WINE, SOCIETY, AND GLOBALIZATION

Multidisciplinary Perspectives on the Wine Industry

EDITED BY GWYN CAMPBELL AND NATHALIE GUIBERT

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Introduction
The History and Culture of Wine

Gwyn Campbell and Nathalie Guibert

Wine has, from early times, played a significant economic and social role in human history. Until relatively recently, the number of major wine-producing countries was limited. Of these, only France gained a universal reputation for its wines, and in consequence largely dominated the international trade in quality wines. Since the 1990s, in a context of globalization, this situation has changed radically. In non-wine-producing countries, wine consumption is spreading from the elite to the middle classes, and Old World producers, such as France, are fighting to meet the challenge in international markets from "New World" competitors such as Australia, California, and Chile. Moreover, a new wine-producing frontier is forming in regions benefiting from global warming and in high altitude regions in the tropics. Wine is making a greater contribution than ever before to a growing number of economies, including those of a number of developing countries. It is against this backdrop that the contributions to this volume present a number of studies in the history and culture of wine from different countries and different eras up to the present day.

G. Campbell et al. (eds.), *Wine, Society, and Globalization*

Historical Background

The Old World

While there is debate about the precise origins of wine, there is general consensus that the wild Eurasian grapevine *(Vitis vinifera sylvestris)*, cutivars of which produce the vast majority of current wine grapes, was first domesticated by 5500 BCE[1] in the Caucasian region.[2] It quickly established a reputation as a luxury drink and by around 3000 BCE, following the development of bottle-necked pottery jars that facilitated both the storage and carriage of wine,[3] it was shipped long distances to supply urban-elite demand for this new luxury beverage. For example, the Ur-Nammu tablets, dated to 2300 BCE, mention slaves serving wine to members of the royal household in the Assyrian capital of Nimrod.[4] This elite, and elites elsewhere, encouraged experimentation in local wine production. Whereas the climate and soils of Mesopotamia proved inauspicious, vineyards were established early in Syria and Palestine, where they thrived, and by 2125 BCE in Egypt, where they survived in adverse climatic conditions only due to intensive care. From the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean, grape vine cultivation spread gradually westward to Crete, Greece, Italy, and France, where from 600 BCE it diffused further west to the Iberian peninsula, and to hinterland regions such as the Rhône Valley.[5] By the first centuries CE a considerable market for wine had developed in more northern regions of Europe that was supplied by a vibrant trading network from southern Europe.[6]

From the first century CE, French wines earned a high reputation in other markets, including wine-producing countries such as Italy.[7] This reputation grew as the wine-growing frontier in France spread north beyond the traditional olive-vine cultivation zone to more temperate climes. By the mid–first millennium CE, vineyards had been planted in the Bordeaux, Burgundy, Loire Valley, Parisian Basin, and Champagne regions, and by the sixth century in Brittany. Indeed, by the Middle Ages wine had become France's major export commodity. For the export market, transport was key, so a premium was placed on vineyards close to navigable waterways, which led to the predominance of the wine-growing regions of the Loire (via La Rochelle), the Ile de France (via Rouen), and Gascony (via Bordeaux) as the major producer regions supplying the prestige markets of northern Europe.[8]

Over succeeding centuries, the Old World wine-producing and marketing structure solidified. The Mediterranean littoral produced a huge variety of mostly cheap wines from small farms to meet a predominantly local mass market, while more northern French wine-growing regions shipped their produce to non-producer countries—especially Bordeaux wines (claret) to Britain, and Burgundy wines to Flanders, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia.[9]

Climatic change, notably the "Little Ice Age" (c.1300–1850), modified the structure of wine production and trade. As temperatures dropped, viticulture retreated from northern regions, and in new frontier areas such as Champagne, switched from the production of red to white wines. Climate change also encouraged the development of sweet wines in the Mediterranean region and during the peak of the "Little Ice Age" from 1692–95 when low temperatures ruined the Bordelais harvest, opened the door for Portuguese wines to find a niche on the British market.[10] Traders, chiefly from England, developed Porto, the fortified dessert wine named after the port of Oporto in northern Portugal that developed a large reputation in Britain.[11]

Enhanced demand for sweet wines in northern Europe also led to an acceleration of wine exports from France in the seventeenth century, notably from the Bordeaux region where Dutch mercantile investment stimulated the local production of sweet wines and brandy.[12] Bordeaux wine exports reached new heights in the eighteenth century due to an increased demand for sweet wine in Britain and the opening of a significant market in the newly independent United States.[13]

