'Kaludah' wines and in 1869 Mr. Terrier left and built 'St Helena'.²⁶

Learning wine 'business' had become possible by the 1860s.

William Vile, from Somersetshire, founded Coquon on a small grant on the Hunter River at Gosforth in the 1850s using cuttings of 'Hermitage, Verdot, black and

²² H.L. Wyndham, 'Bukkulla Station', ML B1505.

²³ Lake, *Hunter Wine*, 21-22.

²⁴ Notes from a telegram, in Stan Parkes Collection, Box 2, Local Studies, Cessnock City Library (CCL).

²⁵ Mitchell, *Hunter's River*, 138.

²⁶ Cited in Mitchell, *Hunter's River*, 133.

white Pinot and Semillon' then made his own wine press in 1870 – a thirty-foot long ironbark log twenty-seven inches in diameter. Indigenous timber proved unsuitable for use in wine barrels, however, and English oak was used for maturing the wines; later replaced by cedar.²⁷

Henry Lindeman

Henry Lindeman had followed his Surrey-based father into medicine. He studied to become a surgeon, travelled through Europe and spent time in India in his mid-twenties before migrating to Sydney in 1840, aged twenty-nine, with his wife Eliza.²⁸ According to a letter from his daughter 'L. Holden' to her nephew Bertie, Arthur Lindeman's son, Henry 'only stayed in Sydney a short time and went straight to Paterson [in the Hunter] where he bought 'Cawarra', a Black's name meaning "beside running water"'.²⁹ The English doctor planted out his vineyard in 1843 using knowledge gained from visiting French and German wine producing regions. Then, tragically, eight years later a fire destroyed his equipment, cellars, and four thousand gallons of wine. Some accounts say he went to the Victorian gold fields and worked as a doctor to recoup his losses.³⁰ Lindeman's daughter wrote, however, that:

Father was ruined when he had 4 children. The Cellars and all the wines were burnt out and Mother told me he went to some gold mine, forget the name, think it was close to Mudgee, as he said a Dr. would be needed as so many accidents. After he had made a good deal of money, he started the wine, fixed up the Cellars, and began all over again...My Father, when the Cellars and all wines were burnt out lost 20,000 [pounds] in one night as no Insurances

²⁷ Lake, *Hunter Wine*, 27-28.

²⁸ Frank L. Woodhouse, 'Lindeman, Henry John (1811-1881)', *ADB*, vol. 5, 89.

²⁹ L. Holden to 'Bertie', undated, Lindemans (Holdings) Ltd Papers, Z418/ Box 148, NBAC.

³⁰ For example, Lake, *Hunter Wine*, 23. Lake is, in turn, used as a source for Woodhouse, 'Lindeman, Henry John', 89, on Lindeman's presence in Corowa - the New South Wales, Victoria border - where the Lindeman company later acquired a vineyard to use for fortified wines, retaining Cawarra as a producer of non-fortifieds.

then. Mother told me it was a dreadful struggle to live for a long time.³¹

Lindeman managed to recover his financial losses and re-build his wine making enterprise. While on the gold-fields Lindeman had ample opportunity to observe the debilitating effects of drunkenness among poorer farmers and workers in contrast with other community cultures in European wine regions. Lindeman's daughter remembered that her father's philosophy was that 'the national drink of a climate like Australia should be light wines, Hocks & Clarets'.³²

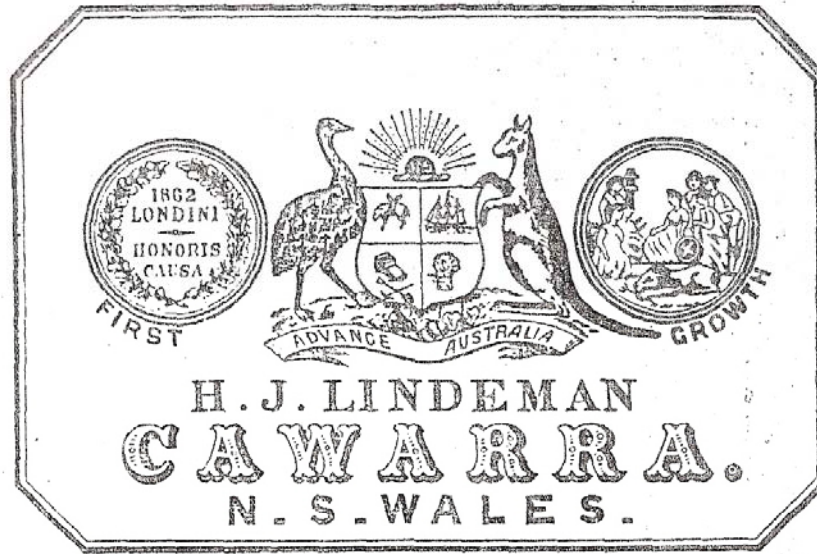
After recovering from the disaster of the fire at Cawarra, Lindeman went on to have another six children and to build a company that, after his death in 1881, absorbed and eclipsed many other wine enterprises. Lindeman's proved to be perhaps the most successful family wine company by the end of the century. A keen sense of self promotion as well as a product that attracted consumers was evident in the trade mark registered by Henry's sons in 1888. As well as adopting the very Australian coat of arms in the trade mark illustrated below (Figure 8) there is reference to both the Lindeman success at the 1862 London Exhibition and a, rather cheeky, description of Cawarra as a 'first growth' vineyard. The idea of 'first growth' comes from the classifications initiated at the 1855 Paris Exhibition, at the request of Napoleon III, to describe the best five vineyards of the Bordeaux as Grand Cru (great growths); 'possibly so that dignitaries... should effectively know what to be impressed by'.³³ First growths, or

³¹ L. Holden to 'Bertie', undated, Lindemans (Holdings) Ltd Papers, Z418/ Box 148, NBAC.

³² L. Holden to 'Bertie', Z418/Box 148, NBAC.

³³ Robinson, ed., *Oxford Companion to Wine*, 175.

UNITED KINGDOM



74,854. Australian Wines. ARTHUR HENRY LINDEMAN, CHARLES FREDERICK LINDEMAN, and HERBERT WILLIAM LINDEMAN, trading as H. J. LINDEMAN, Pitt Street, Sydney; and Cawarra; Wine Merchants.—10th April 1888. *By Consent.*

Figure 8: Lindeman's trademark, Lindeman (Holdings) Ltd Papers, Z148, Box 148, NBAC. While this looks like a wine label it identified as 'Trade Mark registered in the U.K.' and may have been used on labels.

premier cru in France, signalled the next level of classification in terms of awards bestowed and prices commanded. No such classification existed in the Australian colonies in 1888 but that did not stop using the idea to capture cultural capital. The disc on the right of the picture, with 'growth' written underneath, contains a depiction of classical grace and strength, also a means of associating Lindeman wines with a dignified and ancient standard of quality.

In the 1930s, 'the firm of Lindeman' owned a thousand acres of vineyards in the Hunter and the Riverina under several property names: Cawarra, Kirkton, Coolalta, Sunshine, Felton, Catawba, Southern Cross, Warrawee, Corowa. A souvenir pamphlet celebrating the centenary of the Kirkton plantings by Kelman claimed that '[o]ld as is the history of wine-making in the European World, so in this land of ours the wine industry

ranks next to wool and wheat as the third oldest of the agricultural industries'.³⁴

Romantic self-fashioning indeed.

Pokolbin

Inland from the Hunter river, the district of Pokolbin, sheltered by the Brokenback Range, and later to become the heart of twentieth century Hunter Valley wine production, opened up in a 'rush' of selection.³⁵ Edward Tyrrell had arrived in the Pokolbin district in 1858 and built a slab hut on a 330 acre block of land; he planted vines from Kirkton and harvested his first vintage in 1864. His son Dan whose 'name is revered in Pokolbin' grew into the family business; he first made wine at age fourteen, in 1885; the first of seventy-four consecutive vintages! Dan ran the Kaludah winery for some years and was influenced by the Frenchman, Terrier.³⁶

Others followed Tyrrell into Pokolbin. In 1866, Frederick Albert Wilkinson took up Oakdale selection at the foot of the Brokenback Range. 'He arrived by bullock dray', wrote Lake, 'and the brothers lived in tents while they erected a slabsawn room at Cote d'Or behind Coolalta during the subsequent six months...Cuttings from Dalwood were planted that year'.³⁷ Fred's son Audrey Wilkinson - the first secretary of the Pokolbin and District Vinegrowers' Association - became manager of Oakdale at fifteen, 'mostly working the vineyard with his brother Garth'.³⁸

John McDonald first planted vines on his Ben Ean estate and built a winery, along with his house, in 1870. Within a few years, McDonald's enterprise flourished and 'the line of bullock drays at vintage extended from the receiving room right down the road

³⁴ 'The Romance of Wine Making in Australia', Z418/Box 148, NBAC.

³⁵ Lake, 'The Wine', 231.

³⁶ Gil Wahlquist, 'Tyrrell, Edward George Young (Dan) (1871-1959)', *ADB*, vol. 16, 426.

³⁷ Lake, *Hunter Wine*, 33. Note the naming of Cote d'Or for the French 'Hill of Gold'.

³⁸ W.P. Driscoll, 'Wilkinson, Audrey (1877-1962)', *ADB*, vol. 12, 490-491.

past the School of Arts toward Mount View'.³⁹ William Bassett Christian made award-winning wines at 'Rosemount'.⁴⁰ Another key figure in the Hunter – English migrant William Keene – brought a complex understanding of soils to wine growing in New South Wales. A distinguished colonial geologist, Keene served as president of the HRVA in 1865-6. He also worked as a wine judge and 'argued that the southern French treatment for wines was more suited to New South Wales' climate than the German'.⁴¹ Keene may have been influenced by William Macarthur on this point.

Two prominent family companies at Pokolbin that have remained in family hands are Drayton's and Tulloch's. Joseph Drayton planted vines on his wheat farm in 1860. His son William planted vines next to his parents and the company W. Drayton and Sons continued to grow.⁴² Branxton pastoralist and store-keeper John Younie Tulloch gained land at Glen Elgin, Pokolbin, as payment for a debt in 1893. The land included five acres of abandoned shiraz vines and despite his family's Methodist beliefs - which prohibited alcohol consumption - the twenty-seven year-old Tulloch rejuvenated the vines. Perhaps he perceived a market from his experience in retail. Local legend has it Tulloch's interest in wine had apparently been sparked by his uncle, J.A. Russell, a wine traveller who sold produce from Pokolbin. In 1897 he produced about thirty-two cases of shiraz - then known as Black Hermitage - under the supervision of Professor Michele Blunno from the New South Wales Department of Agriculture, an influential figure in colonial wine growing in the final years of the century. Tulloch easily sold his small quantity of good quality table wines as Cessnock grew through coal mining – a testament to his business

³⁹ Lake, *Hunter Wine*, 32.

⁴⁰ Mitchell, *Hunter's River*, 51.

⁴¹ D.F. Branagan, T.G. Vallance, 'Keene, William (1798-1872)', *ADB*, vol. 5, 5-6.

⁴² Halliday, *Australian Wine Compendium*, 28; Lake, *Hunter Wine*, 254. Lake says it was Charles, not Joseph Drayton.

acumen and the wisdom of seeking professional expertise. He gradually expanded his property to eighty acres of shiraz, semillon and verdelho.⁴³

The Central West

Mudgee's wine growing beginnings were more modest than the Hunter. The Cox family had an early influence but difficulty of travel from Sydney and Newcastle meant a smaller population after the end of the gold rushes famously experienced by Peter Larsen, his wife Louisa Lawson, and their son Henry.⁴⁴ The Coxes first planted grape vines but Mudgee wine growing grew too as a result of the settlement of German migrants, many of whom were vinedressers, who relocated there after completing their indentures with wealthy landowners.⁴⁵ Local folklore says at least eleven German families built the nineteenth century wine industry and orcharding businesses that co-existed alongside the pastoral enterprises in the Cudgegong Valley.⁴⁶ Local history also tells of the Germans choosing Mudgee because it resembled their homeland.⁴⁷ It is likely habitus influenced these decisions.

Of the Mudgee Germans, Frederick Bucholtz could have been the first to purchase land at Eurunderee, a few miles outside the township. He and his family were followed by Adam Roth, John Muller, Frederick Wurth, Andreas Kurz, the Rheinbergers and Hooths. It is difficult to determine the order of arrival and connection. Gil Wahlquist identified Adam Roth as the first of the Germans to plant vines, in the early

⁴³ Some of the information in this section comes from notes in the Tulloch Family File, Local Studies, CCL, as well as Halliday, *Australian Wine Compendium*, 64. The sources do not agree on some dates so the notes from the Tulloch Family File have been used when there is a discrepancy.

⁴⁴ Brian Kiernan, ed., *Henry Lawson* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1976), see esp 'A Fragment of Autobiography', 3-65.

⁴⁵ Gilbert Wahlquist, *Some of My Best Friends Are Winemakers and Other Tales, a History of the Wine Industry of Mudgee, N.S.W.* (Sydney: The Author, 2008), 7.

⁴⁶ Julie McIntyre, 'The Story of Alf Kurtz and Chardonnay: An Australian Microhistory' (Honours thesis, University of Newcastle, 2004), 33.

⁴⁷ C.J. Connelly, *Mudgee, a History of the Town* (St Mary's, NSW: The author, 1993), 123.

1860s, but local oral history has it that Bucholtz had hired Roth as a cooper which suggests Bucholtz already had a vineyard, though coopers made barrels for many purposes.⁴⁸ Wahlquist identified fifteen different German family groups who made their way to Mudgee and created a strong culture of fruit growing (including grapes) alongside the pastoralism of better-capitalised British land-holders in the district.⁴⁹

Roth became Mudgee's most prominent pioneer vigneron. The 30 year-old arrived with his wife Katherina in 1857 after working in Sydney. Five years later he extended his original land selection of forty acres and planted an orchard and a vineyard. Described as 'short in stature and strong in will', Roth built his family enterprise to include wine grapes, which he fortified after fermentation, and table grapes to be sold in Sydney and London. His children continued wine growing on their own land after his death and one of the properties, Rothview – later called Craigmoor - became the only Mudgee winery to survive the downturn in Australian wine during the 1930s.⁵⁰

The strength of community and importance of wine among the Mudgee Germans can be seen in entries in the diary of Peter Joseph Rheinberger, whose father Valentin arrived in Sydney in the 1850s.⁵¹ Rheinberger's property was called Willow Vale. The cellar was dug in March 1871 and a vineyard planted the following July. Rheinberger recorded exchanges of wine with the local midwife, Mrs Schmid, as well as Bucholtz, Wurth, Kurz and Muller. Rheinberger's mother and 'the girls' (Elizabeth, Anne and Catherine) made the wine, in late February or early March, depending on the year. Grapes were grown for table and drying as well as wine but Rheinberger was obviously

⁴⁸ Gil Wahlquist, 'Roth, Adam (1827-1898)', *ADB*, vol. 11, 46; McIntyre, 'Alf Kurtz and Chardonnay', 33.

⁴⁹ Wahlquist, *Wine Industry of Mudgee*, 17.

⁵⁰ Wahlquist, 'Roth, Adam', 46.

⁵¹ Rheinberger Papers are held in Mudgee Museum (MM), no record number.

pleased with the quality of his family's small vintage when, in 1883, he entered six bottles in the Mudjee Show.⁵² The following year - as rail came to Mudjee - he was elected president of the new Mudjee District Wine Growers' Association (MDWGA).⁵³ The group, formed as a result of a meeting at the home of George Gottlieb Wurth, opposed new licencing laws which were perceived as 'most injurious, and [we] may say fatal, to the interest of the Wine-growers of New South Wales'.⁵⁴

Bathurst historians credit early plantings there to George Ranken at Kelloshiel, Thomas Jarman Hawkins at Esrom, J.N McIntosh and a Mr Vogt at Walmar, south-west of one of the 'first families' estate: the Smiths. Ranken, like George Suttor, sponsored the migration of vinedressers; five, including Mueller and Dinger.⁵⁵ A local history from the 1990s stated early plantings by Ranken, Hawkins and McIntosh 'died out and were not replaced'.⁵⁶ This cannot be true as the *Bathurst Times* refers to the 'vineyards of J. B. Richards' in 1870.⁵⁷

Wine production moved more slowly west from this point. Orange became renowned for orchard fruit but not vines. Chinese market gardeners were joined by European farmers. John Hicks, for example, planted grapes as part of his orchard between 1857 and 1859 but these were probably table grapes. 'Mr Schmich', recorded as growing grapes in the area in the 1875 may have grown them for wine.⁵⁸ Not until 1893

⁵² Rheinberger Papers, MM. See also Wahlquist, *Wine Industry of Mudjee*, 37-40.

⁵³ These details are taken from short entries in The Diary of Peter Joseph Rheinberger, Willow Vale, Eurunderee, Rheinberger Papers, MM.

⁵⁴ Statement from the Mudjee District Wine Growers Association, Eurunderee, 20 March 1881, in Rheinberger Papers, MM.

⁵⁵ Bernard Greaves, ed., *The Story of Bathurst*, Third ed. (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1976), 148.

⁵⁶ C.W. Sloman, 'Agriculture' in Rex Morgan, *The History of Bathurst* (Sydney: Runciman Press, 1994), 140.

⁵⁷ *Bathurst Times*, 14 May 1870.

⁵⁸ The material on Orange is from David Holmes, Andrew Honey, and John Miller, *Orange, a Vision Splendid* (Orange: Orange City Council, 2001), 60-62. This history contains some inconsistencies and

did Cowra have at least two notable vine plantings. James Ousby's farm on the Canowindra Road had strong fences, good pasture land and around eighty acres under livestock:

But its principal feature in the farm is the vineyard, the returns for which show that the land in the locality is most suitable for wine growing. The vineyard and orchard embrace seven areas, set on with four kinds of wine grapes. Red Hermitage and Tokay being the principal varieties. The wine from these grapes is pronounced excellent and has won for its maker much praise. Should the area of vines be extended and wine making worked on a large scale, it would without a doubt, prove lucrative, for better results from the land could not be desired.⁵⁹

'Results' probably meant good yields and awards but not substantial income. Robert Mankin's Bellview contained three acres of orchard and vineyard, with muscatel, 'Baxter', sherry and Chassellas.⁶⁰

The Riverina

The Riverina was a different story to the table lands west of Mudgee. Wagga Wagga and Albury emerged as significant areas of wine production in the 1860s as farming increased along the Murray and Murrumbidgee Rivers. The fertility of the soil, dryness of the climate, access to river transport and proximity to the rich gold fields of Victoria made Albury, in particular, a very successful wine growing district. The rich representation of wine growing in the newspapers of Wagga Wagga and Albury

provides very little detail on wine growing although the industry has been revived in Orange in recent years.

⁵⁹ *Cowra Free Press* series cited in Croft, 'Agriculture', 66.

⁶⁰ Croft, 'Agriculture', 68.

demonstrated the strength of hopes for the development of a commercial-scale wine industry.⁶¹

The first wine grapes in the Riverina were planted near Wagga Wagga from the 1840s.⁶² Both John Smith at Kyeamba and John Nixon of Gregadoo found a market for their wines on the goldfields in the 1850s and Elizabeth Vincent planted her Rock Cottage Vineyard about 1856, expending ‘a great deal of time, trouble and money in bringing [it] to its present state of excellence and there can be no question that the wines she produces may rank with any other similar vintages in the world’.⁶³ As usual, before the 1860s, the capital for vineyards came from pastoral runs. Smith invested in skilled German labour during the wave of sponsored migrants in the late 1840s, bringing four vinedressers and their families to his station including the three credited with beginning the Albury wine industry: Sebastian Schubach, his brother-in-law Heinrich Rau and Johann Peter Frauenfelder.⁶⁴ Schubach and Frauenfelder wrote letters home discussing religious tolerance in New South Wales compared with Germany and the ease of living in the colony.

The flight of German Lutherans to South Australia to escape religious persecution is so well-known that all German wine growers in Australia are presumed to be Silesians

⁶¹ In contrast with the Hunter, Mudgee, Orange, Cowra and Port Macquarie, little has been published yet of the success of colonial vineyards such as Kyeamba, James Thomas Fallon’s Murray Valley Vineyards and William Macleay’s Lake Albert Vineyard. Jaki Ilbery wrote a short account in her ‘History of Wine in Australia’ chapter for Len Evans but knowledge about this branch of colonial wine is otherwise confined to the local area. See Jaki Ilbery in Evans, *Complete Book of Wine*, 21. For local knowledge, see Sherry Morris, *Wagga Wagga, a History* (Wagga Wagga: The Council of the City of Wagga Wagga, 1999), 45 and 67.

⁶² Keith Swan, *A History of Wagga Wagga* (Wagga Wagga: City of Wagga Wagga, 1970), 138-39.

⁶³ Morris, *Wagga Wagga*, 45 and 67. Quote cited in Sherry Morris, ‘The Wine Industry in Wagga Wagga’, Unpublished manuscript, Albury & District Historical Society Archives (ADHSA) 5345, 6.

⁶⁴ Morris, ‘The Wine Industry in Wagga Wagga’, 5.

from South Australia, a misunderstanding that has reached the proportions of myth.⁶⁵ Less known is the extent to which the Erbach Germans who migrated to New South Wales felt the weight of political and religious turmoil in their home country. Joseph Stein, who worked at Camden, said ‘the Roman Catholic religion was sorely troubled, yes even the Pope was to be, or has already been killed’.⁶⁶ Schubach wrote of the Germans’ pleasure, during their journey on the *Beulah*, to be offered a Catholic service. Frauenfelder wrote, too, of his pleasure in religious devotion.⁶⁷

Smith continued to cultivate his vineyard after the departure of Schubach, Rau and Frauenfelder. Like Blaxland before him, Smith in 1866 advertised ‘a few thousands of Strong Rooted Grape Vines of best varieties for wine making, price, £4 per 1000’.⁶⁸ Nixon presumably learned about wine growing as an overseer of convicts at Camden before moving his family to Kyeamba to raise cattle. As with the division of labour within the Macarthur, Wyndham and Lindeman families, Nixon’s son Charles had responsibility for the vineyard and wine making while his other siblings managed the beef cattle or the dairy. As well as being sold locally, Gregadoo wine was sent to Sydney wine merchants; a three to four month journey by bullock dray.⁶⁹ Another grower, Irishman Hugh Beattie, made small quantities of wine at his property The Old Vineyard

⁶⁵ See for example, Tolley, ‘Gustav Got the Winery’, 86.2, on the arrival of the first Barossa migrants. The conclusion about the conflation of German wine growers with the Barossa Germans is my own from many informal conversations. A project on the wider Australian industry could test this.

⁶⁶ Joseph Stein to Bernhard Jung, 26 September 1849 cited in Nadel, ‘Letters from German Immigrants’, 264.

⁶⁷ Nadel, ‘Letters from German Immigrants’, 264.

⁶⁸ *Wagga Wagga Express*, 4 August 1866.

⁶⁹ Tracy Sinclair, ‘Robert Nixon: Aspects of Robert Nixon's Involvement in the Development of Wagga Wagga, 1840-1900’, *Wagga Wagga Local Studies*, 1980, 2.

then expanded to Brooklyn Vale. He earned a reputation as a 'born vigneron' and his vineyard was described in 1879 as 'the show place of Wagga'.⁷⁰

William Macleay, a Scotsman who migrated to join his uncle, New South Wales Colonial Secretary Alexander Macleay, in 1839, owned the forty-acre Lake Albert Vineyard near Wagga Wagga. Macleay's interest in viticulture comes as no surprise given his membership of the governing class of the colony. He served in the Legislative Council before responsible government and the Legislative Assembly after 1856. His friends included Arthur Onslow, son of an East India company man and husband of the Macarthur family heir Elizabeth (daughter of James Macarthur), and James Cox.⁷¹ 'Macleay's Wolojerie Wines', produced at Lake Albert were advertised for sale 'in wood and bottle' by agent George Mair.⁷² Lake Albert manager 'Mr Seckold' could have been one of the Macarthurs' vinedressers or a descendant.

Compared with Vile's resourceful construction of a wine press from an ironbark log, Macleay invested in a 'new and powerful' wine press for Lake Albert in 1875.⁷³ The property was later sold to three brothers, the Melbourne wine merchants and growers trading as Caldwell and Co who specialised in bulk trade but responded to an increased demand for bottled wine towards the end of the century. In 1897, Caldwells had fifty thousand gallons of wine in store and their vine leaf labels had a colony-wide reputation.⁷⁴ Another Wagga Wagga producer, Steiner's Pomingalarna vineyard featured in *Town and Country Journal* in 1877.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Morris, 'The Wine Industry in Wagga Wagga', 5.

