ISFAR Research Project: France, Australia and Wine https://www.isfar.org.au/france-australia-wine/

French-Australian Exchanges in Viticulture and Winemaking

Barbara Santich (Coordinator)1

British colonists very quickly saw the potential in Australia for growing grapes and making wine, and naturally looked to France as a model. Early vignerons, such as Gregory Blaxland and William Macarthur, visited France to study vineyards and winemaking practices, and often returned with cuttings of French vines. In the second half of the century French vignerons, such as Camille Réau and Jean-Pierre Trouette, established vineyards in Australia. French viticultural techniques were adapted for Australian conditions and Ludovic Marie translated Jules Guyot's *Culture de la vigne et vinification* as *Culture of the Vine and Wine Making* (Melbourne, 1865).

These cultural exchanges continued in the twentieth century, with Australian winemakers studying in French institutions and French migrants promoting wine appreciation in Australia. France adopted the Australian invention of the bag-in-the-box; Australians exhibit at Vinexpo in Bordeaux; and Australian and French winemakers work vintages in both countries.

In view of the significance of French-Australian exchanges, The Institute for the Study of French-Australian Relations (ISFAR) has initiated a project to create entries for the *French Australian Dictionary of Biography* (*FADB*) as well as a book and a website highlighting the significance of

To cite this article: Santich, Barbara, 'French-Ausralian Exchanges in Viticulture and Winemaking': *The French Australian Review*, no. 72 (Winter 2022: 20–37).

¹ https://www.adelaide.edu.au/directory/barbara.santich.

these exchanges. This article gives an outline of the aims and scope of the project, together with potted biographies of several of the more influential individuals to be included in the book.

Some of the British colonists brought to Australia both a wine drinking culture and an ideology of wine as a noble beverage, an expression of civilisation. The First Fleet carried vines that were planted in Governor Phillip's garden and produced two bunches of grapes in 1790.² Instructions for establishing a vineyard were published in the first issue of the *Sydney Gazette* in 1803:³

METHOD OF PREPARING A PIECE OF LAND For the Purpose of forming a Vineyard. [Translated from the French.]

Colonists wanted to and did establish vineyards—but they had no experience and little understanding of viticulture and winemaking. Although Gregory Blaxland was producing wine in 1816, he also lamented his 'want of practical knowledge'.⁴

This was a not insignificant hurdle, and Blaxland was not the only one lacking practical skills; the most obvious quality of early vignerons in the Australian colonies was undoubtedly their enthusiasm. Seeking advice and guidance, they typically looked to France as a model, a source of knowledge, expertise and vine stocks. Thus began a French-Australian relationship that, towards the end of the nineteenth century, saw French experts employed as government viticulturists and consultants. Gradually it evolved into a pattern of reciprocal exchanges and collaboration between the two countries that, despite the interruptions of war and the varied fortunes of the wine industry in Australia, continues to the present day.

² Julie McIntyre, *First Vintage: Wine in Colonial New South Wales* (Sydney: New South Publishing, 2012), 45.

³ https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/5656.

⁴ Julie McIntyre, 'Camden to London and Paris: The Role of the Macarthur Family in the Early New South Wales Wine Industry', *History Compass* 5 (2007): 427–438.

ISFAR's aim is to acknowledge the role of France in the establishment of the Australian wine industry and the ongoing links between the two countries for over two centuries, both in biographical entries for the *French Australian Dictionary of Biography (FADB)* and in a publication emphasising the strength and endurance of the French-Australian wine relationship. This article presents the stories of William Macarthur, Jean-Louis Edouard Bourbaud and Bill Hardy, each representing different eras of the Australian wine industry. Macarthur established one of the early vineyards in New South Wales, just three decades after the founding of a British presence in the colony; Bourbaud came to South Australia as an expert adviser during the first flush of vineyard expansion; and Hardy epitomises the current era of reciprocity in French-Australian wine industry exchanges.

Sir William Macarthur (1800–1882)

William Macarthur was one of the earliest pioneers of the wine industry in New South Wales. Born in 1800 at Elizabeth Farm, Parramatta, he was the youngest son of wool pioneers John and Elizabeth Macarthur, who had arrived with the Second Fleet in 1790. Granted land at Parramatta, John Macarthur built a solid brick house surrounded by three acres of vineyard, orchards and garden where William spent his early life, tutored for two years by French émigré Gabriel Louis Marie Huon de Kerilleau (Gabriel Lewis).⁵ In 1809 he sailed with his father and elder brother James to England where he attended Rugby School until the age of fourteen.

In early 1815, John Macarthur took James and William to Europe for the express purpose of learning about viticulture and gathering a collection of vines. Wine production in its colonies was explicitly encouraged by the British government and, from the very early years of the Sydney colony, vineyards were seen as appropriate and desirable, not only for their economic value but also, in the case of wine, for its symbolism and civilising influence. In Paris, the Macarthurs witnessed Napoleon's return from exile in March 1815 and then, possibly wary of anti-British sentiment during the Napoleonic Wars, proceeded to Switzerland, spending almost a year near

⁵ McIntyre, 'Camden to London'.

⁶ William Macarthur ('Maro'), Letters on the Culture of the Vine, Fermentation, and the Management of Wine in the Cellar (Sydney: Statham and Forster, 1844), v.

Vevey with Jean Jacques Dufour who had previously migrated to America to establish viticulture, making his first wine in Indiana in 1806 or 1807.