Nevertheless, a mass market for wine developed only in the later nineteenth century as a result of demand for cheap wine by the expanding working class and urban populations of northern France, combined with traditional demand for elite wines from the wealthier classes of northern Europe and the eastern seaboard of the United States. However, French viticulture and the wine trade were also hit hard by a series of catastrophes, notably *Oidium* (a vine mildew) from 1852–57, *Phylloxera* (a tiny louse that attacked vine roots) from the 1860s to the 1880s, and "Mildew" and "Black Rot" in the 1870s and 1880s. The only solution to *Phylloxera* proved to be the mass introduction of American hybrid vines in the 1890s, followed by the development of European hybrids at the start of the twentieth century.[14]

Due to French urban demand and the expansion of the railway system, the Languedoc plains had been transformed into a huge supply region of light red wines for the markets of northern France by the start of the twentieth century. In order to augment alcohol content and color, light red wines were reinforced with stronger wines from Algeria, where viticulture experienced, in consequence, rapid development.[15] In 1923, following the "Judgement of Châteauneuf-du-Pape" the *Appellation d'origine contrôlée* (AOC) system of regulations was established,[16] which in turn led, in 1935, to the creation of the *Institut national des appelations d'origine* (INAO), which aimed to define all French vintages by the application of similar criteria. These regulations subsequently formed the basis for similar controls in Germany, Italy, and Spain.[17]

France has maintained its position as the world's chief producer and supplier of wine, but by the close of the twentieth century its wine sector was clearly in crisis. While it produced 35.4 million hectoliters of wine or 16 percent of global wine production in the year 2000, the domestic market for wine was shrinking (per capita wine consumption almost halving between 1960 and 2000), as was the French share of foreign wine markets in the face of competition from New World wine producers, led by Australia. This is the subject of a contribution by Gwyn Campbell, who examines the historical trends in the domestic market for French and Australian wines, and the consequences in terms of export strategy, focusing upon their current competition for the British market.[18]

The other Old World wine producers—Portugal, Spain and Italy—have experienced very similar problems. Their reaction has been threefold: to appeal for more government and European Union subsidies and other assistance for domestic wine industries; to oppose New World production and marketing practices that are considered to undermine Old World norms;[19] and to adopt New World and other innovative strategies designed to improve efficiency in production and distribution and more effectively cater to the rapid expansion and changes in international demand for wine.

The New World

From the late fifteenth century, the Portuguese and Spanish carried viticulture via the Atlantic islands (notably the Canary Islands and Madeira) to the New World, including Mexico (by the 1520s); Peru, Bolivia and Columbia (1530s); Chile (1540s); Argentina (1550s); and California (1619). Just as religious orders had contributed to the development of viticulture in Europe, Jesuit priests played a major role in its diffusion in the Americas.[20] By contrast, in the 1650s, the Protestant Dutch introduced viticulture to South Africa, where it was consolidated from the 1680s by the arrival of French Huguenots fleeing religious persecution at home.[21] The British introducted vines to Australia in 1788 and New Zealand by 1819, although vineyards only became established there beginning in the 1830s.[22]

With the exception of California, viticulture in the New World was limited by relatively small local markets, poor technology, and difficulties of transportation until the 1980s, and notably the 1990s when, led by Australia, they adopted more efficient production, distribution, and marketing techniques that, in an era of globalization, enabled them to claim growing market shares in centers of world demand for wine, such as northern Europe, North America, and Southeast and East Asia.[23]

Wine and the State

A number of contributions to this volume highlight the role of the state in wine culture. In her study of Napa Valley (California) wines, Kathleen Brosnan explores the importance of the state in deciding the appellation system that is, as reflected on bottle labels, critical to the status and thus the market price of wines.[24] Shortly after Napa Valley wine production took off in the 1870s, the state of California intervened and, in 1880, created seven wine districts. These districts were represented on the Board of State Viticultural Commissioners (BSVC) that promoted improvements in Napa Valley wine production and marketing. In the 1890s, the region was attacked by vine plagues (*Phylloxera* and Anaheim disease) and, although some replanting occurred, vineyards were affected again by Prohibition in 1919. Bootlegging, which was widespread, and legal loopholes that permitted home-made, sacramental, and "medicinal" wines, ensured continued demand for grapes. However, by 1925, supply outstripped demand, and the wine industry slumped. Moreover, most producers had reverted to the production of inferior quality red wines, so that when Prohibition was lifted in 1933, the industry was characterized by inadequate equipment and poor quality products.