⁷¹ Michael Hoare and Martha Rutledge, 'Macleay, Sir William John (1820-1891)', *ADB*, vol. 5, 185-187.

⁷² *Wagga Wagga Advertiser*, 20 December 1879.

⁷³ *Wagga Wagga Express*, 10 February 1875.

⁷⁴ Sherry Morris, 'The Wine Industry in Wagga Wagga', 7-9

⁷⁵ *Town and Country Journal*, 10 February 1877.

Albury's strong colonial wine industry began in 1851 with the arrival of Rau, Schubach and Frauenfelder after the end of their indentures at Kyeamba. All three were 'accustomed from childhood to vine-growing and wine production in their homeland.'⁷⁶ They brought cuttings from Kyeamba and by 1856 – the year after the paddle steamer service came to the Upper Murray - around twenty five acres were under vines.⁷⁷ A ready market existed for the sale of table grapes and wine to diggers on the southern gold fields.⁷⁸ And only two years after the first vintage a local newspaper predicted 'Albury will become famous for wine export'.⁷⁹

Albury also benefitted from the business acumen of James Thomas Fallon. This enterprising Irishman arrived in Sydney in 1841 as a bounty migrant, with his wife Margaret. After several years as a farmer he opened a store at Braidwood then moved to Albury in 1854. Fallon became Albury's first mayor from 1859 to 1862 and a member of the Legislative Assembly from 1869 to 1872. Instead of the model of pastoralism or mixed farming supporting viticulture, Fallon's role as a merchant, his ownership of a Melbourne-based depot and cellar and his establishment of a distillery in 1872, allowed him to divert capital to wine growing. He did, however, continue the colonial practice of wine tourism, travelling to wine regions on the Continent before arguing for favourable customs laws for colonial wine in London in the early seventies.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ 'Note', *Albury District Historical Society Bulletin*, 88, (Sept) 1969, 2-3.

⁷⁷ William A Bayley, *Border City: History of Albury, New South Wales* (Albury: Albury City Council, 1954), 64.

⁷⁸ Arthur Andrews, *The History of Albury 1824 to 1895* (Albury: Printed by Adams, Cooper and Adams, Banner Office, 1912), 27.

⁷⁹ *The Border Post*, 1856, cited in William A. Bayley, 'Albury History Notes and Index to Newspapers' (Albury, 1954), n.p.

⁸⁰ W.P. Driscoll, 'Fallon, James Thomas (1823-1886)', *ADB*, vol. 4, 151. Further details on the customs campaign in Chapter Eight.

Fallon made his mark as a winegrower due to opportunities presented by the fate of the first limited liability company established solely to grow wine grapes in New South Wales. Similar in conception to the Australian Agricultural Company and inspired by similar projects at Anaheim and Sonoma Valley in California, the prospectus for the Murray Valley Vineyard Company (MVVC) appeared in *The Border Post* around vintage time, 1860. Provisional directors included Fallon, Adams of Ettamogah, Smith of Kyeamba, fellow local vine growers – David Reid, S.A. Meyer – and twenty-one others. The list of investors also included George Mott, of *The Border Post*.⁸¹

According to the prospectus, the company sought to capitalise on proof from smaller German vineyards that the region had commercial wine growing potential. Rau's wine had been well-received by the Board of Agriculture in Victoria and the Governor of South Australia, Richard MacDonell had declared Albury wine as good as wine from his own colony. The prospectus offered two hundred shares of £60 each to raise £12,000 to purchase 640 acres of land to plant vines 'on an extended scale' on the banks of the Hume River. The rationale was that '[t]he majority of the Albury farmers, have small vineyards of their own, but the want of capital has restricted their operations and prevented the adequate development of one of the most important resources of the Australian Colonies'; as a California newspaper had reported, 'the first great difficulty is that the vines produce nothing during the first three years, a period through which none, save rich men, can afford to live, without some immediate income from their labor or capital'.⁸² The extent of the planned vineyard represented a major increase in planting. The acreage under vines in New South Wales in 1860 was only 1,584 (0.6 percent of total

⁸¹ *The Border Post*, 22 February 1860.

⁸² *The Border Post*, 22 February 1860.

cultivation in the colony, including artificial grasses for pasture), with just under 100,000 gallons of wine produced.⁸³

At the time of the publication of the prospectus, grapes from the region were all bought wholesale for the Ovens Gold Field at nine pence per pound; grossing approximately £375 pounds per acre for the grower. The directors were not concerned that demand or prices might drop or that grapes for table were currently more profitable than wine. The plan to plant Riesling and produce light wine appeared destined for success though the prospectus did not state a projected figure. It was hoped the first vines could be planted that year, though the capital raised would not be sufficient to cultivate the entire 640 acres and further shares would need to be sold in ensuing years.⁸⁴

The provisional directors of the MVVC lost no time in applying to the Secretary of Lands to have government land between Albury and Howlong - and Albury and Mullengandra - surveyed so the Company could purchase a section at auction. Their request was approved in mid-March and Adams, the surveyor, asked to complete the work.⁸⁵ The Company formalised its constitution in mid-May but with a quarter of the shares allocated – only £3000 worth - the share price was slashed to £5; 2,400 (with limited liability) remained to be allocated.⁸⁶ Predictably, given the slow response to the MVVC proposal, the Barnawatha Vineyard Association plan to capitalise by calling for investors at the rate of £1 per share in 1861 did not succeed.⁸⁷

⁸³ H.C.L. Anderson, *New South Wales Statistical Register for 1906 and Previous Years. Compiled from Official Returns.* (Sydney: The Government of the State of New South Wales, 1908), 920-21.

⁸⁴ *The Border Post*, 22 February 1860.

⁸⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 April 1860.

⁸⁶ *The Border Post*, 23 June 1860.

⁸⁷ *The Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, 15 May 1861.

The early sixties were a time of confidence in the burgeoning table grape and wine industry in Albury (if not quite the boom MVVC directors hoped for). An advertisement in the *Albury Banner* offered - in both English and German - '150 acres of Land of the finest description adapted for Vinegrowing which he will let for a term, or sell in plots from 30 to 40 acres. The land...adjoins the celebrated vineyard of Mr. John Frauenfelder'.⁸⁸ Great excitement greeted the first annual meeting of the Murray, Ovens, Goulburn Vine Growers Association (MOVGA) around vintage 1863. The editor of *The Albury Banner* declared '[t]o-day we give to our readers upon our fourth page a most important document which will deserve to be long preserved amongst the statistical records of the district'.⁸⁹ The almost-page-sized table detailed who had exhibited at the meeting, the wines, the response of the judges and vigneron comments. Exhibitors included Smith from Kyeamba, Rau, Schubach, Frauenfelder, two of Frauenfelder's sons, Captain Brownrigg from Albury, J. Lindsay Brown of Gooramadda, E. Sangar of Corowa, S.A. Meyer, C. Worselham, K. Dallinger of Albury and G. Reis. These men and others, including wine grower James Wise (or Wyse), judged the wines and the German entries were the best received.⁹⁰

Sebastian Schubach had also sent examples of Albury wine back to his home district on the Rhine for local comment. A panel of tasters there, including two official 'taxators for tasting wine' from Erbach and neighbouring Elville, along with sixteen others - clergymen, wine growers, the mayor - sampled four white wines ('Reisling', Muscat, Muscat of Alexandria and Aucarot) and two reds (Malbec and 'Schiraz'). The verdict was reminiscent of the reception Albury wines received at the London Exhibition

⁸⁸ *The Albury Banner*, 28 February 1863.

⁸⁹ *The Albury Banner*, 28 February 1863.

⁹⁰ *The Albury Banner*, 28 February 1863.

of 1862. Not only did the tasters at Erbach declare the wines excellent but apparently believed them superior to their own wines which they ‘could scarcely drink after tasting the Australian samples!’.⁹¹

The sweetness in Albury wine was natural, not the result of processes during fermentation, due to the warmer climate of the Riverina, compared with the Rheingau. Capitalising on this advantage at a time when sweetness had long characterised British wine tastes, and likely colonial tastes as well, the editor of the *Albury Banner* declared that:

[t]he wines of Albury have not been surpassed in the world, and even yet they are in their veriest infancy. On our alluvial flats we can produce at the rate of 900 to 1,200 gallons to the acre; we cannot supply a tithe of the demand for our wines; and, we have acres by the thousand still available for the purposes. Once more we make this public, and we invite hands and hearts for the work.⁹²

There was trouble around the corner, however, with border duties drastically reducing the profits to be made from selling wine over the Murray into Victoria. Import duties in the 1860s were two shillings a gallon for wine entering New South Wales; three shilling a gallon for wine crossing into Victoria.⁹³

In Spring 1866 the extent of the problem for Riverina wine growers, who were closer to the highly protected Victorian wine market than to the consumer base in Sydney, became all too clear. Sales slumped and James Thomas Fallon stepped in to prop up the MVVC by purchasing all of the Company’s wines of that year’s vintage. ‘Well, until better things turn up, we suppose we may just as well drink it ourselves,’

⁹¹ *The Albury Banner*, 25 April 1863. For comments on British taste see Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, 146-47.

⁹² *The Albury Banner*, 25 April 1863.

⁹³ Kym Anderson and Robert Osmond, *Trends and Cycles in the Australian Wine Industry, 1850 to 2000* (Adelaide: Centre for International Economic Studies, University of Adelaide, 1998), 4.

sniped the *Wagga Wagga Express*, ‘and pity those who have not the privilege of doing so’.⁹⁴ But without income from across the border the MVV Company collapsed. When it was offered for sale at auction in November no bids were received: ‘[w]e suppose it is not altogether improbable that the property may soon again be in the market under the mortgage under it. Border customs again!’⁹⁵

Wine growers were prominent at meetings of the district’s Customs Abolition League which opposed border duties imposed by both New South Wales and Victorian governments. The duties were not only time consuming but reduced the possibility of projected income from the more populous and gold-wealthy Victoria. The double duties problem presented an obstacle not felt by growers in the other wine regions of New South Wales. A meeting at Corowa was told:

[s]electors had been induced to take up land: many present had done so and planted vineyards, believing that in three years they would get a good return for their outlay, expecting to have a continuance of free trade and be in a position from the returns to pay off the balance on their selections, but now all their hopes were blighted. Some of the best wine in the district was selling for three shillings a gallon, just the amount of the duty, and many of the vinegrowers in consequence had their cellars full of last years [sic] wine and another crop coming on. It was the same for tobacco [and oats].⁹⁶

The level of passion felt by farmers was reflected in the comments by wine growers at the Corowa meeting and later at a meeting of the large German community at Schubach’s Rosenberg property. The crisis threatened to unleash ‘uncivilized’ behaviour among the ‘borderers’. Robert Brown reckoned on becoming a smuggler; John Rau thought the

⁹⁴ *The Wagga Wagga Express*, 27 October 1866.

⁹⁵ *The Albury Banner*, 10 November 1866.

⁹⁶ *The Albury Banner*, 10 November 1866.

solution was to ‘Get some handspikes, and show they could use them’.⁹⁷ Ironically as the ‘borderers’ rallied to protect their livelihoods, Fallon’s wine - probably from the MVVC vineyard - received good reports from the Melbourne Exhibition and the Albury vineyards planted as a result of the boom in wine growing in the area were coming into fruit, ‘with every prospect of a most bountiful vintage’.⁹⁸ No guarantee, however, of a profitable market.

In 1867, Fallon purchased the Murray Valley Vineyard for £2300. The MVVC had invested £8300 in establishing the property and as the auctioneer’s hammer fell, the editor of the *Banner* brought down his own judgement on the formation of the Company, a ‘thing of this kind is often very expensively managed by a Company, and where an experienced private owner would make a handsome profit with a moderate outlay, a board of directors would expend much, and so lessen considerably the margin of profit’.⁹⁹ A curtain closed, then, on the use of a company structure to build colonial wine businesses. The success of the family-owned company with a good plan of succession and willingness to expand - exemplified by Lindeman’s - dominated wine businesses at the larger end of the profit spectrum into the first part of the twentieth century.

But Fallon’s ascendancy had only just begun with his purchase of the Murray Valley Vineyard (MVV), with its original 640 acres of land, one hundred acres of which was fenced (which explains some of the outlay by the directors), and twenty-five acres of vines in ‘full-bearing’. The sale included a wine press, and more than thirty casks of

⁹⁷ *The Albury Banner*, 10 November 1866.

⁹⁸ *The Albury Banner*, 10 November 1866.

⁹⁹ *The Albury Banner*, 28 December 1868. Note that the *ADB* entry for Fallon, cited above, incorrectly states he bought the MVVC property in 1861.

various sizes.¹⁰⁰ In 1869 he announced construction of an ‘immense wine cellar’ to ferment grapes on site at his store in Albury, probably due to his ability to use beneficial economies of scale compared with poorer small-holders more greatly affected by customs barriers.¹⁰¹

Fallon’s MVV apparently escaped the ravages of weather and gold-rush labour shortages in 1869, reporting an average yield of 240 gallons an acre from his twenty-seven acre vineyard. Murray Valley had been planted - by one of the second generation Germans – with only two varieties, a red and a white, more in keeping with late twentieth century practices than the nineteenth century proliferation of varieties in the vineyard. This goes some way to explaining the later success of Fallon’s wines, with only two varieties to perfect: shiraz and riesling.

While in France for his vineyards tour in the early 1870s, Fallon recruited vigneron, Leonce Frere, who moved to Albury and began using the Aucarot grapes from the Murray Valley property to make sparkling wine, marketed as ‘Fallon’s Champagne’.¹⁰² Unfortunately the champagne exploded in its bottles. The Murray Valley enterprise continued to prosper, however, with Fallon reporting a significant vintage of thirty thousand gallons of wine from his vineyard and the purchase of an equal amount from other smaller producers, which was processed through his Kiewa Street cellars.¹⁰³ Frere went on to establish St Hiliare Vineyard.

Another employee of Murray Valley, John Delappe Lankester, earned local hero status. The British migrant was born in Staffordshire in 1837 and worked with his father,

¹⁰⁰ *The Albury Banner*, 23 December 1868.

¹⁰¹ *The Albury Banner*, 15 May 1869.

¹⁰² Andrew J. Kelso, ‘St Hilaire Vineyard, Albury’, ADHSA.

¹⁰³ *The Albury Banner*, 22 April 1876.

growing grapes and making wine until he went to work for a Sydney merchant. Henry Lindeman recruited him to open his Sydney cellars in 1860. Ten years later, Lankester moved to Fallon's MVV as manager. Five years on, he transferred to Adams' Ettamogah and was eventually able to establish his own property through a land grant of 160 acres for service in the volunteer armed forces. He became a highly respected wine judge, continued to work in his vineyard until his mid-eighties and lived to just over a hundred years of age.¹⁰⁴

Compared with Fallon and his employees, other investors in the Riverina during the 1860s faced greater challenges. After the setbacks of border duties, a drought struck in the 1868-1869 growing season. The largest vineyard in full-bearing in the district belonged to David Reid who reported losses in yield from his forty-seven acre planting at Moorwatha. He said it was due to both the drought and the difficulty in getting seasonal Chinese labour for the harvest, which left grapes on the vines when late rains came. Sanger at the Corowa vineyard used only Chinese labour and apparently had no trouble hiring that year, which was probably just as well because his wine had all been pre-sold to a Ballarat goldfield retailer. Kyeamba, sixty miles from Albury, suffered most from the drought. Smith reported that:

My vineyard has been almost a failure this year; I did not get one bunch of grapes from 1 ½ acres of my oldest vines, which have been planted twenty-two years. The explanation of this is that the ground is exhausted, and the severe drought scorched the vines so much that the fruit did not ripen, but dried up and fell off. I had, however, a crop on my younger vines, but the rain came just when I was beginning to pull the grapes, and continued for two weeks. Much fruit consequently rotted on the vines, and some fell on the ground and perished. I have about one-third of the quantity of wine that I obtained last year, but what I have

¹⁰⁴ *Australian Brewing and Wine Journal*, 20 January 1938, ADHSA.

got is very rich; in fact, by far too rich to make a dry wine.¹⁰⁵

Smith persevered despite the discouraging vintage and the vineyard did survive into the 1880s until Smith's son Alick destroyed the stores of wine and closed production.¹⁰⁶

Wagga Wagga eventually declined as a wine growing district. Production of another beverage beckoned with the publication, in 1870, of the prospectus for the Wagga Wagga Brewing Company, aimed at raising capital of £5000. The provisional committee included Robert Nixon, son of pioneer wine grower John Nixon.¹⁰⁷

Port Macquarie and other districts

Vineyards were planted and expanded in the New England and Liverpool Plains districts of Inverell, Armidale and Tamworth from the mid-century, including the Wyndhams' Bukkulla. A large community of wine growers also formed near Port Macquarie. In fact, by 1867, 'vineyards were springing up like mushrooms' in the Hastings River district.¹⁰⁸ Best known were Douglas Vale and Fern Hill. Before establishing Douglas Vale, George Francis bought land from Richard Windeyer of Tomago in the mid-1840s. He likely observed Windeyer's vineyards being planted and in production. Francis tried his luck at the Californian goldfields in 1849, then at Braidwood, in New South Wales, in 1851, the Ovens diggings in 1853 then back to Major's Creek at Braidwood for several years. In 1859 Francis and his family returned to Port Macquarie where they purchased twenty acres of land that became Douglas Vale.¹⁰⁹

Francis began planting his vineyard and orchard in August 1862. Five years later

¹⁰⁵ *The Albury Banner*, 15 May 1869.

¹⁰⁶ Morris, *The Wine Industry in Wagga*, 6.

¹⁰⁷ *The Wagga Wagga Advertiser*, 1 June 1870.

¹⁰⁸ Howell, 'Vineyards and Vignerons', 5.

¹⁰⁹ Howell, 'Vineyards and Vignerons', 5.

he gave his daughter Margaret and her husband, Napoleon Wilson, five acres of Douglas Vale and a vineyard was laid out and planted in 1868. Their wedding certificate indicated Wilson was a vine grower employed at the Francis property. Margaret took a very active role in the wine growing. The vintage of 1891 totalled 1840 gallons from both family vineyards. By the turn of the century production was down due to drought and the crush for the year 1900 totalled only 800 gallons.¹¹⁰

The other principal vineyards at Port Macquarie appear to be a similar story. John Joseph Fenn's Fern Hill and Thomas Platt's Woodgrove Vineyard grew out of the post-1860s prosperity that saw gold prospectors and goldfields storemen sink their earnings into land selections.¹¹¹ The district proved suitable. The daughter of James and Helen Islet wrote in 1892

the land around Port Macquarie is well adapted to wine growing. The chief grapes grown are Isabellas but Mr Chamuet has proved that some other grapes could be grown in the district that would be more suitable for making wine. He and other vigneronns have stamped Port Macquarie as a wine making district.¹¹²

The region's wine no doubt found a market or else the vineyards could not have continued in production. Using Isabella - an American cultivar that makes better jam than wine - would have produced a distinctive wine that may have earned local loyalty.¹¹³ This might have been related to the declaration that it was 'amazing how very few men who became very good vigneronns [around Port Macquarie] had any previous experience of viticulture'.¹¹⁴ An exception was the Rosenbaum family, who migrated from

¹¹⁰ Howell, 'Vineyards and Vigneronns', 5.

¹¹¹ Howell, 'Vineyards and Vigneronns', 6.

¹¹² Cited in Howell, 'Vineyards and Vigneronns', 7.

¹¹³ Isabella grapes tend to have a 'foxy' aroma, see Robinson, ed., *Oxford Companion to Wine*, 363.

¹¹⁴ Howell, 'Vineyards and Vigneronns', 7.

Germany to Port Macquarie in the mid-1850s.¹¹⁵ Wine growing died out in the Hastings region until recently and, like Albury and Wagga Wagga, its colonial beginnings are barely known outside the local area.

Smiling with the vine?

Selection did aid the spread of vine growing. Lindeman, for one, hoped to see the colony smiling with the vine through greater legislative support for production creating the possibility of even more selectors planting vines so colonists could benefit from wine's healthful properties. 'The soil through nearly all the extent of the country is admirably adapted for the growth of the vine', the doctor wrote in a letter to the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1867,

and it merely requires tapping with a cutting to overflow with nectar and when the law shall allow our wine to become our national beverage, thousands of acres now encumbered with the "dreary eucalyptus" will smile with the vine, and another civilising industry will spring up in our midst, to employ thousands of families in the light and pleasing labour it requires, and to attract a desirable class of immigrants to our shores.¹¹⁶

The campaign for wine as a national beverage will be discussed in chapter eight but on the broader issue of selection, the idea of creating a prosperous colonial yeomanry (a 'desirable class'), underlying the Robertson Land Acts, did not eventuate. Essentially the Selection Acts failed as squatters refused to relinquish large holdings and other land proved too-often infertile, unconnected to transport networks and markets or farmed by unskilled, under-capitalised selectors. By 1865, a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly heard of these problems and an 1883 report presented to the Legislative Assembly offered no better picture of developments in the intervening years. In 1901,

¹¹⁵ Howell, 'Vineyards and Vignerons', 7.

¹¹⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 December 1867.

New South Wales altered its focus to 'closer settlement' which involved reclaiming land suitable for agriculture from large holders, extending the size of selections to 640 acres, ensuring the land taken up for crop farming was close to railroads and using experienced advisors to identify land for purchase. Then, the development of technology in agriculture made the political and cultural ideal of a 'farming yeomanry' unviable, economically, by 1914.¹¹⁷

Between 1856 and 1862, reported vineyard acreage in New South Wales increased from just over a thousand acres to 1,460. By 1868 plantings more than doubled to 3,907 acres then hovered around four-and-a-half thousand acres with variations of three hundred acres up or down each year until 1885 when they rose to almost 5,250. Figures for 1870 indicate a quadrupling of acreage under vines since the introduction of the Selection Acts. Total wine production in New South Wales in 1869 was around half a million gallons.¹¹⁸

In the years 1891-1892, figures on the number of vigneron in New South Wales indicated a total of 2,134 grape growers, with 3,846 acres of land under vines for wine making (of a total acreage of 8,281, some of which were for table use, others not yet bearing), made 913,107 gallons of wine and distilled just over six thousand gallons of brandy (grape spirit).¹¹⁹ These figures do not separate wine growers from cultivators of table grape, or grapes for drying. As in Central Cumberland, for example, the large number of growers – more than five hundred – likely mainly represented table grape production as part of market gardens supplying the city of Sydney with fresh fruit and

¹¹⁷ Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid*, 25-33.

¹¹⁸ Anderson, *Statistical Register*, 920-21.

¹¹⁹ 'Number of vigneron', undated *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales* in Lloyd Evans Papers, SLISA PRG 1453/9/10.

vegetables. The now-traditional wine grape regions of the Hunter and the Riverina, as well as districts such as the Hastings/Manning, Inverell and Mudgee continued to dominate overall grape production outside of the metropolitan area. The early planting areas of central, harbour-side Sydney and Parramatta no longer hosted vineyards as urban development swallowed farms and land became available in more suitable areas.¹²⁰

Table 1: Colonial Vineyards (for wine, table and drying), 1860-1 to 1900-1901

Vintage	NSW	Victoria	Q'land	S. Aust	W. Aust	Tasmania	Total
	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres
1860-1	1584	1138	0	3180	335	0	6237
1870-1	4504	5466	416	6131	710	0	17227
1880-1	4800	4980	739	4337	659	0	15515
1890-1	8044	20686	1981	9535	1024	0	41270
1900-1	8441	30624	2019	20158	3325	0	64577

Source: *Commonwealth Year Book* 1901-1907, 327; copies in Lloyd Evans Papers, SLISA PRG 1453/12/1.

While grape cultivation in New South Wales grew steadily, it had been eclipsed by the colonies of South Australia and Victoria since the 1860s (Table 1). New South Wales vineyard plantings as part of the total in Australian colonies represented a proportion of twenty-five per cent in the 1861 vintage; twenty-six per cent in 1871; thirty-one per cent in 1881; nineteen per cent in 1891 as Victorian and South Australian plantings increased, despite grape phylloxera in Victoria. The proportion dropped to thirteen per cent by the end of the century with further increases in the southern colonies. In 1900-1901, New South Wales vine plantings had increased to 8,441 acres but only 4534 acres of these were specifically planted with wine grapes. ‘Smiling with the vine’, perhaps, but not necessarily with wine grape varieties.

¹²⁰ See Appendix Six.

