

# **“France of the Southern Hemisphere”**

## ***Transferring a European Wine Model to Colonial Australia***

Mikaël PIERRE

MA (University Bordeaux Montaigne, France)

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

March 2020

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

Viva Voce: 30 June 2020

Composition of the jury:

Jacqueline DUTTON, Associate Professor, University of Melbourne, Australia

John GERMOV, Professor, Charles Sturt University, Australia (co-supervisor)

Olivier JACQUET, Ingénieur de recherche, chargé de mission Chaire Unesco “Culture et traditions du vin”, IUVV, Université de Bourgogne, France

Corinne MARACHE, Professeur, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, France (co-supervisor)

Bruno MARNOT, Professeur, Université de La Rochelle, France

Julie McINTYRE, Senior Lecturer, University of Newcastle, Australia (principal supervisor)

Roderick PHILLIPS, Professor, Carleton University, Canada



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## Abstract

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

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

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

## Résumé

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

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

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

## Acknowledgements

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

I would like to thank my co-supervisor in Australia, Professor John Germov (Charles Sturt University) whose support and reviews have proved fundamental to the completion of this thesis. I am grateful to Professor Marc de Ferrière from the University François Rabelais de Tours, without whom this Franco–Australian project would not have been possible. He initiated with Julie McIntyre and John Germov this fruitful transnational academic relation. I also acknowledge Associate Professor Jesper Gulddal and Associate Professor Nancy Cushing (UON) who offered me feedback on the early stage of this thesis, and my former supervisor, Professor Christophe Bouneau (UBM), who gave me the opportunity to undertake this great adventure.

This work would have never been possible without the administrative and financial support of UON. I am thankful to Nour Akkoumeh, Arianne Galvin and Luke Layzell from the Office of Graduate Research at UON, as well as Sylvia Abram and Aurore Berthomieu from the École Doctorale at UBM, for all their efforts to make this Dual Award agreement possible.

During these four years, my work has been made easier thanks to the help of many librarians and archivists in Australia and France, as well as all the people I met during seminars, symposiums, conferences and workshops whose feedback and discussions brought out new insightful perspectives on my research.

I am deeply thankful to my colleagues within the University of Newcastle's and Université Bordeaux Montaigne's Departments of History. Their friendship is one of the key elements of the final achievement of this work. As an international student, I feel indebted to all the persons who helped me during my stay in Australia. This experience away from home

has strongly influenced the shaping of this project and my perspective on the profession of historian.

Finally, I have a very special thought for my family and my friends for their indefectible support during all these years.



## Remerciements

Cette thèse est le fruit d'un long travail effectué entre la France et l'Australie qui n'aurait jamais pu être accompli sans l'aide d'un grand nombre de personnes dans chacun de ces deux pays. Je tiens tout d'abord à exprimer toute ma gratitude à ma directrice de recherche Julie McIntyre de l'Université de Newcastle (UON), sa confiance et son soutien pendant ces quatre années ont été déterminants, tout comme ses connaissances sur l'approche de la recherche historique en Australie. Je suis également très reconnaissant de l'aide que m'a apportée Corinne Marache, ma directrice de recherche à l'Université Bordeaux Montaigne (UBM), ses conseils concernant les sources du côté français et ses commentaires sur les avancements de cette thèse ont été précieux.

J'aimerais remercier mon co-directeur en Australie, John Germov, de la Charles Sturt University, dont le soutien et les relectures se sont révélées essentielles pour achever cette thèse. Je pense à Marc de Ferrière de l'Université François Rabelais de Tours qui, avec Julie McIntyre et John Germov, est à l'origine de ce projet de recherche franco-australien. Je dois la chance d'avoir participé à cette aventure à la confiance que m'a apportée mon directeur de recherche de Master à UBM, Christophe Bouneau. J'adresse aussi ma reconnaissance à Nancy Cushing et Jesper Gulddal (UON) qui, à l'issue de ma première année de recherche, m'ont fait profiter de leurs observations avisées, je les en remercie.

Cette cotutelle internationale est le fruit d'un important travail collaboratif entre l'Australie et la France. Je remercie Nour Akkoumeh, Arianne Galvin et Luke Layzell de l'Office of Graduate Research de Newcastle, ainsi que Sylvie Abram et Aurore Berthomieu de l'École Doctorale de Bordeaux Montaigne. J'ai également eu le privilège de bénéficier de l'appui financier de l'Université de Newcastle, sans lequel je n'aurais jamais pu mener à bien ce doctorat.

Durant ces quatre années, mon travail a été facilité par des archivistes et bibliothécaires compétents, et par de nombreuses personnes rencontrées lors de séminaires, colloques et conférences. Ces différents échanges m'ont apporté de nouvelles perspectives sur la poursuite de mes recherches.