Improvement was gradual, but the California wine industry participated in the post-1945 boom. Moreover, in the late 1960s when the vineyards of Napa Valley were threatened by property speculators and rapidly spreading urbanization, the state protected them through legislation restricting the sale of adjacent plots of land. By the early 1980s the local wine industry was further boosted by a state-regulated system of appellation on French lines based on *terroir*—a concept that embraces a combination of factors including soil type, water, degree of sunlight, climate, and grape varietals. This, and a booming domestic wine tourism trade, led to an expanded and modernized wine sector, producing high quality wines, that was well placed to take advantage of the forces of globalization beginning in the 1990s—albeit at considerable environmental cost.

In his contribution, Robert Ulin takes issue with those who extol the virtues of *terroir*, arguing that that "history and the hegemonic components of cultural representation" are as important to wine culture, and the evaluation of elite wines, as the essentially subjective criteria of climate and soil.[25] He contends that while, in the minds of consumers, *terroir* conjures up small family-based farms whose wines reflect a combination of wholesome natural factors and generations of traditional know-how, the concept has been hijacked and manipulated by elite estates, most of which are currently controlled by global corporations. Tracing the origins of the Western association of "natural" and "virtue" to the Enlightenment, he argues that it also became central to the ideal "imagined community" developed by the nation-state during the nineteenth century. This community forged by blood ties and rooted to the soil formed the core of the "nation," and epitomized its unique characteristics. In France, the ideal imagined community is that composed of peasant *viticulteurs*—a community that, like the vine from which it is inseparable, is nourished by uniquely French combinations of soil and climate. This in large part explains the outcry against using American hybrids to beat *Phylloxera* in the late nineteenth century, and current protests against foreign disregard for French wine-producing regulations. Attachment to this imagined community also gave rise to classifications of *terroir* into a hierarchy, first formalized in the Bordeaux region in 1855, and imitated in California in the 1880s, but often had little relation to the actual quality of wine produced.

The role of government is again prominent in the history of Argentinean wine production, presented here by Steven Stein.[26] In

1853, the Argentinean government founded the country's modern wine industry by importing French wine expertise and technology, as well as French grape stock to replace the *Uva Criolla* originally introduced by Spanish missionaries. The industry took off in the late nineteenth century when railways linked the wine-producing region of Mendoza to Buenos Aires. Consequently, wine production increased by 90 percent from 1901 to 1915, turning Argentina into the world's sixth largest wine producer. However, the demand established by predominantly poor Italian and Spanish immigrants was for strong low-quality wines. Reinforced by government protection in the form of tax reductions for wineries and tariff barriers against imported wines, this acted as a disincentive to investment in quality control and up-to-date equipment and techniques—all elements required to produce superior quality wines.

The industry slumped during the Depression, only to recover rapidly from 1945 due to domestic demand from a booming urban population and government assistance in the form of massive tax concessions, cheap credit, and high protective tariffs. High tariffs, combined with strict currency controls and barriers to the import of foreign equipment, acted as further disincentives on investment in the skill and technology required to produce quality wines, and induced producers to pull up French varietals and revert to the more productive *Uva Criolla* grape stock. This accentuated the predominance of poor quality wines, the production of which reached new peaks in the 1970s when Argentina became the world's second largest producer of wine. However, the sharp decline of domestic demand in the 1980s, due to a combination of recession and changing consumer preferences, precipitated a crisis of overproduction that in the 1990s forced the industry to radically re-evaluate strategy. Once again, the government proved instrumental through economic reforms beginning in the late 1980s that loosened import and export controls, stabilized the currency, and encouraged foreign investment and structural consolidation. As a result, the Argentinean wine industry overhauled its outdated technology, and started to produce quality wines that enabled it to seriously compete in international markets for the first time.

The role of the state is also central to the history of the Canadian wine industry. Canada was initially settled by the French mostly along the St. Lawrence River, a waterway running from 50° N at its mouth to almost 46° N at Niagara. The same latitudes in France run from just north of Dieppe on the English Channel (in the north) to a little north of Lyons (to the south)—a region in which some of the most celebrated of French vineyards are found (Champagne, Loire, Burgundy). This encouraged French settlers and priests to plant vines that were initially, however, largely laid waste by the harsh continental winters that characterize the region.

Nevertheless, wine industries have slowly developed in Canada where the state—federal and provincial—has been decisive. In their contribution, Linda Bramble, Carman Cullen, Joseph Kushner, and Gary Pickering analyze the rise of viticulture in Ontario, currently Canada's most internationally reputed wine industry.[27] Following the Prohibition era, the government established the Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO), and encouraged a concentration of the industry by reducing the number of provincial producers from sixty-three to six. However, neither the government nor this group of privileged growers invested in "Research and Development" (R&D), and in consequence never realized the potential for the cultivation of the *V. vinifera* grape in the Niagara region where the lakes create a favorably mild microclimate. Instead, the small elite of producers used their virtual monopoly to produce chiefly poor quality "ports" and "sherries."