Conclusion

The extent to which New South Wales plantings had been eclipsed by the southern colonies from the 1860s was not so great, however, as the extent to which grape production generally was overwhelmed, economically, by other commodities. Compared with a staple crop such as wheat, the impact of grapes was negligible. The reported acreage under wheat in 1861 was 123,468. In 1901 the figure had increased to 1,392,070 acres (a more than ten-fold rise), which earned more than £2,500,000 from export.¹²¹ The relatively small economic impact of wine growing is demonstrated even more starkly, however, in contrast to the income from wool production. New South Wales pastoralists earned close to £1,800,000 from the wool clip in 1861. By 1901 the figure had risen to more than £9million.¹²² Essentially, the inclusion of wine production in the *Statistical Register's* Production of Principal Crops, proves its cultural importance rather than its economic significance. Naturally enough it was listed last behind wheat, maize, oats, barley, rye, hay, potatoes and sugar cane. Wine did not register on the list of export commodities from New South Wales (see Appendix One).

Despite the benefit of land reforms, wine production in New South Wales had not reached a million gallons a year by the turn of the century; it was 891,190 gallons in 1900-1901. The Australian colonies combined produced just over 5,262,000 gallons of wine in 1901-1902 with the total value of wine exports in 1902 tallying £148,983 (£5,989 of which was sparkling wine). The same year wine imports totalled £127,769 so the balance of trade in wine was in Australia's favour, as opposed to 1901, when imports were £30,000 higher than exports. Imported sparkling wine represented almost double

¹²¹ Anderson, *Statistical Register*, 920-921.

¹²² Anderson, *Statistical Register*, 920-921.

the quantity of wine compared with still wines, suggesting a fashion for 'champagne' during the fin-de-siecle.¹²³

Wine growing had become established, valued even, in certain colonial circles, but development of a significant commercial-scale wine industry continued to be constrained by lacklustre consumption. The conditions of production might have been favourable. The 'inputs' described by Sexauer continued to mature. But the link between production and consumption of colonial wine was not to flow as naturally in New South Wales as it seemed to be in southern Europe. One colonist claimed in the 1860s that 'if there was to be a large increase in the production of colonial wine, there must be an increased consumption' but this idea assumed (and desired) a short arc of connection between production and consumption identified in the Smithian description of peasants in wine growing countries.¹²⁴ In New South Wales, after a few short decades of wine growing, production did not necessarily guarantee a significant increase consumption; wine quality continued to require refinement and cultural factors played a key role in defining colonial alcohol preferences.

¹²³ Figures are from the *Commonwealth Year Book, 1901-1907*, copies among Lloyd Evans Papers, SLSA PRG 1453/12/1.

¹²⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 September 1862.

Chapter Eight

'Our land's own wine!': encouraging domestic consumption and export from the 1860s to 1901

Colonial wine began to improve in quality due to producers' experience, networking and determination to succeed but, from the 1860s, a 'truism' from Britain, published in the colonial press, that 'more are drowned in the wine cup than in the ocean' still could not be said to apply in New South Wales.¹ Despite the fact that wine made in the Hunter, the Riverina and other districts attracted some interest, after a century of colonisation, eighteenth century British codes of drinking and drunkenness had been subverted to the extent that colonial wine had little cultural meaning except among advocates and producers. Imported styles filled the elite demand for fine wine and elites potentially interested in colonial wine did not constitute a large market.² Why, indeed, should New South Wales' elite, middle or working classes drink wine if their main purpose was intoxication (mild or excessive) when affordable colonial wine frequently tasted unpleasant? By the 1880s, 'inferior' colonial wine prejudiced many consumers against all colonial wine.³ Only non-British colonists possessed a habitus of labouring class wine consumption and they remained a very small portion of the colonial population. Despite this, colonial wine growers and merchants continued to encourage a culture of wine-drinking among the British-derived population while also trying to sell colonial wine to Britain.

¹ This 'truism' was part of a list in 'British Extracts', *Maitland Mercury*, 18 July 1855. It should be read as a pro-temperance statement not a reliable comparison of statistics on fatal alcoholism and drownings.

² Reference is also made to the Victorian situation in which colonial wine came to 'enjoy limited commercial success and achieved distinction in connoisseur and minority circles'; Dunstan, *Better than Pommard!*, xvii.

³ *Maitland Mercury*, 5 May 1881. For recent comment on the arbitrary nature of consumer responses to the 'taste' of wine see Kent Bach, 'Talk about Wine?' in Fritz Allhoff (ed), *Wine and Philosophy, A Symposium on Thinking and Drinking* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 95-110.

Migration and wine culture

Between 1860 and 1901 the principal alcoholic beverage consumed in New South Wales was no longer spirits, and certainly not wine, but beer. As Waterhouse noted, in public houses, ‘customers were less likely to drink rum scooped in mugs from a bucket and more likely to sip on cold beer drawn by tap from a keg’ and the culture of the ‘shout’ or sharing rounds of beer became common.⁴ By 1885, per capita annual consumption of beer in New South Wales was 13.19 gallons compared with 1.3 gallons of spirits and 0.64 gallons of wine. Due perhaps to cultural adaptations, relative per capita income and the climate, colonials drank more wine than the British (about the same amount of spirits and less beer) but beer had become the principal alcoholic beverage consumed in the colony.⁵ The bush shanties of the first half of the century and the sly grog shops of the gold fields gave way to established public houses in astonishing numbers. In New South Wales, Armidale (a town of 1300 people) hosted ten pubs by 1870; Lismore, population one thousand, had eight pubs by 1879. Narrandera in the Riverina in the same period boasted seventeen pubs but only one church.⁶ A newspaper editor in the 1870s deplored the ‘admitted fact that drunkenness is becoming more and more the curse of the colony’.⁷ Little had changed since Governor King struggled to cure colonial drunkenness seventy years earlier.

An anecdotal case for ethnicity, class and gender, as a key factor in preference of beer over spirits and wine was made in the opening words of a promotional pamphlet for

⁴ Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid*, 130-131.

⁵ Dingle, ‘The Truly Magnificent Thirst’, 243 and 248.

⁶ Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid*, 130.

⁷ *The Albury Banner*, 25 May 1872.

Carlton Brewing from the 1870s: '[a] standard feature in the composition of the Briton is his partiality for malt liquor, in preference to fiery spirits or washy wine.'⁸ This 'Briton' was obviously a working man. Statistically in Britain, by 1882, the working classes bought only ten per cent of the £9million spent on wine that year while total alcohol consumption (across classes) totalled £30million on spirits and £56million on beer.⁹

Britons, usually of the working classes, represented nine out of every ten migrants to the Australian colonies.¹⁰ Migrants who might have brought to New South Wales a culture of wine drinking instead of beer or spirits consumption were few; 'often unassisted by governments, and sometimes unwanted'.¹¹ In Victoria, the Swiss migrant Hubert de Castella commanded considerable respect in that colony's burgeoning wine industry and contributed to efforts to secure British markets for colonial wine. In New South Wales, by way of contrast, non-British migrants such as German vinedressers had little public profile beyond their district and did not publish literature promoting wine growing to fellow Europeans, or propose migration of wine growers from Europe to establish their own businesses, as De Castella did.

Multi-lingual De Castella was not limited by a language barrier as most Germans were. In a passionately-worded missive to Henry Parkes, for example, De Castella described vine cultivation 'of all the cultivations it is the most Colonisatrice' or colonising.¹² He believed the way forward did not just involve convincing Englishmen to drink colonial wine, a difficult feat, he knew.¹³ He hoped Parkes and other colonial

⁸ John Barleycorn, *A Glass of Ale* (Melbourne: Printed by McCarron, Bird and Co, 1873), 7, DSM/042/P41, SLNSW.

⁹ Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, 150-151.

¹⁰ Sherington, *Australia's Immigrants*, 114.

¹¹ Sherington, *Australia's Immigrants*, 114.

¹² Hubert De Castella to Henry Parkes, 29 October 1881, Parkes Correspondence, ML A920.

¹³ Hubert De Castella, *John Bull's Vineyard* (Melbourne: Sands & McDougall, 1886), 3.

leaders would contribute £200 towards translation of his book and a marketing tour of Europe. De Castella implored Parkes to consider the benefits to Australia of encouraging migrants from wine-producing countries such as France, Switzerland and Germany, specifically to grow wine grapes. He acknowledged,

[m]y plan is an ambitious one but the only one which will draw the wines of Australia out of the chronic state of future aspiration in which they have remained. There is no use in our asking European[s] to see our wines. Home Commerce will answer: it is too far, we will wait till you show them to us. In the meantime opportunity passes away.¹⁴

De Castella understood that migration from wine producing countries created not only a body of producers but a wider natural market for colonial wines. British policy and colonial determination to remain Anglo-centric prevented such migration.

Colonial wine retail

Exhibitions continued to create some publicity for colonial wine. Following on from the successes in London and Paris in the 1850s, the list of New South Wales exhibitors commended for their wine at the next International Exhibition, in London in 1862, for example, included experienced as well as new growers from a variety of districts in the colony. The medallists were Sir D. Cooper, Henry Lindeman and the Macarthur brothers, for ‘white wine of excellent quality’; H.M. Farquhar, for muscat wine of excellent quality; G. Pile for ‘wine, general excellence’ and J.M. Sanger for ‘white wine, general excellence’. Honorable mentions were received by Mrs Bettington for both red and white wine; C. Schubach for a wine of 1861 and Archibald Windeyer for red wine.¹⁵ Camden, the Hunter and the Riverina were all represented among those

¹⁴ Hubert De Castella to Henry Parkes, 29 October 1881, ML A920.

¹⁵ Knight, *Australasian Colonies*, 59-60.

awarded yet the related publicity did not convince significantly more colonials to drink locally-produced wine.

Some cellars for colonial wine retail existed where there was a demand, such as Fiaschi's and Lindeman's in central Sydney, Fallon's at Albury and others in Newcastle. Villages in wine producing regions, such as the Hunter, hosted wine shops probably due to low transport costs and a growing habit of wine drinking through proximity to its production. Seaham, for example, had 'several wine saloons' before the 1860s but they were by far fewer than pubs.¹⁶ In the early 1880s the New South Wales government tried again to discourage consumption of stronger liquors in favour of wine. Under the Liquor Licencing Act a Colonial Wine Shop licence could be obtained for £3, allowing the proprietor to sell colonial wines from the glass or up to two gallons. By 1887 there were over four hundred Colonial Wine Shops, mainly near the wine regions, including 126 in Sydney.¹⁷ In the same year the number of licenced (publicans') houses in New South Wales totalled 3270; 846 of which were in the colony's capital.¹⁸

Exports

Wine economists Kym Anderson and Robert Osmond have argued that a ten-fold rise in wine production across the Australian colonies from mid-century to the 1870s created a surplus which drove the need to create an export market.¹⁹ A robust local market would have presented a different situation. As it was, however, the predicament of too much wine and no one to buy it surely led South Australian wine grower

¹⁶ Mitchell, *Hunter's River*, 72.

¹⁷ Cited in Gerald Walsh, 'The Wine Industry of Australia 1778-1979', paper presented at the Wine Talk symposium, Canberra, September 1979: 12.

¹⁸ *Statistical Register of New South Wales for the Year 1888* (Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer, 1889), 293. A thorough account of such licences was given for the years 1887 and 1888.

¹⁹ Anderson and Osmond, *Trends and Cycles*, 4.

Alexander Kelly to introduce his 1861 publication *The Vine in Australia* with a subversion of imperial cultural hierarchy in his accusation that the British were not ‘civilized’ enough to recognise the benefits of supporting colonial wine.

In the extensive dominions of Great Britain, embracing every variety of soil and climate in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, [he wrote,] nearly every product that can minister to the wants of civilized man is produced, with the exception of wine, and for this she had to depend on foreign countries. The poor coarse wine hitherto supplied by the Cape of Good Hope need hardly be taken into account...[W]ith singular perversity John Bull refuses to deal at the nearest shop where he can get the article he wants...This perverse conduct on the part of that very obstinate individual would be laughable were it not for the lamentable results of his absurdity in the vitiated tastes and degraded habits engendered by the habitual use of coarse and heavily intoxicating drinks.²⁰

Kelly believed the power of colonial wine to reflect as well as create ‘civilized’ behaviour extended back to those in the metropole who no doubt thought themselves superior to colonists at the fringe of empire. Kelly sought an income from his wine and, as had many before him, framed a cultural argument to rationalise economic desire.

The British disdain for wine produced in British possessions manifested in the demise of ‘Cape Wine’ in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Once the Methuen Treaty favouring Portuguese wines was abrogated, Cape wines received a preferential tariff from 1813 which led to a boom in production at the South Africa colony. Over subsequent decades British wine merchants blended Cape wines with Portuguese and Spanish products to reduce import duties. As such Cape wines did not develop any significant cultural capital. Then, in 1860, the abolition of preferential duties for Cape wines saw the quantity imported into Britain fall from close to 680,000 gallons in that

²⁰ Kelly, *The Vine in Australia*, 2.

year to around twelve thousand gallons a year by the end of the 1890s. French wines with less than 25 per cent alcohol (light wines) replaced the Cape product on British tables.²¹ British ambivalence to Cape wines is shown in a newspaper report from Britain in the 1840s which refers to the ‘general earthy taste and inferior flavour’ of Cape wines and recommends that colonial growers should modify their plantings to cure this problem. Suggestions included high espaliering (trellising rather than bush vine growth) and certain sorts of green manuring (planting of green crops dug into the soil before going to seed).²²

In the Australian colonies, South Australian producers such as Kelly spearheaded exports into Britain as Victoria and South Australia overtook New South Wales wine production. The first Australian firm to be established in London to market colonial wines was Patrick Auld (the Australian Wine Company, later Emu Wines) in 1862 followed by P.B. Burgoyne in 1872.²³ In the ten years to 1872, the UK imported a total of 245,000 gallons of Australian wine. London merchants Elders and D. Cohen & Co had listed several Australian wines for sale in the late 1860s, including from Wyndham’s Bukkulla estate at Inverell. Some colonial wines had a high alcohol content, which meant that, under new British licencing laws introduced by Gladstone in 1872, they attracted higher tariffs, which in turn led to fewer orders from British agents.²⁴

James Fallon from Albury had by this stage struggled for ten years to compete with relatively cheap and readily available French imports and was incensed by claims that the higher level of alcohol in Australian wines - which led to higher tariffs and lower

²¹ Laffer, *Wine Industry of Australia*, 118.

²² Reprinted in the *Maitland Mercury*, 27 May 1843.

²³ Walsh, ‘The Wine Industry’, 13.

²⁴ Bell, ‘The South Australian Wine Industry’, 147-164.

orders - resulted from fortification with grape spirit. He maintained that the high alcohol levels occurred naturally so could not be reduced to attract lower customs duties. No doubt the Irish-Catholic merchant had the opportunity to sharpen his arguments about tariffs through the battle to remove inter-colonial customs duties between New South Wales and Victoria.²⁵ Fallon travelled to London in the early 1870s to put the case for lower tariffs for colonial wine and hoping to stimulate export sales.

Meanwhile, Dr Ludwig Thudichum, a German specialist in brain chemistry living in England, lectured on wine to London's Royal Society of Arts in 1869, with assistance from August Dupre. Thudichum then published the enormous *A Treatise on the Origin, Nature, and Varieties of Wine; Being a Complete Manual of Viticulture and Oenology* with Dupre, in 1872. In the *Treatise* he declared Australian wines could not be so high in alcohol without the addition of grape spirit. Thudichum, himself a wine grower, had worked with Liebig (James King's correspondent in the 1850s) and surely developed his interest in wine chemistry in the Baron's laboratory. Dupre, the brother of Thudichum's wife, also a German medical scientist in England, had an uncle in the British wine trade.²⁶

James Fallon

In 1873, Fallon challenged Thudichum in an address to the Royal Society. The colonist argued that Australian wines could not survive the current schedule of tariffs in which wines with alcohol higher than twenty-six per cent attracted tariffs higher than the base rate of one shilling per gallon. Thudichum protested loudly at Fallon's statement

²⁵ Driscoll, 'Fallon, James Thomas', 151.

²⁶ Daniel D. Christensen, 'J.L.W. Thudichum, 1829-1901', *The American Journal of Psychiatry* 160, no. 3 (2003): 459, Peter Dupre, 'Thudichum and Dupre - Brothers-in-Law', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 86 (1993): 417-420.

that Australian wines naturally exceeded twenty-six per cent alcohol. He countered that this ‘would simply upset the whole scientific facts hitherto established in the world’; an unusual objection from a scientist who constantly attracted controversy for overturning scientific conceptions in biological chemistry.²⁷ Fallon refused to be intimidated and requested extensive testing of colonial wines to determine the level of alcohol in wines without spirits added.²⁸

Fallon returned to London in 1876 to continue his campaign for ‘a fair field and no favour’.²⁹ He argued that lower duties for Australian wines, with higher than twenty-six per cent alcohol, would lead to a greater demand for English products in the Colonies, ‘thereby assisting in providing for the employment of English artisans, and preventing the reoccurrence of such seasons of industrial depression as the present... The interests of England and Australia are identical’.³⁰ Colonial wine, said Fallon,

is doubtless destined to be one of the leading staple articles of produce in Australia, and one which will not only give healthful employment to a number of Australian vigneron, but also open up a large field for the occupation of the surplus labour of Great Britain... [B]y honest exertion in a few years a man could purchase his homestead and be his own master.³¹

Fallon spoke from experience about opportunities offered to migrants in the Australian colonies and in his speech to the Royal Colonial Institute, joined this argument with figures from tests of grape sugar which showed that, out of twenty-three samples, only one potentially fell below the level of twenty-six per cent alcohol. Thudichum responded

²⁷ Cited in James T. Fallon, *The Wines of Australia: A Paper Read before the Royal Colonial Institute on the 20th of June 1876*. (London: Unwin Brothers, 1876), 5.

²⁸ Fallon, *The Wines of Australia*, 34.

²⁹ Fallon, *The Wines of Australia*, 34.

³⁰ Fallon, *The Wines of Australia*, 5.

³¹ Fallon, *The Wines of Australia*, 7 and 17.

that the validity of the tests could not be taken seriously because they were not carried out on actual grape must or at fine enough a level of weighing the density of the sugars, and that further studies should be done. Fallon replied that all involved in the testing had been satisfied the results were reliable and saw no need to repeat them. *The Wine Trade Review* supported Fallon against Thudichum who, according to its reporter, spoke ‘in bad taste’ against the colonial experiments.³²

Several members of the Royal Society expressed support for ‘pure natural’ colonial wine and suggested improvements to the way in which it was transported to avoid spoiling, and the names it was given, to avoid consumer confusion. Customs official, J.B. Keene, said

[t]he vines from the continent of Europe transplanted to Australia would produce a different wine. With reference to the question of the names of wines, it had often struck him that it was a great mistake on the part of Australian wine makers that they should call their wine after the names of known wines. Everybody tasting a wine so named judges it from the wines he had been accustomed to. English taste was so formed on port and sherry that there was scarcely another wine to which they could make comparison, and they would ask if it was not like one of them, or perhaps sometimes it was like Claret or Burgundy. But Australian wines had an individuality of character of their own, which, if properly cultivated and developed, was of great value...He liked to see wines named after the vineyards from which they were made. He should also like to see the design carried out of cultivating a knowledge of the vines and of the grape best suited to the various localities.³³

Keene was well ahead of his time; differentiation of Australian wines from European types took more than a century. The main obstacle to importing colonial Australian wine into Britain at the same tariff as lighter wines remained the potential that stronger wines

³² Fallon, *The Wines of Australia*, 36.

³³ Fallon, *The Wines of Australia*, 23-24.

from Spain and Portugal might then also be purchased in Britain as readily as lighter wines from France and Germany at a time when temperance was being more actively encouraged.³⁴

When a delegation of colonial representatives visited the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Stafford Northcote, the Chancellor asked ‘whether there was much difference between the wines of Australia, whether there was a taste for those wines in this country, and where the demand for them was likely to arise – whether from the upper classes or from the general consumer’. Northcote made the point, too, that ‘[i]t was rather difficult to get the English people to take to new wines’.³⁵ Fallon thought Australian wines would appeal to the general consumer, ‘as they possessed a peculiar flavour and quality of their own. They had some difficulty at first in getting these wines consumed in the Australian colonies themselves, but they were now generally consumed’ though the export trade was ‘but in its infancy’.³⁶ P.A Jennings from New South Wales claimed ‘light wholesome wine’ would be better for English drinkers than ‘stronger intoxicating liquors’ and that no other British colonies would be likely to be as large a producer of wine as New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia.³⁷

The efforts of Fallon and his delegation paid off. A sliding scale of duties on colonial wines was eventually introduced.³⁸ By the 1880s it became accepted in London that the high alcohol content of some Australian wines was natural, the quantity of Australian wine imported into Britain defied the earlier slump and increased by almost

³⁴ Fallon, *The Wines of Australia*, 35.

³⁵ *Morning Advertiser*, 28 July 1876, cited in Fallon, *The Wines of Australia*, 40.

³⁶ *Morning Advertiser*, 28 July 1876 and *The Wine Trade Review*, cited in Fallon, *The Wines of Australia*, 40 and 45.

³⁷ *The Wine Trade Review*, cited in Fallon, *The Wines of Australia*, 38.

³⁸ Driscoll, ‘Fallon, James Thomas’, 151.

150 per cent, from sixty thousand gallons in 1885 to 145,000 gallons in 1886.³⁹ This represented about sixteen thousand cases (with twelve bottles per case) of wine. To put this in perspective: in 2007-2008 a quantity equivalent to approximately 79.5 million cases of wine were exported from Australia.⁴⁰

Arthur Todd Holroyd, laws and social reform

Despite Fallon's comment to the Chancellor about domestic support for locally-produced wine in New South Wales, the parlous state of colonial wine consumption and its deleterious effect on production was brought into sharp focus with the heated debate about Arthur Todd Holroyd's proposal, in the Legislative Assembly, for a law to encourage consumption of low alcohol wine over other, stronger liquors. Holroyd, a foundation member of now-defunct New South Wales Vineyard Association, had been lobbied by wine growers to propose the Sale of Colonial Wines, Cider and Perry Regulation Bill.⁴¹ The problem for growers, as another member of parliament pointed out, was that colonial wine 'was not yet sufficiently well known to be in general use either with the more wealthy or the poorer classes'.⁴² Publicans were the main legal source of alcohol in the colony but Holroyd had observed that '[o]ut of the 500 publicans in Sydney, not above ten or twelve sold colonial wines'.⁴³

Holroyd's Bill was based on Gladstone's Wine Act in Britain which introduced off-licences, allowing grocers to sell wine by the bottle for customers to drink off the premises. Gladstone's Act followed the earlier one lowering the import duty on light

³⁹ Bell, 'The London Market', 19.

⁴⁰ This calculation has been made on the basis of the 2007-2008 export data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics that 715 million litres of Australian was exported in that financial year. See the figures available at <http://abs.gov.au/AUSTATS> [accessed 18 October 2008].

⁴¹ *New South Wales Medical Gazette*, July 1872, in Lindeman (Holdings) Ltd Papers, Z418/Box 157, NBAC.

⁴² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 September 1862.

⁴³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 September 1862.

wines from France (less than forty per cent alcohol), which saw a rise in the purchase of reds from the Medoc and threatened the burgeoning market for Australian wine. The off-licencing law led to British wine merchants forming lucrative exclusive arrangements with certain shop-keepers.⁴⁴ As discussed, it offered no support for the empire's only colonial wine producers.⁴⁵

Holroyd began his professional career as a doctor in London but moved to law then studied Italian in Rome. He 'became the first European to cross the Bayuda desert to Khartoum and the first Englishman to visit Kordofan'; in Egypt; 'his disclosures of horrifying slave hunts led to their abolition by Mahommed Ali Pasha'.⁴⁶ Holroyd also journeyed through the Middle East. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, was called to the bar in London then migrated to New Zealand with an interest in the banking system there. Once in New South Wales, from the age of thirty-nine, Holroyd's practice as a barrister led naturally to a role as a member of the Legislative Council followed by election to the Legislative Assembly. He looked to the centre of empire for guidance on curbing excessive alcohol consumption, widely perceived as threatening progress, prosperity and the general health and wellbeing of the colony, but took the British model further than Gladstone.

In requesting a second reading of his Sale of Colonial Wines Bill, Holroyd stated that he believed off-licence sales of even lighter wines (less than 20 per cent proof) than Gladstone legislated for could encourage consumption of colonial wine within the colony by making it easier and cheaper to buy in quantities small enough for working people to afford. He reminded his fellow parliamentarians that wine growers already sold small

⁴⁴ Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 333.