En tant qu'étudiant international, je suis profondément reconnaissant à l'égard de mes collègues historiens de Newcastle et de Bordeaux pour leur soutien et leur amitié, ainsi qu'aux

personnes qui m'ont aidé durant mon séjour en Australie. Cette expérience a considérablement influencé la réalisation de cette thèse ainsi que ma vision du métier d'historien.

Enfin, je voudrais réserver une pensée toute particulière à ma famille et à mes amis, pour leur soutien indéfectible durant toutes ces années.

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## **Liquid and land measurements**

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

## **A note on translations**

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

## **Abbreviations**

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

## Introduction

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

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

## Definition and Framing

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>7</sup> McIntyre and Germov, *Hunter Wine*, 191.

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

This thesis examines the vehicles and motivations of the transmissions of wine-related culture and methodology between France and Australia from the early nineteenth to the early twentieth century. The objective is to analyse and explain the importance from an economic and socio-cultural point of view of the French influence during the development of the Australian wine industry. This subject raises questions of the kind that often arise in considerations of transnational transfers: questions about the origins of and motivations for the exchange; the existence of counter-models; the impact of international (here, particularly Franco–British) relations; the practical means allowing the circulation of viti-vinicultural<sup>8</sup> models; their transformations or adaptations during the process; and, finally, the overall impact of these transfers on the host country as well as the country of origin. In sum, the study aims at understanding how this circulation impacted the development of the Australian wine industry and the world wine trade during the nineteenth century. It is necessary, finally, to reinsert this subject in the context of the first phase of globalisation in the second half of the nineteenth century and its impact on the diffusion of wine culture worldwide.

## **Transnational and Transdisciplinary History**

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

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

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

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 8-9.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

confirm affiliations with a social group or to distinguish oneself from one's original group.<sup>38</sup> Meanwhile, Bourdieu extended this thinking beyond the simple act of consuming, showing that all the choices we make are driven by our desire for social distinction. Even our personal tastes could be the fruit of this notion of distinction.<sup>39</sup> This theory suggests that patterns of wine consumption and tastes in wine are socio-cultural phenomena. This insight is especially valuable in the case of nineteenth-century British society, where most of the labour classes favoured beer or spirits and neglected wine. In the same way, as Charles Ludington argues, the distinction between the consumption of fortified wines (port and sherry) and the consumption of light table wines (mostly claret) was essential for determining political and philosophical beliefs among British elites until the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>40</sup> Dunstan and McIntyre have analysed how the idealisation of Mediterranean crops and commodities (including grapevines and wine) influenced early Australian colonists in their wish to enable Australian economic and social growth.<sup>41</sup> McIntyre has also looked further in the Bourdieusian perspective at wine consumption in colonial New South Wales in her thesis published in 2008.<sup>42</sup> Thus, the transfer of a wine model encompasses socio-cultural meanings attached to consumption practices, and the imitation of French-style wines in a British-ruled colony must be questioned through an investigation of the values and benefits associated with this type of wine.

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

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 79.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>44</sup> Verley, *L'échelle du monde*.

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

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

## The Concept of Wine

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

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

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

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

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

In 2016, the first international conference on Wine Studies was co-organised by the Wine Studies Research Network from the University of Newcastle, Australia, and the Menzies Centre for Australian Studies from the King’s College of London. The plenary session concluded that Wine Studies were necessary as an independent area of research.<sup>49</sup> A year later in France, a transdisciplinary symposium held in Dijon focused on the place of wine in gastronomy throughout history and resulted in a publication in 2019.<sup>50</sup> Finally, an edited book published this year investigates the links between wine and the concepts of *terroir* and utopia through an international perspective.<sup>51</sup> Overall, Wine Studies have been reinvigorated by transdisciplinary academic research worldwide.

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

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

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

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

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

*de la matière dans l'élaboration d'une œuvre d'art*".<sup>52</sup> Through these words, he suggests that the main factor in quality is human techniques and not the soil, which was a very controversial opinion in the 1950s in France. In his seminal work *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France*,<sup>53</sup> first published in 1959, he argues that the sustainability and the success of a vineyard mostly depend on its location and its connections with consumer markets. Dion was echoing the idea of famous French agronomist, Olivier de Serres, who wrote in 1600: "*Si n'êtes en lieu pour vendre votre vin, que feriez-vous d'un grand vignoble?*" ("If you are not at the right location to sell your wine, what would you do with a large vineyard?").<sup>54</sup> This point can be evidenced both on national and international scales. For example, the success of Bordeaux wines first derived from the booming demand of the English market in the thirteenth century. Then, northern European merchants (Dutch, British and German) stimulated southwestern French wine exports between the seventeenth century and the nineteenth century, greatly contributing to the extension of the vineyards around Bordeaux. Following Dion's path, other scholars have undertaken research from a similar perspective, including Henri Enjalbert on the origins of quality wines<sup>55</sup> and Marcel Lachiver on the history of viticulture and winegrowing in France from the early days to the twentieth century.<sup>56</sup> All these works insist on the role of consumer markets and merchant networks both in France and abroad. It is thus worth questioning the role the British market and the colonial markets in the development of the Australian wine industry as well as the transfer of French wine models.