The situation changed in the 1970s with the 1973 Wine Content Act that permitted producers to use up to 75 percent of imported wines in bottles labeled "Canadian," and the 1975 lifting of the quasi-monopoly on production. Privileged wine producers were further hit by competition from California that followed the 1989 application of the North American Free Trade Act (NAFTA) rulings on agricultural goods. These measures, combined with the application from the mid-1990s of simple but effective New World technologies, such as temperature and hygiene controls, created the basis for the emergence of good-quality wines of truly local vintage. These developments have, moreover, been backed by government support as well as the establishment in 1997 of the Brock University Cool Climate Oenology and Viticulture Institute (CCOVI), the only North American centre dedicated to research into cool climate vine cultivation and wine production. As a result, Canadian wines are competing in the domestic market with foreign wines, and some Canadian products, notably ice wines, have earned an international reputation.

Marianne Ackerman also underlines the role of the state in shaping the wine industry in Quebec, the province with the highest per capita wine consumption in Canada. She relates how, ironically, Quebec viticulture took off during the Prohibition years, largely as a result of the Quebec provincial government's decision in 1919 to exclude wine (alongside beer and cider) from its liquor ban, which rather focused on spirits.[28] This exemption increased revenue for both local wine producers and the state, which imposed a monopoly on alcohol sales. However, in the late 1970s a revamped state monopoly, the *Société des alcohols du Quebec* (SAQ), started importing massive quantities of wine, and following the 1987 NAFTA treaty—when the tax advantages enjoyed by local producers was phased out—and the rapid increase in international competition from the 1990s, Quebec viticulture again declined. Nevertheless, growing domestic demand and the cultivation of "local" labels by regional vineyards has created a market niche for regional wines which, combined with a growth in wine tourism, appears to have guaranteed a future for Quebec wine producers.

Finally, the state has also been central to the development of the South African wine industry: "white" governments after World War I provided institutional support and underwrote efforts to ensure the supply of cheap "colored" labor to the Cape wine farms; while the new post-apartheid government is pushing white wine farmers to negotiate "voluntary" joint ventures with black farm workers in the context of a promised redistribution to blacks of 30 percent of all agricultural land by 2014.[29]

Wine Culture

More than any other beverage, wine has been imbued through history with enormous cultural significance and value, in everything from religion to literature to sexual customs. From ancient times, it was an elected drink for the afterlife. Thus, in a tomb dating to the fourteenth century BCE of a Syrian mercenary who died in Egypt, there is a fresque that depicts an amphora from which the seated soldier is drinking wine. In ancient Greece, the three-day festival of *Anthestéria*, linked to the cult of Dionysus, was held to celebrate new wine, and at Rhodes, amphorae inscriptions refer to the priest of Helios.[30]

In Chapter 8, Patric Choffrut discusses the role of wine in the culture of the Jews of Provence, which was an independent kingdom until the late Middle Ages.[31] Wine had always been important to

Jews. Before the Diaspora *tirosh* (new wine) constituted one of the three staple productions of Israel, alongside grain and oil. Rabbis taught that wine, taken in moderation, induced appetite and a state of happiness, and had medicinal properties. Moreover, they prescribed it for the Sabbath and other important religious festivals, such as the Passover *Seder*, weddings, circumcisions, and funerals (to alleviate grief). Such traditions accompanied the Diaspora including the Jews who settled in Provence, France. There, members of the four Jewish communities at Carpentras, Avignon, Cavaillon, and L'Isle de Venisse adopted the Provencal language, which they used in everyday parlance and to express themselves in poetry and prose. They also found in Provence a culture that, like theirs, and unlike that of the Jews of Eastern Europe, was deeply influenced by wine. This communality of tastes helped foster in Provence—unlike the neighboring kingdoms of France (to the north) and Spain (to the west), from which their coreligionists were expelled in 1349 and 1492, respectively—relatively amicable relations with Christian neighbors.

Wine and Women

Kathleen Brosnan, in her chapter, notes Euripides' declaration that "where there is no wine, there is no love."[32] However, it is not certain that this "amour" refers to love for women who, in the classical world, were forbidden to drink wine—sometimes under pain of death—unless prescribed for strictly medicinal purposes. In Rome, men of non-noble origin were forbidden to drink wine until the age of thirty.[33]

Most literature on wine has been from the perspective of males with whom the wine industry, from grape cultivation to wine consumption, has been overwhelmingly identified. This is starting to change as the growing influence of female wine consumers and wine writers demonstrates.[34] Julie Tolley elucidates the role of women in the South Australian wine industry.[35] In South Australian vineyards, as in agriculture generally in European-dominated regions, men owned vineyards on which there existed, theoretically at least, a division of labor, whereby the women were responsible for the domestic sphere (home management, child-rearing, and catering for the home needs of males), and men for taming "nature" outside. To this day, the *Australian Bureau of Statistics* has no data on women employed in the wine industry in South Australia.