⁴⁵ Laffer, *Wine Industry of Australia*, 118.

⁴⁶ H.T.E. Holt, 'Holroyd, Arthur Todd (1806-1887)', *ADB*, vol. 4, 411-412.

amounts of wine at their premises and that, since publicans were not interested in selling colonial wines, other vendors would not be a threat to licenced premises (whose supporters in the Legislative Assembly had opposed previous attempts to support colonial wine).⁴⁷ This new Sale of Colonial Wine Bill was greeted with similar opposition to earlier proposals, on the grounds that publicans had to pay an annual licencing fee of £20 (later £30) whereas Holroyd's Bill called for off-licence vendors to pay a fee of only £1 a year to sell wine by the bottle.

Holroyd's supporters included wine grower Archibald Windeyer, who gave a familiar Smithian refrain:

[The Bill] would bring about a result very desirable for the moral and social well-being of the colony, [he argued] by increasing the taste for refreshing liquors instead of that which now prevailed for drinking ardent spirits, to which a great deal of the misery and crime existing in the country was traceable...He thought that the publicans did not care to go into this business at all; it scarcely paid them...He hoped the time would come when wine would be drunk daily in the field of every working man, as was now the case on the continent of Europe.⁴⁸

Similarly, Richard Sadleir, who had taken over the Male Orphan School vineyard from Busby, declared his 'testimony in favour of colonial wines, for he had commenced manufacturing it in 1825, and had drink nothing else ever since'.⁴⁹

Robertson - although a wine grower and Member for what would be the emerging wine growing area of Mudgee - demurred. He believed the Bill would not necessarily encourage a wholesome habit of alcohol consumption because of the unchecked addition of sugar to wine which he claimed increased its potency. He said Holroyd's Bill could

⁴⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 September 1862.

⁴⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 September 1862.

⁴⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 September 1862.

turn every farm into a sly grog shop. ‘It was no use to gloss the matter over’, he said, ‘they would see wine shanties starting up all over the country, and particularly in those places that were beyond the reach of the police and the protection they afforded’.⁵⁰ Mr Rusden said he had no trouble buying colonial wine but denied that it could affect sobriety in the colony; ‘he was aware that there had been much intoxication at sheep-shearing in some parts of the interior where this colonial wine was solely used’.⁵¹ (Unfortunately he did not stipulate which stations were so actively subverting British notions of the class distinctions in wine drinking.) Mr Cummings, too, had

witnessed the evil effects of the indulgence in colonial wines. On one occasion he saw a number of men in groups fighting with each other, many of them going about all but naked, in a state of imbecility from drinking the trash that was sold under the name of colonial wine.⁵²

The men described probably intended to get drunk on whatever they could find and the wine may also have been heavily fortified. Their stories were colourful but Rusden and Cummings supported publicans and no doubt shaped their arguments accordingly.

John Dunmore Lang provided a more measured and informed response to the Bill but found a way to oppose it just the same. He said, echoing Smith of course, that:

[i]n France and Germany he had observed during his travels there was very little intoxication; in Spain and Portugal, and on the shores of the Mediterranean the same habits prevailed, and, if a like taste for light wines could be introduced among the population of this country, more would be done for the cause of temperance than could be achieved by any of the direct agencies employed for that purpose...[Essentially, however,] it would be impossible to draw the line between the two classes so as to ensure the sale of harmless colonial wine by the one set of dealers, and that of intoxicating liquors by the other. It was a great

⁵⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 September 1862.

⁵¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 September 1862.

⁵² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 September 1862.

mistake to suppose that colonial wines were not intoxicating: they differed in degree according to the manner in which the manufacture had been carried on.⁵³

These comments from Lang were of little use to Holroyd who responded to the debate with despair. He believed the Bill had not received a fair hearing, that it contained many safeguards against Members' concerns and that:

if there was to be a large increase in the production of colonial wine, there must be an increased consumption. Publicans did not feel injured by the soda-water and lemonade trade being thrown open, nor would they be any the worse for the licensing of colonial wine vendors...If, instead of the noxious wines now sold in public-houses a colonial wine, the finer wines of the country were brought into consumption, he was sure that a taste for them would soon arise, and that thus a great deal of drunkenness would be prevented. Certainly it now appeared a hard case that, whilst the gentleman should be able to get his dozen of colonial wine for about 24s., the mechanic could not get a single bottle without going to an hotel for it, and there he would have to pay 4s. 6d. a bottle. As to the evils spoken of as being likely to arise under the bill, they were mythical only, and not worthy of a moment's thought.⁵⁴

Holroyd's assumption that production would result in consumption clearly did not eventuate; it would take many more years to create such habitus. Meanwhile, Holroyd's opponents continued to attempt to have the Bill thrown out but Holroyd persisted and debate resumed at a later sitting.

At this sitting, Holt spoke in favour of the bill with reference, again, to the Smithian observation of comparative sobriety among wine growing ethnicities in Europe (also indicative of the extent to which legislators travelled overseas).

He was personally acquainted with several wine countries [said Holt, as reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*], and knew that the drinking of wine instead of spirits in those

⁵³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 September 1862.

⁵⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 September 1862.

countries conduced to the sobriety of the people. In some of those wine countries wine, in fact, was almost as cheap as water. The people who lived in the wine countries were not addicted to drunkenness. He had been for a considerable time in Spain, but he had never seen a Spaniard drunk...He regretted, however, that he had seen his own countrymen intoxicated whilst he was there. It was customary in wine countries to drink wine as an ordinary beverage, and he believed it to be more healthy than tea or coffee. It was drunk in wine countries by the glass - not the ordinary wine glass, but the tumbler.⁵⁵

Leary then made the point that the success of colonial wine at the London Exhibition of 1851 provided evidence that colonial wines were not inferior to Spanish wine, suggesting that it could not be the wine itself preventing colonial wine consumption but the attitude of consumers. He also had faith in the likelihood of attracting more customers for colonial wine if it were cheaper.

The class of persons who went to public-houses did not care for colonial wines. But if the permission proposed in this bill were granted, we should find the reapers and other classes of labourers drinking colonial wine; and having acquired a taste for it, they would never want anything else.

Leary maintained, too, that publicans' interests were well protected by the clauses on policing the sale of light colonial wines at off-licence premises. Another member went on to remind the Assembly that imported wines such as port, madeira and sherry were heavily fortified and colonial wines could be lighter by not requiring the addition grape spirit as a preservative during transport.⁵⁶

Holroyd responded to opposition at this sitting by directly quoting Smith's observation that 'the inhabitants of wine-producing countries were in general the most

⁵⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 November 1862.

⁵⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 November 1862.

sober people in Europe'.⁵⁷ Despite his efforts, opposition by those who supported publicans led to a much watered-down law. In December 1862, Holroyd's Bill passed through the Legislative Assembly after a third reading and was then approved by the Legislative Council without incident.⁵⁸ Wine growers with commercial intentions were unimpressed. Ten years later Henry Lindeman was still deploring the dilution of the Bill, which he claimed occurred because 'King Rum was found all too powerful'.⁵⁹ Presumably he attributed this to profits for spirit importers and merchants with political influence as well publicans selling beer.

Henry Lindeman and the medical argument

Not surprisingly, Dr Lindeman's role in the promotion of colonial wines as 'another civilizing industry' added a medical flavour to arguments about wine consumption creating sobriety.⁶⁰ His letter to the *New South Wales Medical Gazette* in the early 1870s (mistakenly published as W. T. Lindeman): 'Pure Wine as a Therapeutic Agent, and Why it Should Become our National Beverage' stated that,

[m]ore than thirty years ago, when I first arrived in the colony, I was induced to plant the vine, and to impress upon my fellow-colonists the desirability of doing so likewise, seeing the great necessity there existed for supplying a pure exhilarating wine to take the place of ardent spirits and of adulterated [fortified] wines and beers then and now the popular beverage of our community, the use of which frequently induces the diseases I have found mostly to be guarded against in our climate – namely, those arising from derangement of the liver; to suffer from which too often robs life of enjoyment by enveloping it in a perpetual fog of mental depression, and for which depression relief is

⁵⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 November 1862.

⁵⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 December 1862; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 December 1863.

⁵⁹ *New South Wales Medical Gazette*, July 1872, in Lindeman's (Holdings) Ltd Papers, Z418/Box 157, NBAC.

⁶⁰ Henry Lindeman to the Editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 December 1867, in Lindeman (Holdings) Ltd Papers, Z418/Box 157, NBAC.

generally sought in the deleterious stimulants above-named, which invariably add fuel to the fire, thereby crowding our community with the inebriate and in the insane.⁶¹

Lindeman distinguished between fortified wines and what he perceived as more healthful light, table wines; a debate taking place in Europe for some time.

In this period, wine continued to be prescribed as medicine in Europe; 'wine as a common meeting ground for popular and elite medicine was still evident towards the end of the nineteenth century'.⁶² English travellers sent to Italy for the benefit of their health, for example, were encouraged to drink wine,

[i]t was regarded as a healthful aliment, was thought to facilitate digestion, and to serve as a tonic. In view of the universal fear of taking a chill at Rome, wine was also regarded as a heat-producing aliment. A few medical authors even claimed that wine drinkers were less affected by malaria than abstainers.⁶³

In Britain, a plan to reduce wine duties in the 1880s saw the *Lancet* commission a study on the medical use of wine. It indicated the English would benefit from cheaper continental wines, available to a broader base of the population because Europeans were drinking these lighter wines 'with advantage not only to their character for sobriety but for health', however, lack of knowledge among medical practitioners led to prescription of some wines high in alcohol which exacerbated rather than cured conditions such as gout; '[t]hough one could not find a wine of greater clinical value [than claret], the problem with clarets was that there was a great variety of them' (much the same as the problem with colonial wine). The *Lancet* also concluded, in 1883, that '[t]he

⁶¹ *New South Wales Medical Gazette*, July 1872.

⁶² Harry W. Paul, *Bacchic Medicine: Wine and Alcohol Therapies from Napoleon to the French Paradox* (New York: Rodopi, 2001), 16.

⁶³ Christopher Hoolihan, 'Health and Travel in Nineteenth Century Rome', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 44, no. 4 (1989): 476.

gastronomic knowledge of the doctor was of medical use because a wine recommended for medical purposes had [to] be a good drinking wine'.⁶⁴

Lindeman's letter followed on from the passage quoted earlier to state that:

It was natural to hope that a wise government would have seen the value of encouraging a step tending to scatter health and enjoyment, and to advance sobriety among the people it rules over by allowing this wine to be sold without any restrictions further than by demanding a small fee in the shape of a license from a vendor, sufficient to pay for the surveillance necessitated to be kept by the dishonest trader, who might other wise for his profit adulterate it.⁶⁵

Wines used for medical purposes in France in the nineteenth century were often mixed with herbs or minerals as well as grape spirit.⁶⁶ What concerned Lindeman was the perceived adulteration of proposed legislation to make it easier to buy wine in New South Wales. He hoped other doctors with faith in the medical and moral benefits of wine would rally to his cause to promote a new 'national beverage'.

To change a national taste in a life-time I never had the vanity to propose to myself, but to advance it somewhat is something to be proud of, and it will be a grand step gained to get the members of our profession to enlist themselves in this good cause, which, by bringing it prominently before them...in the leaves of the *Medical Gazette*, I hope to do, knowing how great is the influence of the profession when stepping forward to advance mankind.⁶⁷

Responses in the *Medical Gazette* echoed the connection between wine and 'civilized' behaviour. 'Dr Druitt' linked Lindeman's argument back to that of Reverend John Ignatius Bleasdale, whose paper 'On Colonial Wines' was published after being read

⁶⁴ *Lancet* findings cited in Paul, *Bacchic Medicine*, 114-117.

⁶⁵ *New South Wales Medical Gazette*, July 1872.

⁶⁶ Paul, *Bacchic Medicine*, 105-106.

⁶⁷ *New South Wales Medical Gazette*, July 1872.

before the Royal Society of Victoria in 1867.⁶⁸ The passage of Bleasdale's argument, referred to briefly in the *Medical Gazette*, reads in full:

[i]n my youth I spent full seven years in and near the great capital of Portugal, in times of turmoil and almost disorganisation of society, consequent on civil wars, when the utmost excitement prevailed and bad passions of men for a season broke loose, yet in that city of three times the population of Melbourne, and where wine was not more than two pence the quart bottle and strong brandy five or six pence the imperial pint, I never saw a Portuguese drunk. The occasional spectacle of a Dutch or a British sailor drunk in the gutter, and dealing largely in loyalty to his own country and eternal execration of all others, used to afford an hour's cheap amusement to a whole street.⁶⁹

Bleasdale's ideas echoed Smith as well as Busby in the *Manual* and the Macarthurs' sentiments in *Some Account* on the vision of wine as an Anglo working-man's drink.

Among [the Portuguese, Bleasdale continued] *drunkenness*, and *delirium tremens*, and our forms of liver complaint were wholly unknown. In the interests then of health and morality, and cheerful happy homes, may I be pardoned for recording my heartfelt wish, that I may live to see the time when even the humblest labourer, at the close of his hot day's toil, will stroll into our fine parks and public gardens, and there with his happy family around him, enjoy his hour of relaxation and drink his bottle of wholesome wine at the cost of a few pence, without either the reproach of extravagance or the danger of intoxication. In fact, I hope and wish to see the Victorians a healthy, sober, jolly, wine-drinking population.⁷⁰

Druitt, in supporting Lindeman's case, as well as marshalling the argument made by

Bleasdale also invoked the idea of an advancing society:

[i]t is not merely a medical point of view, but as a friend of sobriety and morals, and with a view of raising the status

⁶⁸ 'Dr Druitt' could have been Robert Druitt, a British doctor known to be a strong supporter of Gladstone's liquor reforms, who believed women and children should also use wine as a tonic, see Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, 151.

⁶⁹ Bleasdale, *On Colonial Wines*, 24.

⁷⁰ Bleasdale, *On Colonial Wines*, 24. Bleasdale's emphasis.

and culture of large classes of society, that I venture to advocate the large use of wine, ie. pure wine as a beverage...Brandied [fortified] wines are conducive to intemperance.⁷¹

The medical community may have agreed with Lindeman but there was little detectable impact from this on the entrenched practices of alcohol consumption in the colony.

Lindeman's entreaties to parliament to encourage wine consumption also had little effect and - undermining any dignity that might have been imagined in the legislative debates about promoting production of colonial wine - the £1 license law was often flouted. When the colony's premier, James Martin, visited the outspoken residents of Albury in 1871 the depositions included the following on the £1 license:

These licenses were widely taken advantage of for the sale of sly grog and all kinds of poisonous stuff, "German brandy," &c., and it was unfair to the publicans who paid a high license fee[now £30]. The abuse of the system had been so general as to have produced a regular shanty trade attended with much immorality, and injury to the public. The privilege of the licenses might be restricted to growers only, and to owners of two acres of vines.⁷²

The premier agreed and said parliament ought to take action to 'remedy the abuses'.⁷³

Despite failing to make wine the 'national beverage', Lindeman's contribution to wine growing included advice to growers on how to produce saleable wines. After purchasing a vineyard at Corowa, on the New South Wales-Victorian border, Lindeman travelled there in the early 1870s to visit his vineyard and share his knowledge. He knew from the coach journey to the district that working men were not interested in colonial wine because of the after-effect as well as the taste. 'Oh, dear no! I never think of

⁷¹ *New South Wales Medical Gazette*, vol. 4, 1874, in Lindeman (Holdings) Ltd papers, Z418/Box 157, NBAC.

⁷² *The Albury Banner*, 9 September 1871.

⁷³ *The Albury Banner*, 9 September 1871.

drinking colonial wine’, his coach driver told him, ‘I once took a drop too much, and felt so ill after that I hate the sight of it ever since’.⁷⁴ Lindeman lectured that to prevent this wine should be racked often (poured off the grape solids or lees), stored in only the best new casks, rather than old brandy casks, and aged for at least four years before being offered for sale. He advised against fostering the high alcohol content of Murray Valley wines (as high as 30 per cent alcohol wines compared with 17 to 20 per cent for what he called ‘Sydney’ wines, largely from the Hunter). Lindeman had considerable success in establishing his own retail outlets, particularly in Sydney. So much so that, he said, ‘I can sell all my wine – and more than I can make’.⁷⁵

Wine sales in New South Wales continued to be fraught with tension between growers and publicans. At Wagga Wagga, in 1892, for example, James Beattie, owner of Brooklyn Vineyard at North Wagga, applied for a colonial wine license only to be told by local police that since colonial wine could be purchased at a ‘reasonable price’ at local pubs there could be no need for Beattie to also sell wine. Beattie, ‘the producer of a large quantity of colonial wine’, believed that

hotel keepers here did not care about selling his colonial wine, while those [one hotel] who did sell it charged 4s. a bottle for it, which was about four times what Mr Beattie said it would be sold at, with a fair profit. Mr Beattie wished to open a place where the public could get wine without having to go to the vineyard, and where they could get large or small quantities.⁷⁶

In approving Beattie’s application for a colonial wine license, one of the magistrates on the licensing bench reminded the police officer making the objection that the Act under which Beattie applied for his license had intended to ‘encourage the cultivation of the

⁷⁴ *The Brisbane Courier*, 21 June 1873.

⁷⁵ *The Brisbane Courier*, 21 June 1873.

⁷⁶ *Wagga Wagga Express*, 9 January 1892.

wine[sic], and help the producers of colonial wine, and to offer them every facility to dispose of their produce'.⁷⁷ As if to emphasise the slow pace of change, Beattie's case occurred thirty years after Holroyd's Sale of Colonial Wine Act passed through parliament.

Colonial culture and wine

Culturally, the low rate of colonial wine consumption, along with the economic insignificance of viticulture and viniculture, translated into an absence of wine in the 'way of life'; the myths and legends of colonial New South Wales. Seasonal workers, such as shearers and cane cutters, blowing their pay after cut-out up to the 1870s were not drinking wine.⁷⁸ There is no reason to think that the alcohol 'served in pubs, music-halls as well as in bars at races' was wine.⁷⁹ Australian labourers with British ancestry did not sing songs of wine. Early modern Englishmen fashioned folksongs about wine before rum and gin came to dominate consumption but the characters in *Waltzing Matilda* were not likely partial to a glass of wine. The last three verses of *Click Go the Shears*, for example, celebrate over-consumption of beer, and perhaps to a lesser extent spirits, but not wine.

Shearing is all over and we've got our cheques,
Roll up your swag for we're off the tracks;
The first pub we come to,
It's there we'll have a spree,
And everyone that comes along it's
"Come and drink with me!"

Down by the Bar the old shearer stands,
Grasping his glass in his thin bony hands,

⁷⁷ *Wagga Wagga Express*, 9 January 1892.

⁷⁸ Waterhouse has shown that shearers became more respectable from the 1870s on. Waterhouse, *The Vision Splendid*, 169.

⁷⁹ Quote is from Richard Waterhouse, *Private Pleasures, Public Leisure: A History of Australian Popular Culture since 1788* (Melbourne: Longman, 1995), 63.

Fixed is his gaze on a green-painted keg,
Glory, he'll get down on it, ere he stirs a peg.

There we'll leave him standing, shouting for all hands,
Whilst all around him every shouter stands;
His eyes are on the cask, which is now lowering fast,
He works hard, he drinks hard, and goes to hell at last!⁸⁰

This delight in drinking had more in common with the 'three-bottle men' of Georgian England than a Mediterranean-style contented yeomanry imagined by social reformers in New South Wales.

For Henry Lawson, mateship and drinking were inextricably linked. 'There were between us bonds of graft, of old times, of poverty, or vagabondage and sin', he wrote, 'and in spite of all the right-thinking person may think, say or write, there was between us that sympathy which in our times and conditions is the strongest and perhaps the truest of all human qualities, the sympathy of drink. We were', he continued, 'drinking mates together'.⁸¹ Mates, however, did not drink wine. Well might we wonder where swaggies' fly swatters came from when Lawson wrote 'he was dressed mostly in calico patches; and a half-dozen corks, suspended on bits of string from the brim of his hat dangled before his bleared optics to scare away the flies'.⁸² Not often from bottles of wine.

By contrast, one colonial poet did celebrate colonial wine with a nod to the Romantics. After following a mate from Victoria to the New South Wales gold fields in the 1880s, Victor J. Daley penned *In a Wine Cellar*, which read:

⁸⁰ The final three verses of Anonymous, 'Click Go the Shears' in Beatrice Davis and Jamie Grant, eds., *Australian Verse, an Illustrated Treasury* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales Press, 1996), 21.

⁸¹ Cited in Richard White, *Inventing Australia, Images and Identity, 1688-1980* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1981), 100.

⁸² Henry Lawson, 'Rats' in Brian Kiernan, ed., *Henry Lawson* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1976), 136-137.

See how it flashes/This grape-blood fine! –
Our beards it splashes,/O comrade mine.
Life, dust and ashes/Were, wanting wine.

(Following a description of traditional European wines, then the claim that Australian poets could provide true inspiration only in Australian wine, he went on.)

Our land's own wine/[this line not quoted]
May have no glamour/Of old romance,
Of war and amour/In Spain or in France;
Its poets stammer/As yet, perchance;

But he may wholly/Become a seer
Who quaffs it slowly/For he shall hear,
Though faintly, lowly,/Yet sweet and clear,

The axes ringing/On mountain sides,
The wool-boats swinging/Down Darling tides,
The drovers singing/Where Clancy rides,

The miners driving,/The stockman's strife;
All sounds conniving/To tell the rife,
Rich, rude, strong-striving/Australian life.

Once more your hand in/This hand of mine!
And while we stand in/The brave sunshine,
Pledge deep our land in/Our land's own wine!⁸³

Daley shared the experience of the Australian bush ethos with other poets such as Lawson and Paterson. He alone, it seems, conceived of colonial wine as colonial muse.

Despite resistance to colonial wine, a letter from the vendor of the Refreshment Rooms at Southern and Western Railways to John Wyndham in the mid-1870s, indicated rail travellers were eager to be able to purchase it as well as beer and spirits. The current law would have to be changed to make this possible and the correspondent, John Castner, asked Wyndham to sign a petition in favour of selling colonial wine to rail passengers.⁸⁴

⁸³ R.F. Brissenden, 'Wine and Poetry', paper presented at the Wine Talk symposium, Canberra, September 1979: 32-33.

⁸⁴ John Castner to John Wyndham, 10 July 1874, in Stan Parkes Collection, Box 2, CCL.