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

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

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

<sup>54</sup> Cited in Dion, "Querelle des anciens," 418.

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

<sup>56</sup> Marcel Lachiver, *Vins, vignes et vignerons: Histoire du vignoble français* (Paris: Fayard, 1988).

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## State of the Field

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

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<sup>64</sup> Garrier, *Histoire sociale et culturelle du vin*, 9-10.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>66</sup> Enjalbert, *Histoire de la vigne*.

<sup>67</sup> Garrier, *Histoire sociale et culturelle du vin*, 108.

<sup>68</sup> McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 6.

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

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

There have been several studies focusing on New South Wales in particular. W. P. Driscoll's book studies winemaking in the Hunter Valley up to 1850.<sup>70</sup> Julie McIntyre, in a thesis on the history of viticulture in New South Wales published in 2009, shows the civilisational aspect of grapevine cultivation to wealthy colonists.<sup>71</sup> Her work resulted in the publication of a book, *First Vintage*, that reviews the development of and changes in the wine industry in colonial New South Wales.<sup>72</sup> A second book, written in collaboration with sociologist John Germov and published in 2018, focuses on the famous wine district of the Hunter Valley, west of Newcastle.

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

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

<sup>71</sup> McIntyre, "A 'Civilized' Drink," 5.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>79</sup> François Crouzet, *De la supériorité de l'Angleterre sur la France. L'économie et l'imaginaire, XVII<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup>* (Paris: Perrin, 1985).

<sup>80</sup> Asselain, *Histoire économique de la France*, vol. 1, 81.

<sup>81</sup> Hilaire-Pérez, "Transferts technologiques," 548.

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

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

cuisine in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and mentions some transfers between them. From 1725, French cookery books were regularly translated into English.<sup>84</sup> French and English cuisine and eating practices were further compared in Mennell's *All Manners of Food* published in 1985.<sup>85</sup>

Finally, academic research addressing the historiography of Franco–Australian connections has been renewed since the 1980s.<sup>86</sup> R. Marchant studies French explorations around the antipodean continent and the effort to establish a penal colony in southwestern Australia.<sup>87</sup> Anny P. L. Stuer establishes the French presence in Australia as a field of study with her book published in 1982.<sup>88</sup> As a demographic work, it offers valuable statistical information on the French migrants who had settled in Australia since the middle of the nineteenth century as well as short monographs of eminent French colonists and notable winegrowers. This pioneering work has influenced other research and initiatives in French–Australian studies.<sup>89</sup> One of the most valuable books on this theme is certainly Robert Aldrich's *The French Presence in the South Pacific*, published in 1990, which gives a broader picture of French activities in the region and analyses political, economic and cultural relations with the nations and people of the region.<sup>90</sup> In 2002, The Research Centre for the History of Food and Drink of the University of Adelaide organised a symposium entitled “French and Australian

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

<sup>84</sup> Zeldin, *Histoire des Passions Françaises*, vol. 3, 580-581.

<sup>85</sup> Mennell, *All Manners of Food*.

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

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

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

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

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

Encounters: Gastronomy”, which was followed two years later by the publication of an edited book collecting chapters treating French–British and French–Australian gastronomic and cooking-related exchanges.<sup>91</sup> More recently, Alexis Bergantz has submitted a thesis about the cultural and political aspects of “Frenchness” in Australia from 1890 to 1914.<sup>92</sup> He examines representations of French culture in Australian society and how they have been incorporated into Australians’ everyday life. Finally, Argyris Karavis’ thesis-in-progress looks particularly at the French influence on Australian gastronomy in the latter half of the nineteenth century.<sup>93</sup>

The first article focused on the particular subject of this thesis – the French influence on Australian winegrowing – was published in 1961 in the *Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce Française en Australie*, issued in Sydney since 1900.<sup>94</sup> It is centred on the role of a handful of French vigneron, mostly in Victoria and South Australia. In 2004, two articles were published, one by Valmai Hankel and the other by Eric Bouvet and Chelsea Roberts, focusing on French influences on wine culture in South Australia.<sup>95</sup> Several years later, Amie Sexton wrote on “The French in the Australian Wine Industry: 1788-2009”.<sup>96</sup> Merrily Hallsworth self-published a monograph on Edmond Mazure, a French winemaker established in South Australia in the late nineteenth-early twentieth century,<sup>97</sup> drawing on contemporary newspaper articles and family papers to show that Mazure made significant impacts on Australian winemaking and the wine industry in general thanks to his efforts to improve the production process. Although all these works use primary sources, none provide a general historical analysis of this French presence.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Primary Sources

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>101</sup> <https://trove.nla.gov.au/>

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

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

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

## **Argument and Thesis Structure**

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

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



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

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

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

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