However, Tolley cites a number of cases from the early and mid-nineteenth century where the involvement of women was such that they either established vineyards, or more frequently, following the death of their husbands, took over the management of vineyards. She also emphasizes the vital role played by wives in male-owned wine-producing units. When vineyards were first established, a minimum of three years was needed before vines bore sufficient fruit for wine making. During that period wives had to both assist with the foundation work, such as clearing, digging irrigation channels, root trimming, and vine planting, and secure part-time off-farm work in order to help generate the income required to support the establishment of a vineyard. Once the vineyards had become productive and off-farm work eased off—notably in the post-1945 era characterized by rising demand for wine—it was expected that farmers' wives assist even more in agricultural work, notably during busy periods, as when vines were pruned or grapes harvested. However, unlike hired hands, they were generally unpaid. Tolley thus underlines the need for more research into the role of women in the wine business. This is further underscored by current tendencies in the South African wine industry, whereby black women are assuming increasingly important roles as shareholders and vintners.[36]

Wine, Economic Development, and Indigenous Peoples

Most chapters here allude to the role that wine has played in the economic development of certain regions and countries. Vicente Pinilla and María-Isabel Ayuda, taking Spain as a case study, compare and contrast the developmental potential of wine and fruit export industries in the period 1850 to 1935. This was a period that, except in the 1880s and after 1929, was characterized by rapid growth in the international economy when demand for foods and raw materials from the industrial and industrializing countries offered primary producing countries the potential for export-generated economic growth.[37] However, demand for wine in industrialized countries was restricted to elites who consumed high-priced rather than table wine. The middle and lower classes, who could not afford high-priced wines, continued to consume traditional, locally-produced alcoholic beverages such as beer. Wine consumption was thus primarily confined to domestic markets within the wine-producing countries of Southern Europe and South America where demand for cheap table wines—the traditional drink of the middle and lower classes—soared as a result of expanding urban populations, rising living standards, and the advent of cheap transport in the form of the railways (coupled, in South America, with significant immigration from Southern Europe). By contrast, consumption of imported fruit in the industrialized countries of the north increased, as a growth in per capita income was reflected in a more diverse diet, and notably an increased demand for imported fruit. However, the sharp increase in fruit imports needs to be set in a context wherein imports of Mediterranean fruits prior to 1850 were at negligible levels. Also, before 1945, consumption of imported fruit in industrialized countries was largely restricted to upper-income groups.

Rupert Tipples, in Chapter 13, traces the historical development of the wine industry in New Zealand and examines the contribution of vineyards in the South Island province of Canterbury, and notably those of Waipura, to the development of both the regional economy and the New Zealand wine industry since the 1970s.[38] Vineyards were first established around Canterbury by French settlers in the 1840s. However, they lacked the capital to develop commercial vineyards, and instead produced mainly for household consumption. Although domestic demand for wine grew steadily from 1945, the commercial development of the regional wine industry only took off from the late 1970s. This was the result of a combination of factors. First, beginning in 1973, Lincoln College—an agricultural college in Canterbury—started to invest in vine planting on the basis that the region's dry and relatively cool climate would be ideal for the production of a German-style white wine. Experiments eventually proved successful, and the region started producing increasing quantities of good quality white wine beginning in the 1980s. Since the 1990s, wine production, and its developmental impact, has been strengthened from by the growth of a regional wine tourism industry that has encouraged both foreign investment and a further expansion of vineyards.

In new angles on the relationship between wine production and economic growth, two contributions explore the significance of wine on development amongst indigenous peoples. Campbell examines the role in the South African wine industry of nonwhites who—discriminated against economically, politically, and socially—traditionally worked as cheap and landless labor for a white-owned wine industry. Indeed, cheap labor was a major cause for both the profitability of South African vineyards and their lack of investment in modern labor-saving techniques. The end of apartheid and the rise of globalization in the 1990s had a major impact on this traditional structure, forcing the South African wine industry at all levels to grant decent working conditions and pay to its labor force, invest in modern techniques, and give Black Africans, for the first time, access to ownership and management of vineyards.[39]