Meanwhile, in what was surely a sign of increased interest in wine and the quality of production at Dalwood, Wyndham secured sale of his wine through a Newcastle merchant in 1878 and published a circular to advertise this. ‘Admirers of the Dalwood wines’ were informed that Messrs Wood Brothers and Co would take the entire stock of Dalwood’s production from that year’s vintage through to 1884, ‘inclusive’.⁸⁵ This meant Wyndham wine had to be sourced from Newcastle, indicating consumer interest outside the central metropolitan markets of Sydney and Melbourne. Vineyard workers still accepted wine as part payment in defiance of protests from pastoralists in the 1840s. An employee, ‘P. Burke’ received wages for twenty-four days work with a shilling of the pay deducted for wine consumed or taken from the premises.⁸⁶

WINE & SPIRIT LIST.		COLONIAL WINES.																																																																																																						
WINE & SPIRIT LIST. John Meagher & Co WINE AND SPIRIT MERCHANTS. IMPORTERS OF Every Description of Merchandise. 2, ALDERMANBURY POSTERN, LONDON, E.C. BATHURST, TEMORA and WEST WYALONG.		We do a very Large Trade in Colonial Wines by the Single Bottle. We keep none but the best Brands and guarantee every bottle to be pure and Matured, containing only the pure juice of the grape.																																																																																																						
WINE & SPIRIT LIST. CLARETS, St. Estephe, quarts, 2/3/- case " St. Emilion, quarts, 2/2/- case " Chateaux Margaux, quarts, 2/10/- case " St. Julien, quarts, 2/- case " Lieb Fraumilch, quarts, 3/7/6 case GINGER WINE, Thompson's, 2 6 bottle HOP BITTERS, Utica, 3/- bottle " Arkansas, 2/6 bottle " New York, 2/6 " Dr. Bell's, 3/6 bottle LIME JUICE, Leith, Cordial, imported, 1/3 bot. " Imported, 1/- bottle SAKSAPARILLA, Dr. Abernethy's, 1/6 bottle N.B.—We believe there are not half a dozen Direct Importers of John Jameson's Whisky in the Colony. We get it direct from the Distillery in bulk, and bottle it ourselves. All John Jameson's imported Case Whisky is bottled in Liverpool second hand, while ours is shipped direct to us from the world wide and celebrated distillery and bottled by ourselves without any mixture. Our PORT & SHERRY is admitted to be the best procurable in the Colony. Our Dry Pale SHERRY 55s, cannot be surpassed for 80s. We strongly recommend our 35s SHERRY . Our Old Crested 5-Diamond PORT 60s dozen is worth 100s. We have good PORT & SHERRY at 35s per dozen for cooking purposes.		CHOICEST WINES. <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th rowspan="2"></th> <th colspan="2">SINGLE BOT.</th> <th colspan="2">PER DOZEN.</th> </tr> <tr> <th>Quarts</th> <th>Pints</th> <th>Quarts</th> <th>Pints</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Dalwood—</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>No. 2 Red ...</td> <td>15 3d</td> <td>05 9d</td> <td>135 6d</td> <td>8s 6d</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Fine Red & White</td> <td>18 6d</td> <td>15 0d</td> <td>178 6d</td> <td>118 0d</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sweet Red...</td> <td>25 0d</td> <td>—</td> <td>225 6d</td> <td>—</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Superfine Red and White...</td> <td>28 0d</td> <td>15 3d</td> <td>215 0d</td> <td>135 0d</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Lindeman's—</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Burgundy ...</td> <td>25 9d</td> <td>15 6d</td> <td>305 0d</td> <td>165 6d</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Cawarra Hocks ...</td> <td>28 9d</td> <td>15 6d</td> <td>305 0d</td> <td>165 6d</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Cawarra Claret ...</td> <td>29 9d</td> <td>15 6d</td> <td>305 0d</td> <td>—</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Fallon's—</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Frontignac...</td> <td>25 6d</td> <td>—</td> <td>265 0d</td> <td>—</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Muscad ...</td> <td>25 6d</td> <td>—</td> <td>265 0d</td> <td>—</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Port No. 2...</td> <td>15 9d</td> <td>—</td> <td>205 0d</td> <td>—</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Port No. 1...</td> <td>25 6d</td> <td>—</td> <td>295 0d</td> <td>—</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sweet Red...</td> <td>15 3d</td> <td>—</td> <td>125 6d</td> <td>—</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sherry ...</td> <td>25 6d</td> <td>—</td> <td>265 0d</td> <td>—</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Wilkinson's—</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Coolata Sherry ...</td> <td>25 0d</td> <td>—</td> <td>215 0d</td> <td>—</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>					SINGLE BOT.		PER DOZEN.		Quarts	Pints	Quarts	Pints	Dalwood—					No. 2 Red ...	15 3d	05 9d	135 6d	8s 6d	Fine Red & White	18 6d	15 0d	178 6d	118 0d	Sweet Red...	25 0d	—	225 6d	—	Superfine Red and White...	28 0d	15 3d	215 0d	135 0d	Lindeman's—					Burgundy ...	25 9d	15 6d	305 0d	165 6d	Cawarra Hocks ...	28 9d	15 6d	305 0d	165 6d	Cawarra Claret ...	29 9d	15 6d	305 0d	—	Fallon's—					Frontignac...	25 6d	—	265 0d	—	Muscad ...	25 6d	—	265 0d	—	Port No. 2...	15 9d	—	205 0d	—	Port No. 1...	25 6d	—	295 0d	—	Sweet Red...	15 3d	—	125 6d	—	Sherry ...	25 6d	—	265 0d	—	Wilkinson's—					Coolata Sherry ...	25 0d	—	215 0d	—
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Figure 9: Undated and otherwise unidentified advertisement among Lindeman (Holdings) Ltd Papers, Z148, Box 157, NBAC.

A central western wine and spirit merchant proudly announced in its advertisement (Figure 9) that ‘[w]e do a very Large Trade in Colonial Wines by the Single Bottle’ and carried none but the best brands. The same merchant stocked Chateau

⁸⁵ George Wyndham, ‘Circular’, 1 August 1878.

⁸⁶ A cheque signed by John Wyndham dated Dalwood, 22 June 1872 in Stan Parkes Collection, Box 2, CCL. The Wyndham papers are held in the private collection of Brian McGuigan.

Margaux so obviously catered for a specific sort of customer; rare but willing to spend sufficiently on fine wine and other liquor to support John Meagher & Co. Note that the four colonial wine producers listed in the advertisement are Wyndham's, Lindeman's, Fallon's and Wilkinson's, companies that had established themselves by this stage and, in the case of the first two, were second generation family enterprises. Lindeman's commanded the greater price; its wines were also drier table varieties, as distinct from the fortified and/or sweet wines offered by each of the other producers. The company clearly maintained Henry's principle that light table wines were the best of alcoholic beverages.

In 1889 the New York Times published an article by a British reporter who commented on the culture of beverages in Australia. 'For some time after I landed' the reporter observed, 'I had the impression that, as beer is the national drink of England, whisky of Scotland, and wine of France, tea was the national drink of Australia'. But, no: 'while a larger proportion of persons are total abstainers in Australia than in England; that, if people drink at all, moderate drinking is rather more difficult in the Australian climate than in ours'. The reporter continued, 'the labourers living in towns are in the habit of drinking freely...a large number of men drinking up country usually drink tea, but that when they come into the towns, many of them drink very heavily'.⁸⁷ This heavy drinking usually involved, as in Britain, beer.

Efforts to change this culture included Philip Adams' 1895 article explaining how to home bottle wine purchased in bulk from wine growers.

I have never seen a published treatise on the subject [he lamented]. The prevailing ignorance here is very much to be regretted, because it precludes many persons from the wholesome enjoyment of good wine, having the alternative of beer or spirits, both of which are unsuitable to the climate

⁸⁷ *The New York Times*, 7 July 1889.

of Australia. At the cost of 1s. a bottle the consumer can have a first-class wine, and the grower secure an equally satisfactory return for his outlay. It would also give an impetus to the production of good wine.⁸⁸

Adams showed a familiar faith in the transformative qualities of wine; perhaps too great a faith in the willingness of colonial farmers reading the *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales* to want to be instructed in bottling their own wine. On the eve of Federation, New South Wales drinkers consumed 0.8 gallons of spirits, 0.7 gallons of wine and eleven gallons of beer per capita per annum.⁸⁹

Conclusion

Lindeman's vision that wine could be 'our national beverage' did not come to pass by the time the Australian colonies federated in 1901. Colonial wine growing earned only a little of the Bourdieuan distinction and cultural capital of wine imported to New South Wales on the First Fleet and reasonable profit was confined to a only few producers. Lindeman's experience mirrored that of Richard Atkins a century earlier, whose dreams of a more 'civilized' society were disappointed in the very first years of the colony of New South Wales, in his case, when the colony's military contributed to lawlessness by trading in rum.⁹⁰

The rise of a new breed of growers despite low wine consumption was not the whole story of colonial wine growing, however, and the following chapter addresses the remaining key factors affecting wine growing in the years to 1901: vine disease, new bureaucracy and access to technology. New bureaucracy became the means through

⁸⁸ P. F. Adams, 'Directions for Bottling Wine for Private Use', *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 6, March 1895: 188.

⁸⁹ Figures for 1900 cited in Dingle, 'A Truly Magnificent Thirst', 243 and 248.

⁹⁰ Phillip Lisle, 'Rum beginnings: towards a new perspective of the Grose years', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 91, no.1 (2005), see esp 28, fn 59.

which new knowledge was transmitted while growers associations, such as the Mudjee group mentioned earlier, aimed at influencing official policy as well as rather than testing and improving production. The new bureaucracy both increased and reflected access to more sophisticated technology resulting from the European fascination with machines. So, at last Sexauer's agricultural 'inputs' were in place by the end of the nineteenth century.

Chapter Nine

To 1901: grape phylloxera, new bureaucracy and technology

Wine growing in New South Wales faced the same challenges from weather and ‘pests’, such as birds, as other agricultural or horticultural industries. Vine disease had threatened colonial production in the form of so-called blight and then oidium earlier in the century. The most difficult threat, from the 1880s, would prove to be phylloxera, and while policies to eradicate the root-feeding louse were less destructive to the industry in New South Wales than in Victoria, the ultimate beneficiary of the phylloxera outbreak was South Australia, which escaped contamination. By 1901, meanwhile, New South Wales wine growing had reached a crucial stage of maturity according to Sexauer’s agricultural inputs, greatly assisted by the creation of new bureaucracy - chiefly in response to the phylloxera challenge - and access to new technology. Despite this ongoing official focus and steadily increasing investment in wine growing, South Australian producers came to dominate the new national wine market created by the abolition of inter-colonial wine tariffs with Federation in 1901.

Oidium tuckerii

Writing in the mid-1840s, William Macarthur said ‘the blight’ continued to be the only disease that threatened grape vines (for wine, table or drying), though he believed it to be a parasitical fungus, rather than some of the more far-fetched suggestions of the time. He also listed four other threats to vines: a borer grub that migrated from certain wood stakes used as trellises into the vine wood; a leaf-eating caterpillar; birds and mammals that fed on the grapes. The mammals (possums and other nocturnal fruit-eating native animals) ‘are easily traced by the Aborigines’; this being the only time William

linked Indigenous Australians with his vines. But grapes were often stolen by white thieves. 'I presume' said William, 'no one possessing a vineyard will omit the protection of a formidable hedge fence, as well as a watchman with a gun, assisted by faithful dogs, when the grapes are ripe'.¹ As for swarming insects; a recognised threat to annual grain crops: grasshoppers destroyed a twenty acre vineyard in the Upper Hunter around mid-century.² Greater threats to vine growing were on their way to New South Wales.

Oidium tuckerii, and later phylloxera, were a disastrous side-effect of colonisation and Enlightenment ideals of progress and 'civilization'.³ As American agricultural historians have commented, 'the rise of specialised and intensive agriculture, due in large measure to commercialization, mechanization and territorial expansion, resulted in rapidly increasing agricultural production but provided an ideal scenario for major plant disease outbreaks'.⁴ *Oidium* is the French name for powdery mildew, a fungus which reduces grape crop yield and produces foul tasting wine. First described in America, where it originated, in 1834, *oidium* arrived in England then spread to Europe in the mid-1840s.⁵ In France alone, the mildew devastated vine crops so that production fell from 880 million gallons in 1840 to 220 million gallons in 1854.⁶

Oidium appeared in Queensland before it was detected in New South Wales, prompting action from growers aware, from overseas newspaper reports, of its destructive power. In late 1867, for example, the Member for Patrick's Plains (present

¹ Maro (William Macarthur), *Letters on the Culture of the Vine*, 30-34. Quotes from page 34.

² Drought, for example, meant a lower-than-expected yield for vines at Murrurundi for the 1851 vintage and the grasshopper swarm attacked a vineyard at Scone and 'a few bunches of grapes, and a few bottles of wine, were the only proceeds of the vintage', see *Maitland Mercury*, 8 March 1851.

³ Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 283-292.

⁴ Paul D. Peterson, Clay S. Griffith, and C. Lee Campbell, 'Frank Lamson-Scribner and American Plant Pathology, 1885-1888', *Agricultural History* 70, no. 1 (1996): 33.

⁵ Robinson, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Wine*, 543-4.

⁶ De Castella, *John Bull's Vineyard*, 137.

day Singleton) proposed a bill to stop grapes, vines and vine cuttings from being imported into the colony from Queensland as well as from Europe and America.⁷ The next day a petition was presented to parliament with six hundred signatories calling for legislative measures to protect the colony against the spread of the mildew; the income of at least two hundred families was declared at risk of being destroyed by the vine disease.⁸ The debate about the need for the bill included a claim that only one case of oidium had been reported in Queensland and that the disease had not yet been proclaimed a problem. Opponents believed the bill would harm Queensland grape growers dependent on the New South Wales market. Supporters countered that few grapes were imported from Queensland anyway.⁹

John Dunmore Lang counted among the supporters of the bill and Italian-born Member for Queanbeyan, Leopold De Salis, invoked parallels with greater commercial enterprises, saying

it would be foolish to delay if any danger was to be apprehended of such a disease as oidium...If this disease was likely to be destructive of property as the scab in sheep or a fire in George-street, surely it behoved the hon. members to take all necessary precautions to prevent it.¹⁰

John Robertson raised concerns that preventing the importation of vine cuttings would impede vine growing. Member for Parramatta, James Farnell, believed '[t]he destruction of our vineyards would be a great loss to the public, and would ruin the prospects of many poor and industrious persons whose livelihood depended largely upon the

⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 December 1867.

⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 December 1867.

⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 December 1867.

¹⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 December 1867.

production of grapes'.¹¹ The bill did, however, pass through the Upper House without incident and became law in early 1868.¹²

Despite the legislation, a year later 'the disease had spread southward. It had broken out with virulence in the county of Cumberland and had made its appearance in the Hunter district'.¹³ A new proposal suggested compelling growers to douse all vines with sulphur, the most recommended treatment in Europe and at the Cape. Sydney growers were in favour of forced sulphuring but Albury growers believed they were protected by distance against an outbreak of oidium. A petition against the bill from the Murray district contained 658 signatures. Petitions against the sulphur measures were also received from Corowa (on the New South Wales-Victorian border), Patrick's Plains and the chairman of the Hunter River Vineyard Association.¹⁴ Sydney growers, particularly around Ryde, supported it but one dissenting voice asked why the parliament bothered to legislate against oidium when it appeared to be an act of God. Another called attention to the problem of vines as weeds which would remain untreated. This proliferation of abandoned or 'wild' grape vines in the colony received less attention than the degree of the problem represented.¹⁵ Blaxland hinted at it in the 1810s when he described abandoned vineyards but now there were wild vines 'scattered all over the country and particularly where there were large vineyards'.¹⁶ The outcome of the debate was a recommendation that the question of how best to deal with preventing oidium be referred to a select committee of parliamentary members.

¹¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 December 1867.

¹² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 January 1868.

¹³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 February 1869.

¹⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 February 1869, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 February 1869, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 February 1869.

¹⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 February 1869.

¹⁶ Gregory Blaxland to Governor Macquarie, July 1816, Bigge's Appendix, ML BT Box 15, 1433; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 February 1869.

Petitions against the Diseases in Grape Vines Prevention Bill continue to flood in. They came from Bathurst, the Hunter, Illawarra, Prospect, Fairfield, Yass, Merriwa, Dubbo, Clarence River, Carcoar.¹⁷ Albury mayor George Day sent his district's petition by telegram which could not be formally received because the orders on receipt of petitions preceded the development of 'such modes of transmission', but time remained for the petitioners to protest in the usual way.¹⁸ Petitioners in favour of the legislation to prevent oidium came from 'Burrowa' (possibly Boorowa), Central Cumberland, Appin, Port Macquarie and Clarence Town (in the Hunter Valley, as distinct from Clarence River).¹⁹ Also from Camden, Narellan and Eden.²⁰

And concern about vine disease met with continued derision from some in the lower house. Richard Driver asked, for example,

whether it was the intention of the Government, during the present session, to introduce a bill to prevent the spread of aphid in cabbages? (Laughter.) [Minister for Lands] Mr Forster said the subject had not yet been under the consideration of the Government. (Renewed laughter.)²¹

The doubts about the need for a legislative check against vine disease would not be this flippant, however, when phylloxera threatened the colonies less than a decade later.

Witnesses giving evidence to the select committee hearing on oidium tuckerii in 1869 were Charles Moore, director of the Botanic Gardens in Sydney; Philip Adams from Ettamogah; P.L. Cloete from a significant wine growing community at the Cape of Good Hope; Jules Joubert, secretary of the Agricultural Society of New South Wales, and

¹⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 February 1869, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 February 1869, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 February 1869.

¹⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 January 1869.

¹⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 January 1869.

²⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 January 1869. Petitions about the Diseases in Grapes Vines Bill were also received from other regions but it is not clear whether they were for or against. The districts represented were Wagga Wagga, Goulburn and Campbelltown.

²¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 January 1869.

William Macarthur (now knighted and a member of the colony's Legislative Council). Moore's evidence showed the lack of a comprehensive understanding of the disease in any part of the wine growing world and he stated that legislation could help to prevent oidium but that it would be useless unless neighbouring colonies enacted similar measures compelling treatment of the disease. He also believed the disease would 'run itself out in a few years'.²² Adams advocated leaving the remedies to growers. Cloete explained there was no legislation at the Cape but also a serious outbreak of the disease, implying it might have been contained by legislation; Joubert supported legislation to ensure small growers acted against oidium. Macarthur, in opposition to Adams and the Riverina growers, also strongly advocated legislation - by all colonies - to ensure growers took action, particularly small-holders who might otherwise ignore the problem because of the cost of treatment. One of Macarthur's own vineyards had recently been affected by the mildew. He advised that 'after being several times cleaned with sulphur, the disease was always noticed to begin again on the side next to a neglected vineyard in the neighbourhood'. The veteran of viticultural experiments suggested Vine Inspectors be appointed by the Executive Council to prevent local influence in identifying outbreaks of the disease.²³

The bill did not succeed but growers continued to seek a solution. In France, 'crackpot remedies abounded' such as 'herbal bonfire smokes, douching the roots in brine, washing foliage with soapy water, distempering with bizarre chemical cocktails,

²² This section has been taken from *The Albury Banner*, 10 April 1869.

²³ *The Albury Banner*, 10 April 1869.

planting potatoes among the vines to somehow draw away the poison'.²⁴ The cure, not yet perfected in the late 1860s but soon to be confirmed, involved treating vines with a mixture of copper sulphate, lime and water, known as Bordeaux mix, and still used today.²⁵

Ironically, the Riverina growers who so strenuously opposed measures to prevent oidium, had to admit it had reached their district by 1871. That year the southward spread of the disease had taken it to Waygunyah and Corowa on the Murray, and 'within seven miles of Albury'; the fearless editor of the *Albury Banner* still predicted an excellent year for wine production and that 'the disease seems to have appeared two [sic] late in the season o [sic] do much harm'.²⁶ When questioned about treating oidium, at the lecture he gave on wine growing at Corowa in 1873, Lindeman confirmed Hunter growers had success combating the disease with 'repeated sulphurings' of vines but only with the 'best of sublimed sulphur...not ground sulphur'.²⁷

Grape Phylloxera

What Lindeman could not know when he visited the Murray district was that the next challenge for his industry would be even greater than oidium. It was grape phylloxera (known in the period as phylloxera vastatrix), a small, yellow, root-feeding aphid that has caused more damage than any other vine disease or pest, perhaps due to the greater difficulty in detecting and treating it.²⁸ First noted in France in 1863, the

²⁴ Christy Campbell, *Phylloxera, How Wine Was Saved for the World* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004), 31. George Wyndham had planted potatoes between his vines in the 1830s but not likely with the intention of preventing pests.

²⁵ Peterson, Griffith, and Campbell, 'American Plant Pathology', 42-45.

²⁶ *The Albury Banner*, 11 March 1871.

²⁷ A transcript of the Corowa lecture and question time was published in *The Brisbane Courier*, 21 June 1873.

²⁸ 'Phylloxera vastatrix' as it was known in the nineteenth century is now referred to as *Daktulosphaira vitifoliae* (Fitch), or, the insect grape phylloxera. See A. M. Corrie, G. A. Buchanan and R. Van

phylloxera outbreak of the late nineteenth century is still considered as serious as the Irish Potato Blight. Phylloxera, like oidium, came from North America back to the Old World and in a case of a double strike from the New World (threats to European cultivation and undermining European pride), native American grape vines (such as Isabella) were to provide a deterrent for the aphid when the superior wine producing vines of *vitis vinifera* were grafted onto American vine rootstock.²⁹

Phylloxera was first detected in Britain in 1867 then on and off over subsequent years.³⁰ In Europe, where vineyards represented a plantation-style monoculture, the close plantings and existence of abandoned 'wild vines' outside of vineyards increased the spread of the insect and extent of damage caused. Portugal confirmed the presence of phylloxera in its vines, at Bertelo, in 1871; in the same year the insect was found in vines at Constantinople, Turkey; in 1872, the pest had spread to Austria-Hungary; in 1874, to Switzerland, near Geneva; in 1875 Italian growers confirmed phylloxera was present, though it may have been there as early as 1870. Spain was officially infected by 1878; Algeria by 1885; Greece in 1898. In the New World, Californian growers of European grape vines began to be affected in 1873.³¹ The effect on the ancient and enormous Old World wine industry was phenomenal. In 1884, in France, a million hectares of vineyards (close to 2.5 million acres) had been destroyed and more than half a

Heeswijck, 'DNA typing of populations of phylloxera (*Daktulosphaira vitifoliae* (Fitch)) from Australian vineyards', *Australian Journal of Grape and Wine Research* 3 (1997): 50. The insect's name is referred to as phylloxera here to reflect colonial usage.

²⁹ See Robinson, ed, *Oxford Companion to Wine*, 19-20, 363, 522.

³⁰ George Ordish, *Great Wine Blight* (London: Dent, 1972), 168.

³¹ Dates on the spread of phylloxera dating from Britain in 1867 are from Ordish, *Great Wine Blight*, 168-177.

million more were dying.³² To provide a point of comparison: in New South Wales, the total plantings in the same year totalled only 1857 hectares (4,584 acres).³³

In May 1872, the *Albury Banner* published an article on phylloxera in France which pointed out that the insect could spread very quickly; there was confidence in the potential for scientific study to find a solution but unless the pest could be eradicated from French vineyards, the famous Hermitage vines could be destroyed within a few years.³⁴ In 1874, South Australian grower, David Randall, hastily penned a warning to Henry Parkes, chief secretary of New South Wales. Randall recommended capitalising on the outbreak but he also recognised the danger of the phylloxera reaching Australia.

The Phylloxera is spreading to a considerable extent [he wrote], to the consternation of the viticulturalists of the continent, amongst the vineyards; especially of France and Germany – and that consequent on this, and the pooriness of the last vintage, the value of Claret and other wines has increased, to nearly or quite 100 per cent, since this period last year. From the present prospect of the wine trade it appears very probable, that our Australian wines will be sought after, to supply the increasing requirement of the trade – and that, consequent on the decreasing supply from the European vineyards, a golden opportunity is at hand, for our wines to gain a firm footing in this market. Such being probably, the almost immediate future of our wines – it is most important, that every possible step that can be taken, should be taken, to prevent the introduction of vine diseases from other parts of the world – I would therefore most respectfully, yet urgently press on you, the importance: by legislative enactment of prohibiting the importation of Vines from any part of the world, lest by that means – this most deadly Phylloxera should be brought into our vineyards.³⁵

³² Campbell, *Phylloxera*, 221.

³³ Anderson, *Statistical Register*, 920.

³⁴ *The Albury Banner*, 29 May 1872.

³⁵ David Randall to Henry Parkes, 11 March 1874, Parkes Correspondence, ML A903. Randall's emphasis.

The anxiety evident in Randall's letter surely came from his concern that his work in London to secure a market there for Australian wine at such a critical time would be destroyed if phylloxera spread to vineyards in the colonies.

The aphid was first officially identified in Australia, at Geelong, Victoria, in 1877.³⁶ It took about a year for the New South Wales legislature to respond to the phylloxera outbreak. In both Victoria and New South Wales the theory behind the legislative response was that by identifying and destroying infected vines the pest could be localised, confined and quickly eradicated.³⁷ Dealing with oidium provided a path to follow when it came to the new and more destructive threat posed by phylloxera and this time there were no jokes about cabbage aphids. Unfortunately, many wine producing countries in Europe tried to legislate to keep phylloxera at bay but the insect had usually spread faster than restrictions on vine importation.³⁸

Queensland responded quickly to news of phylloxera at Geelong, issuing a proclamation that prohibited the importation of grape vines and grape vine cuttings from Victoria.³⁹ In New South Wales, the reading of the new Grape Vines and Grapes Importation Prohibition Bill in the Legislative Assembly was followed by this comment:

The grape vine [is] one of the most valuable fruit-bearing plants that we have, and it [is] worthy of all the care and consideration that we could take for its preservation, simply for the sake of its edible qualities; but beyond that, it was of great value for the wine produced from it. The industry [is] a very promising one in this colony, and it [is] very desirable that a measure of this kind should be introduced for its protection. The bill provided for a maximum penalty

³⁶ Robinson, ed., *Oxford Companion to Wine*, 521-22.

³⁷ Dunstan, *Better Than Pommard!*, 179.

³⁸ Ordish, *Great Wine Blight*, 168.