In Chapter 11, Robert Anderson, Dianne Wingham, Robert Giberson, and Brian Gibson analyze the adoption of wine making by a group of Maori in New Zealand, and the Osoyoos Aboriginal community in Canada, who created the world's first and second indigenous-owned wineries—the Tohu Winery in New Zealand and Nk'Mip Cellars in Canada.[40] In both instances, these communities worked through trusts that enabled them to create wine-related businesses as a key aspect of their economic development strategy. They have developed modern wine-producing techniques, and have established successful sales strategies through encouraging a local wine tourism industry, and marketing their wine as specialized labels in niche foreign markets. Moreover, these strategies have enabled them to both participate in the global market and safeguard their traditional culture and values. This defies the conventional "development" paradigm in which modernization comes at the expense of tradition and thus serves as an important prototype for development projects amongst indigenous peoples elsewhere.

Notes

1. BCE = "Before the Common Era," or "BC"; CE = "Common Era," or "AD."
2. Hugh Johnson, *Story of Wine* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 1989), 14–23; "First Wine? Archaeologist Traces Drink to Stone Age," http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2004/07/0721_040721_ancientwine_2.html.
3. "First Wine?"
4. Jack Goody, "Slavery in Time and Space" in *Asian and African Systems of Slavery*, ed. James L. Watson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 18–19.

5. Dominique Bottani, *Le Guide des pays du Ventoux* (Lyons: La Manufacture, 1995), 72; Jancis Robinson, *Encyclopédie du vin* (Paris: Hachette, 1997), 434–35.
6. Guy Bertucchi, *Les Amphores et le vin de Marseille, VIes. avant J.-C.-IIes. après J.-C.* (Paris: CNRS, 1992), 21, 184; Robinson, *Encyclopédie du vin*, 434–35; Johnson, *Story of Wine*, 35–97.
7. Bottani, *Guide des pays du Ventoux*, 72; Robinson, *Encyclopédie du vin*, 434–35.
8. Robinson, *Encyclopédie du vin*, 435–36.
9. Ibid., 435–36.
10. Ibid., 269.
11. Darrell Delamaide, *The New Superregions of Europe* (New York: Plume, 1995), 139.
12. Jan de Vries, *The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis, 1600–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 108.
13. Delamaide, *New Superregions of Europe*, 138.
14. Robinson, *Encyclopédie du vin*, 436.
15. Ibid., 437.
16. Bottani, *Guide des pays du Ventoux*, 75.
17. Hubrecht Duijker, *Touring in Wine Country: The Rhone* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 1998), 114; Bottani, *Guide des pays du Ventoux*, 75.
18. Gwyn Campbell, "Domestic Demand and Export Imperatives for French and Australian Wines: A Historical Overview," in this volume.
19. Marie-Annick Carré, "Consommation de vin" in *Réussir Vigne* 67 (mai 2000), 2.
20. Rod Phillips, *A Short History of Wine* (London: Allen Lane, 2000), 152–59; Robinson, *Encyclopédie du vin*, 399.
21. Phillips, *Short History of Wine*, 173–75.
22. Johnson, *Story of Wine*, 342–47; Phillips, *Short History of Wine*, 267.
23. Gwyn Campbell and Nathalie Guibert, ed., "The Impact of Globalisation on the Wine Industry." Special issue, *British Food Journal* 108, no. 4 (2006).
24. Kathleen A. Brosnan, "'Vin d'Etat': Consumers, Land and the State in California's Napa Valley," in this volume.
25. Robert C. Ulin, "Writing about Wine: The Uses of Nature and History in the Wine Growing of Southwest France and America," in this volume.
26. Steve Stein, "Grape Wars: The Conflict between Quantity and Quality in the History of Argentine Wine," in this volume.
27. Linda Bramble, Carman Cullen, Joseph Kushner, and Gary Pickering, "The Development of the Wine Industry in the Province of Ontario, Canada," in this volume.
28. Marianne Ackerman, "Au rebours: Quebec's Emerging Indigenous Wine Industry," in this volume.

29. Gwyn Campbell, "Black Labour in the South African Wine Industry," in this volume.
30. Bertucchi, *Amphores*, 13, 53, 196–97.
31. Patric Choffrut, "Of Wine, Jews, and Provence," in this volume.
32. Brosnan, "'Vin d'Etat.'"
33. Bertucchi, *Amphores*, 200–201.
34. One of the most notable wine writers being Jancis Robinson; for a list of publications, see Jancis Robinson, "Fine Writing on Fine Wines," http://www.jancisrobinson.com/articles/books.
35. Julie Holbrook Tolley, "Women in the South Australian Wine Industry, 1836–2003," in this volume.
36. Campbell, "Black Labour."
37. Vicente Pinilla and María-Isabel Ayuda, "Market Dynamism and International Trade: Wine versus Fruit Exports and the Economic Development of Spain, 1850–1935," in this volume.
38. Rupert Tipples, "Wines of the Farthest Promised Land from Waipara, Canterbury, New Zealand," in this volume.
39. Campbell, "Black Labour."
40. Robert B. Anderson, Dianne W. Wingham, Robert J. Giberson, and Brian Gibson, "Indigenous Economic Development: A Tale of Two Wineries," in this volume.

Chapter 2

"Vin d'Etat"

Consumers, Land, and the State in California's Napa Valley

Kathleen A. Brosnan

A sommelier from a fine Chicago restaurant conducted introductory tastings at a local museum, always including good but reasonably priced wines in an effort to lure novices. Nonetheless, a few wine snobs still attended. One such oenophile raised his hand with a supposed query, but seemed more intent on revealing his sophisticated palate and wealthy wallet. He imperiously mentioned that he had purchased a case of "Chateau Something, 1985" and he wondered how long it should age. The sommelier gently chided him, suggesting that the trip from the store had done the trick. This anecdote is not intended to open a debate on the age of wines, but rather to reveal the stock that consumers place in the names of the wines they drink. There was something significant in the gentleman's conceit. "What's in a name?" When it comes to wine, "name" is everything, and the modern state dictates what appellation a wine bears.

Introduction

The Napa Valley appellation has stood as a badge of craftsmanship to global consumers and offered a bond with a particular place. Napa County sits above San Francisco Bay, an hour north of the city. The

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Mayacamas Mountains divide the county from the Pacific Ocean and Sonoma County to the west; the Vaca Mountains form the eastern border. Wedged between these mountains, carved prehistorically by the Napa River, and blessed with a temperate climate, bountiful sunshine, and cool evening breezes, the Napa Valley has long been a center of agriculture. The small valley begins at the foot of Mount St. Helena and moves thirty miles southwestward toward the marshy delta of the bay. Only one mile across at its northern end, the valley is just five miles at its widest. Such physical dimensions limited the amount of wine produced, and over time, led local vintners to emphasize the quality of wine.[1]

The Napa Valley appellation that captures this quality also reflects the power of the nation-state. As with other countries, a U.S. government agency approved the geographic designations for the Napa Valley and other winemaking regions. The government's imprimatur, however, extends beyond the state's encapsulation of the physicality of production. All economic activity, including the production of wine, generates both material goods and symbolic meanings. Commodities carry a price in the marketplace, but their producers and consumers also invest noneconomic values in them that vary from culture to culture and over time. Wine, for example, has had ceremonial significance in both Christianity and Judaism. At other times, poets evoked wine's romantic allure. Euripides suggested, "Where there is no wine, there is no love."[2]

Napa Valley vintners, as is explained in this article, have proven very effective in linking their vintages and the valley itself to the more positive cultural meanings associated with wine, and in many ways, the Napa Valley appellation now stands as the government's recognition of these values. This was not always the case. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many Americans, particularly nativists involved in the temperance movement, had viewed wine with disdain because immigrants often preferred wine and because the fortified wines that dominated sales were high in alcohol. After the Repeal of Prohibition and World War II, however, fine dry wines emerged as status symbols. A core aesthetic of American capitalist culture, William Leach argues, offered a vision of the good life in which economic success provided access to cultural and social amenities, and material purchases brought consumers a sense of self-worth and their neighbors' recognition of their accomplishments.[3] Although the Napa Valley's share of the global wine market remained small, it emerged as the United States' premium leader in the postwar era and successfully sold the valley and its wines.

Like other entrepreneurs in the American West, Napa Valley vintners like to present themselves as a "collection of self-reliant individuals and local or occupational communities, tied together by a competitive market."[4] In truth, however, the industry, the consumer, and the state have all interacted to create Napa Valley's success and to contest the changing meanings of its wine over time. This essay examines the central role of the government, at both the national and local levels, in the history of the Napa Valley wine industry. Efforts to shape and control wine consumption—the late nineteenth-century California viticultural commission, federal Prohibition, the 1968 designation of the Napa Valley as an agricultural preserve, and the federal appellation system in the 1980s—also reveal the evolution and expansion of public authority in the United States. The United States adopted a less structured approach to viticulture than other countries, but given the enhanced capacities of the modern state, even this approach profoundly influenced change in Napa Valley vineyards.