³⁹ *New South Wales Government Gazette (NSW Gov. Gazette)*, vol. 1, 1878: 465.

of £20 for the introduction of grape-vines, vine-cuttings, or grapes.⁴⁰

Debate focused on whether the penalty could be too high. One of the strongest speakers in favour of making no amendments to the proposed bill, former colonial secretary Edward Deas Thomson, said he ‘looked upon the vine-growing industry as one of the most promising industries in New South Wales, and he would like to see every protection afforded it...It would be a pity to in any way decrease the effectiveness of this measure’.⁴¹

The new law provided thin protection, however, and the aphid that terrorised European vine growers gradually made its way from Victoria to New South Wales. Although the official ‘discovery’ of phylloxera by Henry King at Fyansford, near Geelong, occurred in 1877, others recalled vines showing signs of sickliness and decay that characterise an outbreak of phylloxera as early as 1875, also in Victoria. The disease was thought to have spread from a nursery on the Barwon River, and vineyards at Batesford and Grovedale.⁴² Between this time and first detection of the insect in New South Wales, Henry Bonnard was deputised, in 1882, to ‘obtain every possible Knowledge of everything concerning the Phylloxera disease’.⁴³ He would later report to Moore, at the Botanic Gardens in Sydney on his findings.

In New South Wales, the first signs of the phylloxera were reported at Camden Park in 1885, just three years after the death of William Macarthur. A frank appraisal of the state of the remaining three acres of vines at the estate led to the identification of

⁴⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 October 1878.

⁴¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 October 1878.

⁴² Dunstan, *Better Than Pommard!*, 178-79.

⁴³ Henry Bonnard to J Inglis, 11 March 1887, Parkes Correspondence, ML A919.

phylloxera there.⁴⁴ But Elizabeth Macarthur-Onslow, William's much-loved niece and heir, reacted strongly to the news being made public. 'Madam' received an apologetic letter from Dr Robert Ignaz Lendenfeld, who had conducted the examination. Lendenfeld, an Austrian biologist and alpinist, lived in Australia and New Zealand from 1881 to 1885.⁴⁵ He must have been given the task of inspecting Camden Park vines at the request of Elizabeth Macarthur-Onslow but she proved to be very protective of her family's reputation. Lendenfeld wrote, in response:

I hear from Mr Moore [of the Botanic Gardens] that you have been greatly enraged in consequence of my discovery of the Phylloxera having been made public. I beg to state that I wrote a Report to the Government mentioning that I had been requested by you to inform the Government of the existence of Phylloxera on your vines...I wrote on the top of the communication the word "confidential". The Government however was not influenced by this. I did not communicate with the press, which I have no communication whatsoever until after it had been published when I requested them not to mention in their [indecipherable] your name or Cambden [sic] Park. I am exceedingly sorry that annoyance to you has been caused – but as you shall perceive from the above – it has not been my fault. I think that the Government acted equally badly towards you and towards me in this matter. But this is often the way, that the most patriotic deed will be rewarded with ingratitude.⁴⁶

The event that so enraged Macarthur-Onslow could have been the publication of an article in the *Sydney Mail* earlier in April 1885 in which the existence of phylloxera at Camden Park had been commented on with a gardener reporting vines had begun to lose vigour in 1879 and then die outright in 1884.⁴⁷ It is possible the Macarthurs still had

⁴⁴ Dunstan, *Better Than Pommard!*, 187.

⁴⁵ Jurgen Tampke, *The Germans in Australia* (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 54.

⁴⁶ Letter from R. Lendenfeld, 22 April 1885, Macarthur Papers, ML A2970.

⁴⁷ *Sydney Mail*, 11 April 1885 cited in Dunstan, *Better Than Pommard!*, 187, 233n. The notion that Camden vines may have been infected for some years is in contrast to the claim that the phylloxera came to

enemies among members of government who may have relished revealing the phylloxera at Camden Park but the disease was also a matter for genuine public interest and could not realistically be kept confidential.

Among the papers in the extensive Macarthur collection on wine growing is a newspaper article with sections on phylloxera under lined, suggesting family research had been conducted before, as it certainly would have been after, the disease was detected at the estate. The name of the newspaper is obscured but the article refers to a speech at West Maitland by Angus Mackay, Instructor in Agriculture. Unhelpfully, and inaccurately, Mackay referred to oidium as '[a] more dangerous enemy for vignerons to grapple with than phylloxera' and that John Wyndham had claimed to have phylloxera in his vineyard for years without the insect completely destroying it.⁴⁸ Both Mackay's and Wyndham's claims were outlandish. They demonstrate, alongside the desire to control information about phylloxera at Camden Park, the extent to which the danger from the insect was underestimated in some quarters.

An inquiry had to be ordered in the light of the Camden Park phylloxera revelation. Bonnard, who described himself by this time as Examiner and Recorder of Colonial Vineyards and Analyst and Broker of Australian Wines, undertook vineyard-by-vineyard inspections at sites close to Sydney with his assistant, E. J. Edelfelt. In August 1885, Bonnard reported that he had not detected phylloxera during examinations of vines at Penrith, Liverpool or Ryde. He saw 'as many as 225 vineyards representing an area of some 450 acres within the Cumberland and Camden districts' but was concerned that since this had occurred during the cooler months it might not be a good guide to whether

Camden district on plant material from Victoria in 1884, Corrie, Buchanan and Heeswijck, 'DNA typing of populations of phylloxera', 55.

⁴⁸ Newspaper clipping in Macarthur Papers, ML A2969, n.p.

the insect had invaded beyond the first reported cases at a handful of vineyards: one at Camden, five in the Cumberland county.⁴⁹ Significantly, Bonnard estimated there were ‘fully 500 families within the Cumberland county alone, having largely invested in vineyards’ and he expressed deep concern for their livelihoods if the New South Wales Government did not extend the inspections of vineyards.⁵⁰ A week later Bonnard finalised his report to Moore, as head of the inquiry, and reiterated his call for further monitoring of vines for phylloxera, particularly in the districts of Campbelltown, Liverpool, Fairfield, Guilford and Sherwood. He believed that insecticide treatment of vines at infected vineyards could halt the breeding cycle of the insect and urged Moore to seek legislative support for further action to check the spread of the insect.⁵¹ The Macarthurs obtained a copy of Bonnard’s reports.⁵²

Grape phylloxera in Victoria and South Australia

Early in 1888, the Premier of Victoria expressed concern to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales that the Rutherglen and Murray River Vine Growers Association reported nothing had been done about reports of phylloxera in the northern colony.⁵³ Later that year, the South Australian Vine Growers Association also framed a letter politely but firmly urging the New South Wales Government to take more effective

⁴⁹ Henry Bonnard, *Phylloxera*, Progress Report to the Director of the Botanic Gardens, 22 August 1885, in Macarthur Papers, ML A2970.

⁵⁰ Henry Bonnard, *Phylloxera*, Progress Report to the Director of the Botanic Gardens, 22 August 1885. See also Appendix Six reference to the number of growers at Central Cumberland; Bonnard no doubt arrived at his figure from official statistics.

⁵¹ Henry Bonnard, *Phylloxera*, Final Report to the Director of the Botanic Gardens Sydney, 1 September 1885, ML A2970.

⁵² Note that the Bonnard report was among the Macarthur Papers at the Mitchell Library.

⁵³ D. Gillies to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, January 1888, Colonial Secretary of New South Wales Correspondence, *Phylloxera Papers 1888-9*, SRNSW 4/890.2.

action.⁵⁴ Parkes had already decided ‘urgent’ action was required.⁵⁵ Moore also saw the letter from the South Australian Vine Growers and reported to the Colonial Secretary that the growers could be reassured that new laws to deal with phylloxera were taking effect and it only remained for an Inspector to be appointed. Moore had the role of chairman of the Vine Diseases Board.⁵⁶ The 1888 Vines Diseases Act Amendment Act empowered a larger Vine Diseases Board – five members this time, with a quorum of three – to authorise the inspection of any vineyard regardless of whether the district had been declared under the original act. If it was determined a vineyard contained phylloxera the Board and the vine grower had only fourteen days to establish an amount of compensation or destruction of vines would proceed anyway.⁵⁷ The first area declared a Vine Diseases District under the amended Act was Camden; the first inspector, A. T. Pringle.⁵⁸

The first identified case of phylloxera under the 1888 Act came towards the end of September. The vineyard of ‘Mr Cusack’ at Seven Hills was found to be infected and the Board, with its new powers, set compensation for the destruction of the vines at £110 per acre. Moore did not stipulate the size of the vineyard but declared in his brief report to the Colonial Secretary that he believed the compensation to be too high.⁵⁹ The Vine Diseases Board believed the healthy state of Cusack’s vines entitled him to compensation to cover future lost crops. A similar decision was made regarding the vineyard of Mr Richardson, site unspecified. Moore explained the Board had devised a sliding scale of

⁵⁴ E Burney Young to the Chief Secretary (Adelaide), 7 August 1888, SRNSW 4/890.2; Chief Secretary (Adelaide) to New South Wales Colonial Secretary, 17 August 1888, SRNSW 4/890.2.

⁵⁵ Dunstan, *Better Than Pommard!*, 189.

⁵⁶ Charles Moore to the Colonial Secretary, 3 September 1888, SRNSW 4/890.2.

⁵⁷ *NSW Gov. Gazette*, vol. 1, 1887, 1069.

⁵⁸ *NSW Gov. Gazette*, vol. 1, 1888, 489; *NSW Gov. Gazette*, vol. 3, 1888, 6287.

⁵⁹ Charles Moore to the Colonial Secretary, 21 September 1888, SRNSW 4/890.2.

compensation from £10 to the level awarded to the two men mentioned, the lower figure being for vines already destroyed or in a state of decay.⁶⁰ The director of the Botanic Gardens obviously demurred on the figure at the higher end of the scale and had earlier sought advice from the government of Victoria on how it dealt with this issue.⁶¹

Victoria's policy of eradication through vine pulling made it expert in the area of compensation. In that colony, without a chemical or botanical solution yet confirmed to combat the pest, all vineyards appeared to be facing a death sentence. One grower, who lost his twenty-five acre vineyard through eradicationism declared '[a]t present there was a state of doubt and distrust in regard to the whole industry...Money could not be borrowed on the security of vineyards, and mortgages falling in would not be renewed'.⁶² While the New South Wales Vines Diseases Board waited to hear from Victoria about compensation, it too adopted a policy of vine pulling. 'All infected vines', reported Moore to the Colonial Secretary, 'must be uprooted to the depth of at least twenty inches, the ground to be carefully trenched over and every rootlet taken out and burned'.⁶³ Stakes and fence posts had to be similarly destroyed and the whole process closely supervised.

News arrived from Victoria that the average amount of compensation paid per acre to vignerons whose vines were infected with phylloxera totalled just over £24. Victoria's Vine Diseases Act provided for growers with healthy vines ordered to be destroyed to be paid no more than the estimated value – minus the cost of cultivation – of three year's crops. The loss of diseased vines was compensated at the rate of no more

⁶⁰ Charles Moore to the Colonial Secretary, 2 October 1888, SRNSW 4/890.2.

⁶¹ Charles Moore to the Colonial Secretary, 28 September 1888, SRNSW 4/890.2; Office of the New South Wales Colonial Secretary to the Premier of Victoria, Duncan Gillies, 29 September 1888, SRNSW 4/890.2.

⁶² Thomas Craike cited in Dunstan, *Better Than Pommard!*, 191.

⁶³ Charles Moore to the Colonial Secretary, 1 October 1888, SRNSW 4/890.2.

than one year's crop.⁶⁴ This effectively punished growers whose vines were infected despite the lack of agreement on the best remedy.

Grape phylloxera in the United States

The possibility that United States wine growing, centred mainly in California, would threaten Australia's hopes of eventually supplying Europe with wine was considered in the mid-1880s by South Australian vigneron Thomas Hardy. The entrepreneurial grower and distributor traveled to the famous valleys of Napa and Sonoma, and found that the United States production exceeded that of the Australian colonies not only in the quantity (Hardy's report of an output of ten million gallons per year was more than ten times greater than New South Wales production) but in terms of per capita production *and* the volume of wine produced was predicted to double before 1890.⁶⁵ However, Hardy concluded that American growers faced problems in levels of domestic consumption, the development of distribution networks and reliability of wine branding; similar to the Australian colonies.

For us in Australia [wrote Hardy] we have nothing to fear from the competition of Californian wines with ours in Europe. They have too large a market of their own to supply for many years to come; and our wines are of a quality to suit the London market much better than any I have seen of theirs...[I have] tasted excellent old wines, and very promising new wines made from hillside vines...[but] I have obtained during my visit greatly enlarged views of what we should be able to do in Australia in the production of wine and in the economical working of vineyards and cellars; many hints which will, I trust be of some service to the country of my adoption, and to myself and family.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Premier of Victoria to New South Wales Colonial Secretary, 22 October 1888, SRNSW 4/890.2.

⁶⁵ Thomas Hardy, *Notes on Vineyards in America and Europe* (Adelaide: Printed by L. Henn, 1885), 42-43. New South Wales wine production had not reached a million gallons a year by 1901, though total Australian wine production in 1901-1902 exceeded half a million gallons, see Chapter Seven.

⁶⁶ Hardy, *Notes on Vineyards*, 42-43.

Hardy reported that phylloxera seemed to cause little concern among Californian growers and they had already (presciently!) grafted their European wine grape stock onto American vine stock due to perceived increases in grape yields from this practice. He noted that phylloxera in European vines had first been detected at Buena Vista, vineyard of Agoston Haraszthy, the man credited with bringing California's wine growing to national notice in the United States; a sad parallel with the discovery of phylloxera at Camden Park after William Macarthur's valuable contribution to wine growing in the Australian colonies.⁶⁷

Remedies for grape phylloxera

Fevered experimentation in Europe led to some very unusual treatments for phylloxera. At Montpellier, centre of viticultural learning in France, tests were carried out using black soap and water, sea water and chalk, gas oil, sealing wax on pruning cuts, chloride of lime and flooding.⁶⁸ New South Wales had its own share of attempts to kill the vine louse without destroying valuable, established vineyards. The *Maitland Mercury* reported, for example, that naphthalene 'bears the reputation of destroying phylloxera, without injuring the roots of vines'.⁶⁹ A 'Dr Nolz' proposed treating infected vines with his 'mineral manure to restore the health of the plant'.⁷⁰ Moore agreed to this trial, as long as Nolz met the costs himself.⁷¹ No record remains of whether it went ahead.

Confusion continued to characterise the Vine Diseases Board response to phylloxera in New South Wales in the late 1880s. Board members: Moore, Mr Ferguson,

⁶⁷ Hardy, *Notes on Vineyards*, 16. The biographical details of Haraszthy are at Robinson, ed., *Oxford Companion to Wine*, 337-38.

⁶⁸ Ordish, *Great Wine Blight*, 208-11.

⁶⁹ *Maitland Mercury*, 12 June 1883.

⁷⁰ Dr Nolz to the New South Wales Colonial Secretary, undated, SRNSW 4/890.2.

⁷¹ Charles Moore to the Colonial Secretary, 25 October 1888, SRNSW 4/890.2.

John Kidd, John Wilkinson, Angus McKay and another, could not agree at first on whether to officially declare the districts Camden and Cumberland (Seven Hills and Toongabbie) infected with phylloxera. Moore's main priority appeared to be keeping compensation costs low. Some vine growers had reported the pest in their vines but inspectors had found no evidence of infection. Moore clearly suspected these growers sought compensation as a way of getting out of viticulture without high cost to themselves.⁷² With echoes of the debate in parliament on Holroyd's £1 wine licenses, the Board became divided, partly over the tension between determination to wipe out phylloxera and concerns about the weight on the public purse but also on the impact a declaration under the Vine Diseases Act would have on Camden and Cumberland. In the end, the declaration of the infected districts proceeded.⁷³

The Vine Diseases Board finally agreed that the maximum cost of 'forming' a vineyard and caring for it for three years before bearing ranged between £112 and £71, through Moore made it clear, again, that he believed this much higher than parliament intended in determining compensation for vine eradication.⁷⁴ The rest of the Board, at odds with Moore, decided to proceed with the eradication of the infected vines at Seven Hills, without the chairman. Moore submitted his resignation from the Board, due to disagreement over compensation and, according to Moore, the rest of the Board's propensity to call meetings without his approval because – he alleged – they were paid for meetings. Plus, the rest of the Board decided the process of vine eradication should

⁷² Charles Moore to the Colonial Secretary, 15 October 1888, SRNSW 4/890.2.

⁷³ Charles Moore to the Colonial Secretary, 17 October 1888, SRNSW 4/890.2.

⁷⁴ Charles Moore to the Colonial Secretary, 29 October 1888, SRNSW 4/890.2.

be carried out by an inspector not by Moore himself.⁷⁵ Moore apparently failed to see he obstructed the process of destroying infected vines. And phylloxera continued to spread.

Finally, in November, work began to remove three acres of vines at the Cusack vineyard, a process that included the application of unspecified substances to speed the destruction of the phylloxera insect before it reached the flying stage of its life cycle. By this time, the Richardson vineyard at Elderslie near Camden had become more seriously infected than before and two acres of vines were condemned. This information contained in a report from the Acting Chairman of the Vine Diseases Board, Kidd, must have been much more useful than some of Moore's earlier, brief reports.⁷⁶ (Moore had a known 'dislike of writing'.⁷⁷) The Colonial Secretary did not reply to Moore's letter of resignation, however, so the director of the Botanic Gardens kept up his campaign for less compensation for growers, informing Parkes that the Board could only be workable if a maximum amount of compensation per acre could be set at £86 10s instead of the Board's majority ruling for £112. His other objection, not revealed until later correspondence, related to the methods of destroying vines. He favoured digging up and burning the roots, other Board members endorsed experiments with oil and other pesticides.⁷⁸

The drama did not abate, however, with Moore declaring his mounting concern when other Board members continued to refuse to attend meetings called by him yet set their own meetings times, and after the resignation of Kidd, Moore called for an inquiry as '[s]o great a scandal as this is, I venture to say, quote unprecedented in any body

⁷⁵ Charles Moore to the Colonial Secretary, 26 November 1888, SRNSW 4/890.2.

⁷⁶ John Kidd to the Colonial Secretary, 15 December 1888, SRNSW 4/890.2.

⁷⁷ C. J. King, 'Moore, Charles (1820-1905)', *ADB*, vol. 5, 275.

⁷⁸ Charles Moore to Colonial Secretary, 26 March 1889, SRNSW 4/890.2. On the point of Moore's 'dislike of writing extend[ing] even to letter writing', see J.H. Maiden cited in King, 'Moore, Charles', 275.

connected with the Government'.⁷⁹ Discontent seethed elsewhere too. The Albury Vine and Fruit Growers Association thought the Vine Diseases Board must be incompetent, if reports were correct that vines condemned for destruction near Sydney continued to grow luxuriantly despite being allegedly infected with phylloxera. Growers from the Murray region also believed the Board lacked sufficient knowledge of phylloxera to be able to adequately deal with the outbreak, and that the seemingly arbitrary allocation of compensation caused injustice.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, the colony did not necessarily have men or women better qualified to deal with phylloxera than the current Board. Any options to deal with phylloxera remained experimental at this stage and there was not the same strong determination to remove vines wholesale as existed in Victoria.

And still, phylloxera taunted bureaucrats and growers alike. Following press criticism about the government response to the outbreak, around vintage 1889, Moore checked the state of the infected areas for himself. He found that vine roots treated at Seven Hills and Toongabbie had been damaged but not destroyed which made it possible for the vines to produce fresh shoots, giving the above-ground appearance of vigour in the plant while phylloxera were still alive. Poisons applied as part of the experimental destruction had little effect on the vines themselves and no effect whatsoever on the invading insect. He declared,

In a matter of so much importance to...this and indeed to all the adjoining Colonies, it is not creditable that so much time should have been occupied as has been done in this case, in testing unknown and expensive remedies, which the plan for eradicating the Disease provided for in the Act, that of uprooting and burning the roots, should have been entirely neglected, and for this my colleagues are wholly

⁷⁹ Charles Moore to the Colonial Secretary, 26 February 1889, SRNSW 4/890.2.

⁸⁰ *Daily Telegraph*, 16 March 1889.

responsible as they have ignored my position as chairman,
and have acted without authority Ministerial or otherwise.⁸¹

Moore did not necessarily have the support of growers in his accusations. The Corowa Vine and Fruit Growers Association told the Colonial Secretary its members believed the Acting Chairman was in the right - and presumably, therefore, hindered by Moore – and only needed the approval of the compensation funds to proceed with the plan of uprooting and burning.⁸²

As committed vine growers in Victoria watched acre after acre of vines destroyed, the phylloxera continued to advance in New South Wales amid confusion on how to best act. In 1890, responsibility for the administration of the Vine Diseases Act moved from the Colonial Secretary to the Secretary for Mines and Agriculture.⁸³ That year the Vine Diseases Board reported that a vineyard belonging to R. Thompson but leased by R. Mylecharane on Camden Road, about seven miles from Liverpool, was found to be infected with phylloxera. The vineyard was an acre-and-a-quarter in size and ‘[t]he matter has been promptly dealt with, and the work of uprooting and destroying the affected vines is now almost complete’.⁸⁴ Two years later the Parramatta Police District joined Camden and Cumberland as officially infested with phylloxera.⁸⁵ The bureaucracy grew as the pest spread. Officers, inspectors and boards were appointed for various vine districts: Cumberland, Hunter, Murray River.⁸⁶ Vine growers continued to be named. The vineyard of Mr H. Knox of Preston near Liverpool was reported to

⁸¹ Charles Moore to the Colonial Secretary, 26 March 1889, SRNSW 4/890.2.

⁸² Honorary Secretary of the Corowa Vine and Fruit Growers’ Association to the Colonial Secretary, 20 April 1889, SRNSW 4/890.2.

⁸³ *NSW Gov. Gazette*, vol. 3, 1890: 4999.

⁸⁴ *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 1, 1890: 335.

⁸⁵ *NSW Gov. Gazette*, vol. 4, 1892: 5332.

⁸⁶ *NSW Gov. Gazette*, vol. 5, 1893: 6922, 7180, 8390; *NSW Gov. Gazette*, vol. 1, 1894: 59, 653, 711, 1033, 1044; *NSW Gov. Gazette*, vol. 2, 1894: 2277, 2278, 2539.

contain phylloxera and quarantined.⁸⁷ Only a few years later grape growers at Liverpool, such as an M. Zani, continued to argue that phylloxera was not as ‘injurious’ in New South Wales and perhaps vines had hosted phylloxera for many years without harm.⁸⁸ Surely the desire to reduce production costs drove such wishful thinking.

In 1898, information showing the most effective remedy for phylloxera involved grafting European grapes on to North American vine rootstock – with its immunity to the insect - was finally taken seriously.⁸⁹ The New South Wales Department of Agriculture began importing phylloxera-resistant root stock which the minister hoped would ‘guarantee the permanency of the vine growing industry, even if the disease should spread’.⁹⁰ This measure did not promise a quick solution, as vines grow slowly, but had saved the European wine industry. Ironically, using American root stock altered Old World plantings, inserting imported roots between the best European wine grape vines and the soil they grew in.

In 1899, officials in New South Wales and Victoria sought a formally united approach. An Intercolonial Conference on Phylloxera agreed it was ‘desirable that a thorough system of inspection be instituted in the various colonies, with a view to detecting the earliest appearance of phylloxera, and advising that resident inspectors be appointed for each wine district in each colony’.⁹¹ Authorities in colonial Victoria were slow to shift from eradication to the use of American root stock, which Dunstan has blamed for the virtual destruction of what had been a thriving industry in that colony.

⁸⁷ *NSW Gov. Gazette*, vol. 2, 1894: 1478.

⁸⁸ *The Brisbane Courier*, 19 January 1897.

⁸⁹ Department of Agriculture export, Michele Blunno had recommended this action from 1897. See P. J. Mylrea, *In the Service of Agriculture: A Centennial History of the New South Wales Department of Agriculture, 1890-1990* (Sydney: NSW Agriculture and Fisheries, 1990), 58.

⁹⁰ *The Brisbane Courier*, 2 November 1898. See also T.A. Coghlan, *Wealth and Progress 1898-1899*, Twelfth issue (Sydney: Printed by William Applegate Gullick for the NSW Government, 1900), 785.

⁹¹ *The Brisbane Courier*, 4 September 1899.

Hubert De Castella's son, Francois, led efforts to use the grafting solution but, as Dunstan has explained, factors such as the South Australian government investment in vine pulling in Victoria – to protect South Australia's wine and grape industry – prevented replanting that could have maintained the Victorian wine industry.⁹² A staff member from the Rutherglen Viticultural Station (in northern Victoria) wrote in 1901,

[n]othing now appears more ludicrous than the constantly reiterated advice tendered by authorities in vine districts free from the insect to unfortunate growers in attacked districts to persevere in their attempts at 'total extinction' and not to plant American vines.⁹³

Clearly inter-regional and inter-colonial relations became a casualty of the phylloxera outbreak in the Australian colonies.

New bureaucracy

While phylloxera threatened to destroy colonial wine growing in New South Wales, sufficient farmers remained committed to growing wine grapes to raise wine production to close to 900,000 gallons by 1901.⁹⁴ Much of the credit for this achievement must go to colonial government investment in agricultural support. This investment included specialist staff, published material and the establishment of viticultural stations to research grapes for wine, table and eating.. Indeed, 'viticulture and the fruit industries attracted the earliest and greatest attention of the primary industries in existence in New South Wales when the Department was formed...and have the longest departmental history of any of the agricultural industries'.⁹⁵ The staff employed to oversee scientific developments and dissemination of knowledge for horticulture (but

⁹² Dunstan, *Better Than Pommard!*, 191-93.

⁹³ Cited in Campbell, *Phylloxera*, 187n.

⁹⁴ See Chapter Seven, footnote 121.

⁹⁵ Mylrea, *In the Service of Agriculture*, 55.

ultimately concentrating on viticulture) were two consultants, called Inspectors: J. Adrien Despeissis, until 1895, and Michele Blunno, from 1896. Despeissis had studied at England's Royal Agricultural College and at Louis Pasteur's laboratory in France. Blunno studied viticulture in France and focused principally on eradicating phylloxera and advancing colonial skills in wine making.⁹⁶

With the creation of the Department of Agriculture in 1890 came the *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, a recognition that 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'.⁹⁷ Evidence for the benefit of such publications included the French Government's library on phylloxera and establishment of the *Gazette* signalled a new maturity in colonial agricultural science: 'to the present time we have been the happy recipients of the experience of many civilized countries, but have not been able to sufficiently reciprocate these courtesies'.⁹⁸ No longer would farmers seeking reliable information to assist in the complex process of decision-making in farming have to rely principally on the subjectivities of the colonial press.

As early as 1891, the *Gazette* reprinted an article by a United States entomologist (insect expert) on the success of grafting *vitis vinifera* onto phylloxera-resistant American rootstock.⁹⁹ Blunno contributed another article several years later sharing current international research and confirming the need for use of American rootstock.

Ampelographically: Despeissis wrote of the developing interest in Italian grape varieties, assisted particularly by the investment of Dr Fiaschi at Tizzana on the Hawkesbury. In

⁹⁶ Mylrea, *In the Service of Agriculture*, 56.

⁹⁷ No author specified, 'Introductory', *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 1, 1890: 1.

⁹⁸ *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 1, 1890: 2.

⁹⁹ C. V. Riley, 'Phylloxera', *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 2, May 1891: 259-262.

1891, Despeisis identified seven Italian varieties doing well in the colony: Barbarossa at the vineyard of G. Offner at Wellington and Pulver & Sons at Wagga Wagga; Barbera Fina of Asti, which Fiaschi reported seeing in small vineyards in the Cumberland district; San Gioveto, Canaiulo Nero, Mammolo, Malvasia and Aleatico, all of which were planted at Tizzana. Malvasia also grew at Pulver & Sons vineyard. All of the varieties were described as suitable for wine, often in blends rather than a single varietal and Malvasia also could be sold as a table grape.¹⁰⁰

Experimental farms were established by the Department of Agriculture to test new plant science theories and provide education for farmers. Wagga Wagga Experiment Farm started in 1892 and included a viticultural component. This section was small compared with grain cropping and livestock sections but vital for vine growers seeking grafted plant stock to combat phylloxera. Howlong Viticultural Station, near Albury and Corowa, began in 1900, aimed specifically at providing phylloxera-resistant rooted vines once the Department recognised outlandish cures for phylloxera were useless. Instruction in viticulture was also carried out at Howlong.¹⁰¹

Success at the World's Columbian Exhibition at Chicago, in the United States, in 1893 was strong evidence of the role of agricultural organisation to the increased sophistication of wine growing in New South Wales in the final decade of the colonial century. More than fifty prizes were awarded to colonial producers from throughout the colony's wine producing regions.¹⁰² Most of the prizewinners listed were from family

¹⁰⁰ Despeisis, 'Choice Italian Grapes', 804-806.

¹⁰¹ Mylrea, *In the Service of Agriculture*, 269 and 57-59. Howlong remained in Department hands until 1924 when the demand for plant stock became reduced and the site was sold to the South Australian Phylloxera Board, Mylrea, *In the Service of Agriculture*, 58. By 1920, Howlong produced the phylloxera-resistant rootstock used for grafting *vitis vinifera* at Narara Viticultural Nursery on the Central Coast. See *New South Wales Official Yearbook*, copies in Lloyd Evans Papers, SLSA PRG 1453/12/1.

¹⁰² Full list in Appendix Four.

enterprises and they represented the main areas of production in this period: the Hunter, the Riverina, the Central West and Inverell in the New England.

Technology

Using Sexauer's list of agricultural 'inputs', the final factor necessary to ensure the establishment of colonial wine growing in New South Wales was technology. Since the technology for planting, nurturing and harvesting wine grapes remained rudimentary at this point throughout the wine growing world, New South Wales had no trouble matching international developments in this respect. A grower could manage with a horse drawn plough, stakes, pruning tools, buckets, and containers for fermenting the wine grapes; bottles or barrels for distribution. Saccharometers for measuring the ratio of sugar to acid in grapes ready for harvest were not expensive and had been in use for some time.¹⁰³ Wine presses could be as simple or as sophisticated as a grower could afford.

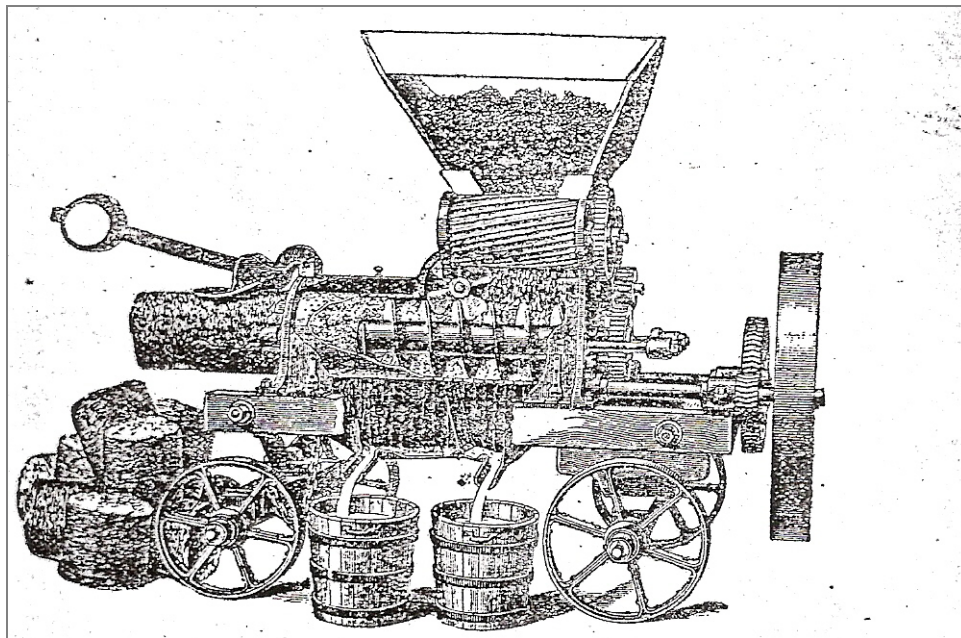


Figure 10: 'A Continuous Wine Press', *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 10, August 1899: 837.

¹⁰³ See for example, *Maitland Mercury*, 25 January 1851.

The press illustrated above had been sighted by a correspondent to the *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales* during a visit to the Victorian vineyard of Francois De Castella (Figure 10). The correspondent reported that the size of De Castella's Chateau Dookie vineyards – 600 acres of bearing vines – required such a machine, which could press forty-five to fifty tons of grapes a day.¹⁰⁴ Official statistics on the number of presses in operation in New South Wales in 1888 show that, of a total of 360, most were in the principal wine growing areas of the Hunter, the Riverina and Sydney districts, though the return indicates small clusters of presses in districts such as the Hastings and Manning, and Inverell, as well as a handful at smaller centres and sometimes a single press operating within an electorate.¹⁰⁵ When compared with the figures on the number of vigneron, it becomes clear that most grape growers did not own a wine press and, among those who grew wine rather than table grapes, most would have either borrowed or hired a press or sold their grapes to a winery possessing a press.¹⁰⁶

Significant changes in technology occurred in bottling and storage as shown in an 1888 edition of the trade publication *The Australian Brewer's Journal* (Figure 11). Bottling technology applied to brewing and soft drink manufacture as well as the smaller industry of wine making. As with the labour-saving principles of wine presses, bottling machines created the potential for increased production. The fact that colonial producers had access to the same corking apparatus and bottle-washers as in the metropole (evidenced by manufacturer, Lumley & Co being based in London) meant geographical distance could not be an obstacle in conditions of production relating to technology.

¹⁰⁴ J. Thompson, 'A Continuous Wine Press', *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 10, August 1899: 837.

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix Five.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix Six.

L. LUMLEY & CO., CORK MERCHANTS

MANUFACTURERS OF

Metallic Capsules, Bottling Wire, &c., Fancy Label and Show Card Printers and Designers, and General Bottlers' Machinists, and Sundriesmen,

1 America Square, and 121 Minories, London.

"No Plus Ultra" Corking Machine.



The Long Lever Corking Machine.



"Invicta" Corking Machine.



"Side Clamp" Corking Machine.



Straight Lever Action Corking Machine.



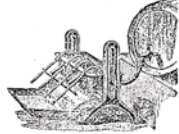
New Patent Capsuling Machine.



Syphon Filling Machine, With Rack Motion.



Ball-Floot Syphon Filling Machine, with Gauze Filter Tap.



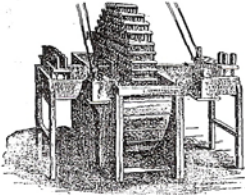
The "Improved" Syphon Filling Machine, with Gauze Filter Tap.



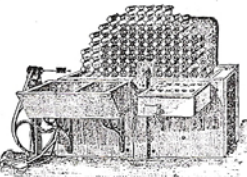
Rotary Racking Pump.



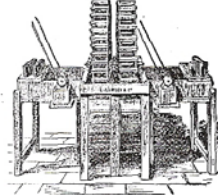
Bottle Washing Machine, Double Combined Wheel.



Bottle Washing Machine, with "Lightning" Treadle Machine attached.



Bottle Washing Machine, Double Separate Wheels.



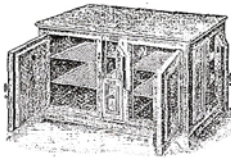
The "Lathe" Bottle Washing Machine.



The "Lightning" Bottle Washing Machine.



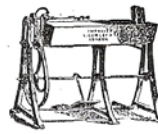
The "Royal" Refrigerator.



The "Lightning" Bottle Washing Machine, With Spring Valve and Wire Stopcock.



The "Improved" Bottle Washing Machine.



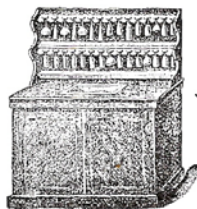
New Improved Lemon Press.



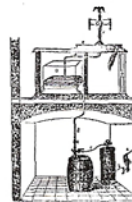
Refrigerating Cabinet for Lager Beer or Cider.



Wine Cabinet.



Lager Beer Engine.



Beer Engine.



Illustrated Catalogue, with Prices of above, replete with particulars of every requisite in connection with the Bottling Trades

Figure 11: A collection of machines and cabinets in the *Australian Brewer's Journal*, 20 November 1888.

Federation and the end of intercolonial tariffs

While the future of wine production appeared to have had little impact on Federation debates in New South Wales from the 1880s, as Dunstan wrote with respect to Victoria, the dismantling of intercolonial trade barriers in 1901 led to the creation of a ‘new “national” wine industry’ which increasingly became ‘a South Australian preserve with ownership concentrated in South Australia’.¹⁰⁷ Victorian protectionism, compared with New South Wales’ free trade policy, which has been described as hindering the southern colony’s growth between the 1870s and Federation, may have left Victorian wine growers more vulnerable than those in New South Wales to the greater production and more sophisticated distribution structures of South Australian producers.¹⁰⁸ In the 1880s, Victoria’s duty on wine was six shillings a gallon; while the tariff in New South Wales stood at four shillings a gallon, though champagne attracted an eight shillings a gallon tariff in Victoria from 1879 as demand for this imported sparkling wine began to boom.¹⁰⁹ Victoria’s protectionism encouraged local production but also raised the costs of imported technology and evidence of a consumer preference for South Australian wines in Victoria led at least one grower in Rutherglen to pull vines.¹¹⁰

While wine growing seems to have made little impact on the tenor of the New South Wales debate about Federation, South Australia’s largest wine grower and distributor, Thomas Hardy, lobbied vigorously for the union of the Australian colonies. Hardy looked forward to free trade. He declared that ‘South Australia is better adapted

¹⁰⁷ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard!*, xvii.

¹⁰⁸ The comparison of trade policies is made in George Bossy, ‘Effects of Tariff Protection on Economic Development in Australia: Victoria and New South Wales from 1871 to 1900’, (PhD thesis, University of Columbia, 1964), 370.

¹⁰⁹ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard!*, 158-159.

¹¹⁰ Dunstan, *Better than Pommard!*, 159-160.

than any other colony for producing a variety of wines’ and the ‘yes’ vote for Federation was over eight-five per cent in wine growing districts the Barossa, McLaren Vale and Clare Valley, compared with an average of two-thirds for the state as a whole.¹¹¹

Federation presented South Australian producers with an opportunity to establish a greater control of the new national market that would last for some years.¹¹²

Conclusion

Despite phylloxera, New South Wales vine plantings were not completely routed by the end of the century, though only marginal growth occurred in total vine acreage. The table of figures below shows falls in acreage of grape vines and wine production coincided with the height of the problem in the colony (Table 2). As colonial statistician, Coghlan, concluded, the phylloxera – and to a lesser extent diseases such as oidium - had caused enough alarm to stop investment and dampen enthusiasm in the wine trade.¹¹³

<i>Year</i>	<i>Acreage under vines</i>	<i>Wine made (gals)</i>
1888	7,072	805,813
1898	7,867	688,685
1890	8,044	842,181
1891	8,281	913,107
1892	8,264	931,542
1893	7,375	748,929
1894	7,577	731,683
1895	7,519	885,673
1896	8,061	794,256
1897	8,083	864,514
1898	8,078	845,232
1899	8,278	739,668
1900	8,441	891,190
1901	8,606	868,479

Source: H. C. L. Anderson, *New South Wales Statistical Register (1908)*, 920-921

¹¹¹ Faith, *Liquid Gold*, 74 and 105.

¹¹² Dunstan, *Better than Pommard!*, 204.

¹¹³ T. A. Coghlan, *Wealth and Progress 1898-1899*, twelfth edition (Sydney: Printed by William Applegate Gullick for the NSW Government, 1900), 785.

The trend began to turn around from the mid-1890s when plantings were again on the rise.

Mirroring the phenomenon of ‘two steps forward, one step back’ a half century earlier, wine growing in New South Wales advanced with respect to investment, agricultural organisation (particularly bureaucracy) and technology in the final years of the nineteenth century but growth continued to be constrained overall by low consumption. Although wine growing by now had deep roots in New South Wales, it was due to the development of viticulture generally (including table and drying grapes) than to the creation of a culture of wine drinking. The threat of phylloxera concentrated efforts in research and education towards vine growing though Department of Agriculture viticultural experts, and others, began to distribute more material about the process of making wine for those who had snared sufficient market share among domestic drinkers to turn a profit from their enterprises.¹¹⁴ This opened up new, efficient channels for transmission of knowledge. But the industry had become more sophisticated in South Australia. Export of Australian wine was driven from that colony and when the Australian colonies became states of a federated nation, South Australia continued to lead the way in terms of size and success of wine production.

By way of a cultural postscript: a 1901 newspaper article reported that Britain - long a naval power - had for the first time used colonial wine, a Cape wine, as the bottle broken on the bow to launch a British warship. Henceforth, for

future launches of British warships the rite will be performed with colonial, or, perhaps it would be more proper to say Imperial wine. South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales are, it is believed, the only Australasian

¹¹⁴ Examples include ‘The Bottling of Wines’, *The Australian Brewers’ Journal*, 20 June 1889, 244; ‘On Filtering Wine’ in *The Australian Brewers’ Journal*, 20 September 1889, 334.

colonies from which at present wine is a regular article of export, but, if any of the others produce it they will doubtless be admitted to share the same privilege. Such concessions on the part of the Mother Country, though trivial in themselves and of but little significance from a commercial point of view, yet have a distinct value of their own as a matter of sentiment, and form a graceful recognition of the unity of the Empire, which cannot fail to be fully appreciated in our colonies.¹¹⁵

Did this represent acceptance from the metropole at last, symbolically if not commercially? Research beyond 1901 would be required to test this.

¹¹⁵ *The Times of London*, 16 February 1901.

Conclusion

'Vineyard of the World'?

By the time the Australian colonies federated in 1901, wine growing in New South Wales could be described as an 'industry', albeit a small one. Conditions of production or 'inputs', as described by Sexauer, had matured. Consumption reached a sufficient level so that 'sellers' operated within an established network of distribution.¹ The creation of this industry resulted from the adaptation of a complex perennial plant to a new biological environment but co-existing with the challenge of imperfect knowledge were socio-cultural forces which limited the demand for wine. The desire to create a 'civilized' drink and a 'civilizing' industry in colonial New South Wales, though driven by commercial imperatives, was fuelled by faith in the transformative qualities of wine and wine growing; that is, of their imagined symbolic and cultural capital, as defined by Bourdieu, rather than in response to any real consumer demand. Ultimately New South Wales and the other Australian colonies did become civil societies but not because of wine production or accompanied by any significant wine consumption.

The colonial press and publications played a key role in imagining wine growing as an ideal and idyllic pursuit for colonists in New South Wales. Late in the nineteenth century, American migrant H. Mortimer Franklyn joined those recommending the Australian colonies take advantage of lower production in Europe due to phylloxera in *Glance at Australia in 1880: or, Food from the South: Showing the Present Condition and Production of some of its leading industries, namely, Wool, Wine, Grain, Dressed Meat, etc etc*. Franklyn went as far as describing Australia as 'The Vineyard of the

¹ It was, however, a long way from being 'industrialised'.

World'.² He obviously used some licence in listing wine immediately after wool in 'leading industries' and such claims were scoffed at by the French.³ A retort about the quality and quantity of Australian wine, published in the *Gironde* of Bordeaux noted what others had long acknowledged, that regions of the Australian colonies had similar sunlight hours and weather to parts of Europe, such as the north of Spain and the south of France (but that Tasmania was a miniature Switzerland!). The article went on, however, to declare that colonial wines were made 'badly in general' and that, with respect to the true potential of the colonies to export wine to Europe, 'views of Australians, should, in our opinion be more modest'; the colonies were yet to make enough for home consumption let alone to send to Europe.⁴ And even if the means could be found to increase quality and transportability of the wines, only enough was produced to supply France for a single day!

Australian viticulture will never take, not the place to which it aspires, but the place it might occupy, until it succeeds by patient culture of vines suitable to the soils in correcting in the wines those faults which only disappear after many years of patient watching. The industry of cask-making is yet in its infancy in the colonies, and most of the vignerons put their wines in old port, sherry, or brandy casks, the produce of Europe, which tends to alter the character of the wines...[And] in spite of phylloxera the European vineyards are still fertile enough to satisfy the whole consumption of the old continent, as well as their clients over the sea, and that with conditions of cheapness and quality which defy all productions either of Australia or America.⁵

² H. Mortimer Franklyn, *A Glance at Australia in 1880: Or, Food from the South, Showing the Present Condition and Production of Some of Its Leading Industries...* (Melbourne: The Victorian Review Publishing Company, 1881), 160-61. On other efforts to capitalise on French losses through phylloxera see Ordish, *Great Wine Blight*, 168.

³ New South Wales exports are shown in Appendix One, on which wine does not register as economically significant.

⁴ Article from *Gironde* printed in *The Australasian* and reprinted in *Maitland Mercury*, 26 June 1883.

⁵ *Maitland Mercury*, 26 June 1883.

When this appeared in the *Maitland Mercury* it received the headline, 'Wine Boasting' and although there had long been boasting about colonial wine, the sub-editor of the newspaper believed the French were the ones crowing too loudly on their 'manure-heap'.⁶ An accurate assessment of colonial wine production was not necessarily palatable as it challenged the image some educated colonials wished to portray.

While the press sought to influence colonial culture as much as reflect it, official views of the economic state of wine growing provided a more reliable view. In 1898, a specialist from the Department of Agriculture stood before the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science to give a paper on 'wine-culture in New South Wales'. He stated, more pragmatically than Franklyn, that compared with the 2,600 million gallons of wine produced in the world in 1895, the less than a million gallons produced in New South Wales was a 'quantity not worth talking about'. The colony's export trade for 1895 amounted to a mere 21,557 gallons; 'so that when the export of our wines is under discussion we may be said to have no export trade, and are scarcely likely to when it is considered that we do not supply sufficient good wines for the local demand, which is expanding rapidly'.⁷ The likelihood of any - or all - of the Australian colonies supplying any significant quantity of wine to Europe seemed not only remote but absurd. F. B. Kyngdon's advice to growers was: get it right for home consumers first because they are becoming more receptive to colonial wines.

⁶ *Maitland Mercury*, 26 June 1883. As for the problem of re-using wine casks; Australian producers still purchase French and American oak barrels for such purposes today; that other woods were not suitable for cask making had clearly not been adequately established in New South Wales by the end of the nineteenth century.

⁷ Kyngdon, 'Wine-culture in New South Wales', 366-367.

Similarly, in the same period, the first director of the Department of Agriculture summed up the strong link between the cultural and the commercial in his first Annual Report:

Perhaps the greatest possible good to this young industry [wrote H. C. L. Anderson] would be caused by the popularising of our Colonial wines, as they are called, and by convincing our middle classes of the superiority of pure, well-matured Australian wines over the great proportion of foreign wines, so called, which are introduced into this country. When our upper classes will have ceased to consider it *infra dig* to place colonial wines on the table, and our lower classes will have learned to appreciate the light wines of this Colony as the natural drink of this country, we shall be able to provide a home consumption for our own produce instead of sending it to England and France to be manipulated and returned to ourselves as Spanish port, German hock, and French clarets.⁸

Here, Anderson (also government statistician and policy adviser), identified the distinction between Australian social classes with respect to wine and recommended the industry create a product suited to domestic consumption and market it to Australian drinkers rather than continue to export an inferior wine that experienced the same fate as Cape wine earlier in the century. That is, to be used as a blend rather than having a reputation in its own right. Anderson's notion of wine as the 'natural drink of this country' echoed Lindeman's earlier campaign. But, if wine growing had been perfected sooner would the colony, and the country, have embraced wine as its national drink as Lindeman, and others, had hoped? Not likely, though future research concentrating on comparative studies of wine growing and patterns of consumption in the other Australian colonies with Britain and other British settler societies could test this further.

⁸ H. C. L. Anderson cited in Mylrea, *In the Service of Agriculture*, 55. *Infra dig* is 'below one's dignity'; A. Delbridge and J. R. L. Bernard, *The Macquarie Concise Dictionary*, Third ed. (Sydney: The Macquarie Library, 1998), 579.

Another official source concluded in the early twentieth century, that the

production of wine in Australia has not increased as rapidly as the suitability of the soil and general favourableness of conditions would appear to warrant. The cause of this is probably twofold, being in the first place due to the fact that the Australians are not a wine-drinking people and consequently do not provide a local market for this product, and in the second to the fact that the news a comparatively unknown wines of Australia finds it difficult to establish a footing in the markets of the old world [sic], owing to the competition of well-known brands.⁹

The extent to which New South Wales consumers were ‘not a wine drinking people’ (nor influenced by the existence of wine and wine growing to be more sober) was emphasised in the first years after Federation when the former colony’s drinkers spent one hundred per cent more on beer, and twenty-five per cent more on spirits, than Victorians.¹⁰

Advocates of wine growing hoped a higher rate of production might have been achieved but the arc of development for wine growing up to 1901 did not imitate that of the nation-building commodities of wool, wheat, beef, gold and other minerals. Those hoping for an Australian wine ‘boom’ would have to wait until the 1990s when domestic and international customers discovered Australian-produced chardonnay and other varieties.¹¹ This raises questions about the cultural conditions in the late twentieth century that made this possible; certainly a subject for future academic research once histories have been written of wine growing in South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania and Queensland; colonial Victoria already having been explored by Dunstan.¹²

⁹ *Commonwealth Year Book, 1901-1907*, 328.