James Scott contends that nation-states became modern when they attempted to reorganize disparate local activities, such as land tenure systems or viticultural customs, so as to make them more susceptible to government oversight and arguably more valuable in the marketplace. Across the globe, modern states enhanced their capacities beyond traditional powers of taxation and conscription. Governments regulated almost every aspect of life and applied schemes designed to rationalize the natural world. In doing so, states reshaped reality.[5] While this public authority has been shared with local governments within the federal system of the United States, it remained a transformative force. The most visible remnant of the U.S. government's efforts is the checkerboard pattern of the nation's landscape; the state imposed an artificial grid on the land to facilitate the distribution of the public domain. In a more pertinent example, the United States' appellation system has affected production options by limiting those areas from which grapes can be used in making wine, and by dictating the percentage of grapes necessary for varietal labeling. After World War II, historian Lizabeth Cohen argues, the American state pursued new activities designed to make its society a model for the world. According to policymakers, citizens lived in "a consumers' republic" committed to mass consumption and its supposed benefits: greater prosperity, egalitarianism, and political freedom. The state conflated citizen and consumer, and enforced policies designed to protect the rights of both.[6] The United States' appellation system is but one such policy: the government wanted to insure that bottle labels did not mislead consumers about the origin or content of the wines they drank.

Recognized by most critics and oenophiles as leaders in premium wine production in the United States, Napans eagerly embraced the federal appellation system. Napans had emerged as viticultural leaders in the late nineteenth century. In the mid-1800s, however, Napa County had trailed other California regions in wine production. California's first commercial wine ventures developed near Los Angeles in the 1830s. In the late 1840s and 1850s, when gold rush Argonauts overwhelmed the productive capacity of domestic winemakers, foreign imports flooded San Francisco. Attempting to secure a larger share of this trade, Californians turned over more land to grapes while looking overseas for better vines. Napa County was a late entrant in this trade. Non-Indians first settled in the valley in the 1830s and planted grapes mostly for domestic consumption, filling only four hundred acres by 1860. Wheat, cattle, and quicksilver mines were more ubiquitous and more profitable. The first commercial shipment from Napa in 1857 contained just six casks and six hundred bottles. In 1860, Los Angeles County held ten times as many vines as Napa County.[7]

Over the next twenty years, Napa County's viticultural landscape changed. Wine acreage increased nine-fold. The county soon possessed fifty-four wineries, including stone structures still visible today. More significantly, German-born men such as Charles Krug, Jacob Schram, and Jacob and Frederick Beringer; American George Belden Crane; and Frenchman Charles Carpy borrowed *Vitis vinifera* cuttings from nearby Sonoma and Santa Clara counties, and began to nurture European-style wines. A minority of such northern California's vintners had committed to the manufacture of fine wines, but faced difficulties in challenging national consumption patterns and global perceptions. First, there was a growing temperance movement at home. Those Americans who did imbibe were seventeen times more likely to drink beer. Consumers who drank wine rarely viewed California positively, if they thought of it at all. A lengthy 1862 treatise on wine-producing countries dedicated only one page to U.S. wines and made no mention of California.[8] In the

1870s, California's wine industry had experienced new growth. Shipments doubled to the East Coast to make up for the shortfall in more expensive imported wines caused by a national depression and decreased incomes, and by the *Phylloxera* that decimated French vineyards. Nonetheless, the reputation of California wines continued to suffer. Most of the state's vineyards contained Mission grapes, including many of the 3,600 acres in the Napa Valley in 1878. First carried to California by Franciscans in the 1700s and known for its musky flavors and aromas, the Mission grape was best suited for fortified dessert wines. Many wine producers also employed poor fermentation methods that further undermined quality. San Francisco wine merchants did little to promote the better vintages from Napa and the other northern counties.[9] Despite such setbacks, Napa Valley's renown spread gradually as its best vintners dedicated land to *V. vinifera*.

The Board of State Viticultural Commissioners

In 1880, Napans stood on the precipice of a new era, just as the industry experienced its first significant public intervention. The California legislature passed "An Act for the Promotion of the Viticultural Industries," divided the state into seven wine districts, and appointed a representative of each district to a Board of State Viticultural Commissioners (BSVC). The legislature also ordered the University of California to provide instruction in viticulture. Reflecting general tenets of Progressivism, this law relied upon the expertise of industry participants and university officials to promote a vital economic activity. It assumed that commissioners, who served without compensation, worked for the greater good while simultaneously promoting their self-interests.[10] At the same time, American public authority in 1880 remained more limited and more decentralized than its European counterparts. The underfunded BSVC lacked the power to enforce policies for alcohol content, labeling, or quarantines.

Instead, the BSVC primarily focused on marketing and consumer habits, recognizing that despite improvements, Americans seemed hostile to domestic wines. The BSVC reported, "The County of Napa produces as much wine, and good wine too, as is imported