¹⁰ F. B. Smith, ‘Curing alcoholism in Australia, 1880s-1920s’, *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 8 (2006), 151.

¹¹ Faith, *Liquid Gold*, 5.

¹² Dunstan sums up the key factors affecting Victorian wine growing in his Introduction. See Dunstan, *Better than Pommard!*, xi-xviii. Faith’s book, while inspired by the boom in Australian wine production and well-researched by the historian-turned-journalist, could not give a satisfactory answer for the question about what changed in Australian culture to made wine growing a significant agricultural industry in the

Some economic research undertaken in New South Wales mentions the historic difficulty in ‘industrial profitability’ from wine growing; the phenomenon that, well into the twentieth century, ‘[f]ew producers of the past could safely specialise in wine’.¹³ Yet, in the Hunter Valley in the 1970s, ‘the fact that small and large investments have gone on for such a long time indicate that there is a bedrock curve of profitability, which, despite fluctuations, has shown a generally upward trend’; modest but still upward.¹⁴ Somehow, wine growing can be valuable without being highly profitable. Even as Australian wine growing experienced a renaissance in the 1960s there still existed the paradox that wine growing could attract deep emotional attachment in the aesthetic of an ordered landscape and the production of (what was, and is still perceived) as a gentle, sophisticated intoxicant and yet fail to produce impressive profits. Renwick noted that ‘the vineyards of the Hunter Valley are to be treasured and promoted for their aesthetic and recreational values, as well as for economic and financial reasons’.¹⁵ He referred as others had before him to the ‘civilizing’ effect of vines. He called it ‘the relief to the landscape of the green vines, the red, purple, brown and grey soils crossed by row after row of orderly lines of bearers and vines’ as well as other ‘pleasant’ aspects of vineyards and wineries.¹⁶ Such effects create spin-off profits through tourism yet colonial visits to vineyards and wineries have been largely unexplored as a cultural practice in its own right.

twenty-first century in terms of scholarship, see Faith, *Liquid Gold*, especially the chapter ‘Why Australia?’, 3-17.

¹³ Cyril Renwick, *A Study of Wine in the Hunter Region of N.S.W.* (Hunter Valley Research Foundation Monograph No. 39) (Newcastle: Hunter Valley Research Foundation 1977), 5.

¹⁴ Renwick, *Study of Wine*, 5.

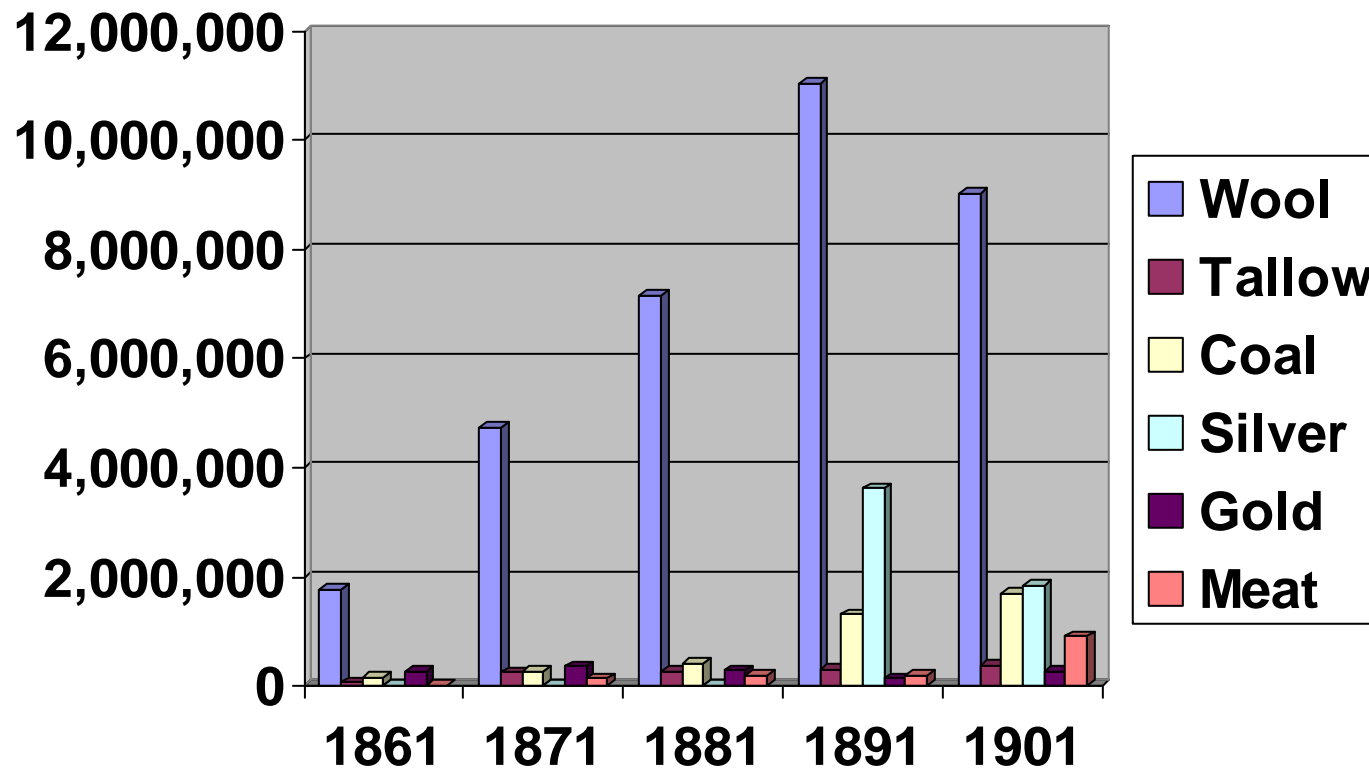
¹⁵ Renwick, *Study of Wine*, 4.

¹⁶ Renwick, *Study of Wine*, 4.

This thesis has argued that wine growing was considered a natural choice for the biological colonisation of New South Wales from the first planning and execution of the establishment of a prison camp and a 'civil' society at the western edge of the Pacific. Due to their perceived transformative qualities, vine cultivation, wine making and wine drinking were encouraged by government figures and institutions in New South Wales at various times during the colonial century as well as being frequently promoted in publications and newspapers as part of the self-fashioning of the colony; as much to 'civilize' the landscape and colonial inhabitants as for profit. Wine did not tame what educated colonists considered rum (or beer)-soaked working classes and perceived as degrading the colonial project in New South Wales. Reforms based on faith in the transformative powers of wine and wine growing were gradually defeated by the beer-drinking habitus of the British-derived migrants who made up the largest portion of the colonial population. Australian wine growing colonies did not become the 'Vineyard of the World' by Federation; this proved to be a cultural imagining. There did emerge, however, within the small world of colonial wine growing, a rich body of knowledge, practice and literature; forgotten aspects of colonial life that foreshadowed the profitable rise of an Australian wine industry a century later.

Appendix One: Produce of New South Wales Exported, 1861 - 1901

Source: H. C. L. Anderson, *New South Wales Statistical Register* (Sydney: William Applegate Gullick, Government Printer, 1908), 919.



Notes: The numerical figures are in pounds (£). The statistics for silver include silver lead and ore, exclusive of spelt concentrates, etc; the figures for gold are exclusive of coin. Wine exports from New South Wales were too small to register in these figures.

Appendix Two: Grape varieties in New South Wales, 1830

Sources: 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), 37-45; for other names only, George Kerridge and Angela Gackle, *Vines for Wines, A Wine Lover's Guide to the Topo Wine Grape Varieties* (Collingwood, Vic.: CSIRO Publishing, 2005); also *Maitland Mercury*, 21 August 1850.

Variety	Importer(s)	Year imported	Colour	Comments	Other names
Burgundy	John Macarthur	1817	Black	Generally but inaccurately called the claret grape Source of most of the red wine in the colony Cultivated by Gregory Blaxland	Possibly Pinot Noir
Miller's Burgundy	John Macarthur Samuel Marsden	1817	Black	Cultivated by Gregory Blaxland	Meunier, Pinot Meunier, Schwartzriesling
Black Muscadelle			Black	Cultivated and liberally distributed by Robert Campbell Robert Townson made a 'passable sweet wine' from this at Bunbury Curran near 'Campbell-Town'	Tokay [but possibly white muscadelle only?]
Black Muscadelle (2)	John Macarthur	1817	Black	Distinct from variety cultivated by Campbell	
Red Muscadelle	AA Company	1825	Black	For sweet wines, seemed to be blight proof	
Tinta or Tintilla	AA Company	1825	Black	For making wine in hot climates but for colouring wine in cooler areas Cultivated at Camden Park Mr Fraser at the Botanic Gardens raised this variety, independently, from seed	

Variety	Importer(s)	Year imported	Colour	Comments	Present-day name
Black Portugal or Oporto	John Macarthur	1817	Black	Some plants also at the Male Orphan School, also possibly at Dr Townson's vineyard William Macarthur and Busby agreed wine from it was insipid but worth more effort because it was used in 'port'	
Wantage Grape	AA Company	1825	Black	Also grown at Camden, but maybe not as a wine grape	
Black Hamburg			Black	Cultivated for many years at the Botanic Gardens, Sydney plus	
Black Hamburg (cont'd)	William Macarthur	1829?	Black	many cuttings distributed throughout the Colony; an excellent eating grape, not a wine grape	
Black Hamburg			Black	Sent to Macarthur from England	
Black Cluster			Black	Possibly a Burgundy grape, cultivated for many years in the colony, cultivated at the Botanic Gardens, not a good bearer	
Red Hamburg	William Macarthur	1829?	Black	Sent to Macarthur from England	
Unidentified black grape			Black	A vine Busby could not identify grew at Mr Campbell's, Mr Johnston's of Annandale and the late Dr Townson's vineyard. It was a poor bearer but had recently been tried at Bayley Park by Mr Jones where it did better. Good for raisins.	

Variety	Importer(s)	Year imported	Colour	Comments	Present-day name
Sweetwater	John Macarthur Others, unidentified	1817	White	The most common variety in the colony, usually an eating grape – generally subject to more blight than other varieties. Several sub-varieties available including Macarthur's from 1817 importation. William Macarthur made it in to a 'pleasant light wine'.	
French Gouais	John Macarthur	1817	White	Poor eating grape and so far had made 'poor, insipid' wine	
Verdelho, Verdelet (Madeira grape)	AA Company George Townshend Mr Park of Williams' River	1825	White	Townshend and Park also reported other varieties from Madeira	Gouveio (Portugal)
White Muscat of Alexandria	Lord Charles Somerset to Sir Thomas Brisbane	1825	White	Somerset sent the vines to Brisbane from the Cape. Understood to be a variety from which Constantia was made; both William Macarthur and Mr Fraser believed them to be blighted as of the previous spring	Muscat Gordo Blanco
White Muscadelle	Mr Campbell	1805	White	Vines imported from the Cape by Mr Campbell, sen. And long cultivated by him. Mr Fraser believed it same as the preceding.	
Green Grape from the Cape	Somerset to Brisbane	[1825?]	White	Cultivated at Camden and at Botanic Gardens, said to be a delicious table grape	Semillon, Hunter River Riesling, Barnawatha Pinot
Royal Muscadine	William Macarthur	1829?	?	Sent to Macarthur from England	

Variety	Importer(s)	Year imported	Colour	Comments	Present-day name
White Frontignac	William Macarthur	1829?	White	Sent to Macarthur from England	Muscat a petits grains, Muscat d'Alsace, Moscato d'Asti
White Corinth	William Macarthur	1829?	White	Sent to Macarthur from England	
Red Corinth	William Macarthur	1829?	White	Sent to Macarthur from England	
Collares	Captain Wilson Director of Public Works	1829-30		Part of valuable collection from Lisbon	
Bucellas	Captain Wilson	1829-30		Part of valuable collection from Lisbon	
'Port'	Captain Wilson	1829-30		Part of valuable collection from Lisbon	
Calcavella	Captain Wilson	1829-30		Part of valuable collection from Lisbon	
Muscatel	Captain Wilson	1829-30		Part of valuable collection from Lisbon	
Muscatel	Alexander Riley	1829-30		Riley, of London, sent vines to NSW	
Panse	Alexander Riley	1829-30		Riley, of London, sent vines to NSW	
White Hermitage	Alexander Riley	1829-30	White	Riley, of London, sent vines to NSW	Trebbiano
Black Hermitage	Alexander Riley	1829-30	Black	Riley, of London, sent vines to NSW All of Riley's vines delivered by Mr Dutton who arrived on the Lady Blackwood	Shiraz
Sherry	Alexander	1820s?		Letter to the <i>Maitland Mercury</i> , 21	

	Baxter			August 1850, claimed Baxter imported 'sherry' grapes into the colony from the vineyards of Duff, Gordon & Co of Xeres (Jerez de la Frontera), a famed Spanish sherry-producing region. Baxter, who died in the 1830s, was married to a Spanish heiress.	
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Appendix Three – The Returns of Vineyards in New South Wales 1843/4 – 1850

Source: Colonial Secretary Correspondence 1844-1851 Returns of Vineyards, SRNSW MS 4/7263.

Year/production	Crop (acres)	Grapes (cwt) ¹	Wine (gallons)	Brandy (gall.)
1843/4	483.5	408	29570	657
1845	559.25	5101	47856 ²	1018
1846	591.75	6045.5	51292 ³	1433
1847	743 ⁴	12988 ⁵	52337	1396
1848	897.5	20302.25 (1015 tons)	54035	1402
1849	895.5	6420	90300	1123
1850	956.5	No figures	97408	1266

¹ So many counties recorded 'unknown' for the weight of grapes harvested that these figures cannot be used to determine yields (harvest quantity/acreage). The best use that can be made of this part of the Returns is to conclude that record-keeping in grape growing was very rudimentary; even more so than in wine making, where at least some record was kept of the quantity of production.

² Includes 40 gallons of wine reported for Bathurst in 1846 Returns but for 1845 because too late for that year.

³ This figure includes 12,000 gallons which was the previous year's Camden production; James Macarthur gave 1845 figures for 1846 because of drought which creates confusion in attempting to arrive at reliable data. The 29 pipes of wine made at Port Macquarie equalled approximately 3390 gallons.

⁴ This figure has been rounded up from 742.91 as some of the reported vine acreages were in fractions of an acre.

⁵ Includes the figure 240 cwt converted from 12 tons in the Returns (on the basis of 20 cwt equals one ton).

The 1843/1844 figures for Sydney and its outer and earliest 'improved' districts of Parramatta, Windsor and Camden show plantings totalled 254 acres from which 12,275 gallons of wine had been produced.

The return for Camden county within Camden and Narellan police district had been lodged by James Macarthur and the figure: 3,430 gallons likely came mostly if not entirely from Camden estate.

The Camden figure included 140 gallons of brandy, which was probably used in experiments with fortification aimed for domestic and export sales as well as private consumption.

In the Upper and Lower Hunter region, from Murrurundi and Scone to Newcastle, from just under 315 acres of vines, 15,822 gallons of wine had been made.

In the county of Raymond Terrace, William Caswell had made 640 gallons of wine from his seven acres of vines; Archibald Windeyer had made seventy gallons of wine from under two acres of grape vines. Richard Windeyer and Kenneth Snodgrass reported no wine from their young vines.

The only other names mentioned on these first returns are William Stokes, William Bell Carlyle and James Ralfe in the 'Macquarie' police district. They had five acres of vines, five acres and three acres, respectively but no fruit yet.

A grower or group of growers in the county of Durham had made close to 4000 gallons of wine from 38-and-half acres, an impressive planting.

There were just over five acres at Brisbane Water, two acres at Cassilis - north west of the Hunter - two-and-a-half acres at Mudgee, further inland. Three acres had been planted at Yass but no wine had been made. Further afield no vines were reported; 'nil' at Moreton Bay in the far north as well as at Port Phillip in the south.

Appendix Four: Prize recipients at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893

Source: Cyril Renwick, *A Study of Wine in the Hunter Region of N.S.W. (Hunter Valley Research Foundation Monograph No.39)* (Newcastle: Hunter Valley Research Foundation, 1977), 48-50. Spelling of varieties is as per the original document. Some of the growers mentioned were deceased in 1893 but their produce is still listed under their names. Renwick's grandfather, Arthur Renwick had been Executive Commissioner for the New South Wales exhibits at Chicago.

Group 20

Bouffier Brothers	Oxford Street, Sydney	Hock and Chablis
Brecht Brothers	Rosemount, Denman	Muscatel and Shiraz
Caldwell & Co.	Lake Albert, Wagga Wagga	Verdeilho and Chablis
Carmichael, G. T. & J. B.	Porphyry, Seaham	Porphyry
Cousins, Walter Young	Bebeah, Singleton	Verdeilho and Pineau
Doyle, James F.	Kaludah, Lochinvar	White Wines
Fallon, James T.	Kiewa Street, Albury	Tokay and Riesling
Fiaschi, Thomas	39 Phillip Street, Sydney	Shiraz
Genty, L. T.	Eaglemont, Minto	Reisling and Chablis
Gray, John Guthrie	Kentucky, Corowa	White Wine
Green, Walter C.	Norwood, Allandale	ditto
Kelman, James	Kirkton, Branxton	Hermitage and Reisling
Kurtz, F	Mt Olivet, Dubbo	Reisling
Lankester, Alfred Ernest	Emu Park, Albury	White Wine
Lindeman, Henry John	Exchange, Sydney	Sauterne, Hock, Tokay, Chablis, Hermitage and Muscat
Mather, Thomas	Roslyn, Inverell	Shiraz, Pineau and Tokay
Sanger, John Mildred	Wangamong, Corowa	Reisling
Wyndham, Egbert	Bukkulla, Inverell	Pineau 1877
Wyndham, J (estate of)	Dalwood, Branxton	Shiraz, Reisling, Pineau
Wyndham, William	Kulki, Inverell	White Wine
Harbottle, Allsopp & Co	Ettamogah, Albury	ditto
Barnett, Joel	Beaulieu, Inverell	Hermitage
Bouffier Brothers	Oxford St, Sydney	Claret

Bray, Thomas	Mossgiel [sic], Corowa	Clarets
Brecht Bros	Rosemount, Denman	Sherry
Caldwell & Co.	Lake Albert, Wagga Wagga	Shiraz and Claret
Cousins, Walter Young	Bebeah, Singleton	Malbec, Claret, Hermitage, Lambruscat, Verdot and Muscat
Doyle, James F.	Kaludah, Lochinvar	Kaludah
Eaton and Grant	Albury	Muscat
Fiaschi, Thomas	39 Phillip St, Sydney	Claret, Hermitage
Frankland, G. J.	Mowbray House, Paterson	Hermitage
Genty, L. J.	Eaglemont, Minto	Claret and Hermitage
Gray, John Guthrie	Kentucky, Corowa	Malbec
Green, Walter Clement	Norwood, Allandale	Hermitage
Harbottle, Allsopp & Co.	Ettamogah	Muscat
Kelman, James	Kirkton, Branxton	Hermitage and Claret
Kurtz, F.	Mount Olivet, Dubbo	Malbec
Lang, John	Midarro, Corowa	Shiraz, Muscat
Lankester, Alfred Ernest	Emu Park, Albury	Carbinet, Sauvignon,* Verdot
Lindeman, Henry John	Exchange, Sydney	Claret, Frontignac, Carbinet, Claret, Muscat
Mather, Thomas	Roslyn, Inverell	Malbec
Wyndham, Egbert	Bukkulla, Inverell	Burgundy, Hermitage
Wyndham, William	Kulki, Inverell	Red Sweet Wines
Wyndham, J. Estate of	Dalwood, Branxton	Hermitage, Sherry
Brecht Bros.	Rosemount, Denman	Sherry and Port
Busch William	Moss Vale, Young	Madeira
Frankland, G. J.	Mowbray House, Paterson	ditto
Lindeman, Henry John	Exchange, Sydney	Port, Madeira
Bray, Thomas	Mossgiel, Corowa	Brandy (one year old)
Brecht Bros.	Rosemount, Denman	ditto
Cousins, Walter Young	Bebeah, Singleton	ditto
Kelman, James	Kirkton, Branxton	ditto
Wyndham, Egbert	Bukkulla, Inverell	ditto

* Either Cabernet Sauvignon and/or Sauvignon Blanc

Appendix Five: Return showing number of wine presses in New South Wales, 1888

Source: *Statistical Register of New South Wales*, for the Year 1888 (Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer, 1889), 244-245.

<i>Electorate</i>	<i>Presses</i>	<i>Electorate</i>	<i>Presses</i>	<i>Electorate</i>	<i>Presses</i>	<i>Electorate</i>	<i>Presses</i>
Albury	48	Goulburn	...	Macquarie, East	1	Parramatta	...
Argyle	2	Grafton	7	Macquarie, West	...	Patrick's Plains	30
Balranald	1	Grenfell	1	Maitland, East	...	Queanbeyan	...
Bogan	3	Gundagai	7	Maitland, West	...	Richmond	2
Boorowa	2	Gunnedah	2	Molong	1	Shoalhaven	...
Bourke	...	Gwydir	3	Monaro	...	Sturt	...
Braidwood	2	Hartley	2	Morpeth	6	Tamworth	2
Camden	7	Hastings & Manning	12	Mudgee	6	Tenterfield	2
Carcoar	...	Hawkesbury	2	Murray	...	Tumut	5
Clarence	...	Hume	22	Murrumbidgee	13	Wellington	3
Ctrl Cumberland	16	Hunter	52	Namoi	2	Wentworth	...
Durham	18	Hunter (Upper)	13	Nepean	8	Wilcannia	...
Eden	2	Illawarra	1	Newcastle	...	Wollombi	...
Forbes	3	Inverell	15	New England	...	Yass Plains	1
Glen Innes	...	Kiama	...	Northumberland	3	Young	4
Gloucester	11	Macleay	2	Orange	...	TOTAL	360

Appendix Six: Number of vignerons in New South Wales, 1891-1892

Source: Undated *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, Lloyd Evans Papers, SLSA 1453/9/10.

Location (electorate)	No. of growers	Location (electorate)	No. of growers	Location (electorate)	No. of growers
<i>Northern Division: Coast</i>		Wollombi	36	Illawarra	10
Richmond	54	Hawkesbury	100	Shoalhaven	3
Clarence	3	Nepean	113	Eden	8
Grafton	24	<i>ECD: Metropolis & Environs</i>		<i>Southern Division: Tableland</i>	
Macleay	8	Metropolis [Central Sydney]	...	Argyle	9
Hastings & Manning	58	St. Leonards	16	Goulburn	2
<i>Northern Division: Tableland</i>		Canterbury	9	Braidwood	6
Inverell	45	Parramatta	...	Queanbeyan	2
New England	5	Central Cumberland	510	Monaro	1
Glen Innes	2	<i>ECD: Tableland</i>		Yass Plains	3
Tenterfield	5	Hartley	3	Boorowa	6
Tamworth	23	Upper Hunter	40	Young	28
<i>Northern Division: Western Slopes</i>		Mudgee	55	Gundagai	15
Gunnedah	12	Macquarie East	4	Tumut	5
Gwydir	12	Macquarie West	...	Hume	121
Namoi	36	Orange	12	Albury	93
<i>Eastern Central Division(ECD): Coast</i>		Carcoar	19	Murray	19
Gloucester	3	Molong	9	Murrumbidgee	47
Durham	48	Wellington	23	<i>Western Division</i>	
Newcastle	...	<i>ECD: Western Slopes</i>		Balranald	6
Morpeth	5	Bogan	26	Wentworth	2
Northumberland	17	Forbes	23	Wilcannia	1
Maitland, East	8	Grenfell	14	Bourke	10
Maitland, West	6	<i>Southern Division: South Coast</i>		Sturt	3
Hunter	157	Camden	83		
Patrick's Plains	108	Kiama	...		
				TOTAL ALL ELECTORATES	2,134

Total of 3,846 acres of land under wine grapes; 2,148 acres under table grapes; 2,287 acres not yet bearing, Total wine made equalled 913,107 gals.

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