From February to August 1816 the trio travelled, 'chiefly on foot, through the greater part of the best wine districts' of France, and returned to England with multiple cuttings of 'thirty of the best varieties of the vine'. Unfortunately, entrusted to the care of others for almost a year, the cuttings were neglected and those that accompanied the trio back to Sydney in 1817 included only two of the original collection (gouais and black frontignac), the others subsequently found to be 'common garden varieties cultivated in England'. A similar fate befell cuttings of the seven best grape varieties from Madeira which the Macarthurs ordered en route. The fact that particular varieties were able to be identified suggests that the colony's earliest vignerons had access to some kind of ampelographic guide possibly Chaptal's L'Art de faire, de gouverner et de perfectionner les vins (1801), which includes images of the more important varieties—emphasising the seriousness of their viticultural ambitions.

Even as a young teenager, William must have absorbed some knowledge from these European experiences, although the steep terraces of Vevey were a long way from the flat pastures of Camden Park, the land granted to John Macarthur in 1805 and the site of the Macarthurs' renowned Merino stud. In 1820 William Macarthur planted a commercial-scale vineyard on the banks of the Nepean river, making his first wine in 1824. Dissatisfied with the siting of this initial venture, he selected a terraced hillside further from the river for his second vineyard in 1830. By this time he had access to a larger selection of grape varieties imported by the Australian Agricultural Society from the Horticultural Society's gardens at Chiswick, among them verdelho and muscat. More of the important French grape varieties—various pinots and syrah as well as carignan, grenache and mataro—became available after James Busby's importations in 1832,

https://glossary.wein.plus/dufour-jean-jacques.

⁸ Macarthur, Letters, v.

⁹ Macarthur, Letters, 21.

¹⁰ Ampelography relates to the identification and classification of grape vines.

McIntyre, 'Camden to London'.

and in 1837 Didier Joubert brought out a collection of Bordeaux varieties. ¹² By 1843 the Camden vineyard grew thirty different wine grape varieties. ¹³

William may have supervised operations—the cultivation of vineyards was considered a gentleman's pursuit, more civilised than pastoralism—but his workers' lack of knowledge constituted a severe handicap to expansion of the enterprise. His quest for skilled workers led him, in association with Gregory Blaxland, to arrange for three vinedressers from Switzerland and southern France to come to Australia around the same time as another early vigneron, William Redfern, brought out a worker from Madeira. These men quickly faded from historical records. ¹⁴ Despite Macarthur's repeated requests, the English government remained firm in its conviction that emigration from other countries would interfere with British emigration. ¹⁵ Not until 1837, and only after persistent pleas from his brother Edward in London to extend the assisted migrant scheme to non-British workers, did six German vinedressers and their families arrive in New South Wales. ¹⁶ In 1845 one of these vinedressers had risen to vineyard manager. ¹⁷

Nevertheless, Macarthur's close attention and careful observations informed his writings on viticulture, first published in *The Australian* in 1842–43 and collectively as a pamphlet, *Letters on the Culture of the Vine*, in 1844. Convinced of 'the remarkable fitness of the soil and climate of the eastern counties of New South Wales, for vineyard cultivation' and acknowledging 'the prevailing absence of just ideas', he was motivated by a desire to persuade landowners to consider an enterprise 'which, if not

¹² Macarthur, Letters, vii–viii; Mikaël Pierre, 'France of the Southern Hemisphere': Transferring a European Wine Model to Colonial Australia', Thesis (PhD University of Newcastle, University Bordeaux Montaigne, 2020),75; Macarthur, Letters, x.

¹³ William Macarthur, *Catalogue of Plants Cultivated at Camden Park* (Sydney: Statham and Foster, 1857).

¹⁴ Australian, March 10, 1827, 4.

¹⁵ Macarthur, *Letters*, iv-v.

¹⁶ McIntyre, First Vintage, 75–6.

¹⁷ Eugène Delessert, Voyages dans les deux Océans, Atlantique et Pacifique : 1844 à 1847 : Brésil, États Unis, Cap de Bonne-Espérance, Nouvelle Hollande, Nouvelle Zélande, Taiti, Philippines, Chine, Java, Indes Orientales, Égypte (Paris: A. Franck, 1848), 118.

altogether untried, has ... been but superficially or unskilfully worked'.¹⁸ His nom-de-plume of 'Maro' honoured the Roman poet Vergil/Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro), whose *Georgics* includes details of ancient grape varieties, vineyard management and winemaking. *Letters on the Culture of the Vine* combined the wisdom of earlier authors, principally French, with Macarthur's observations in France and his own practical experiences—for example, his efforts to reduce predation by birds and possums. In clear, simple language, it offered intending vignerons a thoroughly practical manual for establishing and managing a vineyard, from selection of site—ideally a north-easterly aspect, gravelly soil in preference to clay—to choice of grape varieties and through the annual cycle of operations to picking, crushing and making wine.

In early 1845, the French writer Eugène Delessert, on a visit to Sydney, was invited by William and James Macarthur to spend a few days at the Camden Park estate, where he observed men and women picking the grapes and the system of fermentation in large vats followed by maturation in barrels, stacked in 'une grande et belle cave souterraine'. He made no particular comment on the wines served at dinner—which was 'aussi français qu'anglais'—except that they were excellent. His compliments were reserved more for the homestead ('plutôt un château') furnished in luxurious style with marble fireplaces, a French clock and the latest books from Paris and London. He was also astonished to learn that everything on the dinner table—meat, fruit, vegetables, cheese, even the olive oil for the salad—was produced on the estate.²⁰

It appears that Macarthur made predominantly white wines, though he submitted a 'Seyras' (syrah) wine to the Paris exhibition.²¹ At an early meeting of the New South Wales Vineyard Association, of which Macarthur was founding president, he presented white wines made from verdelho,

¹⁸ Macarthur, *Letters*, iv.

¹⁹ Delessert, 117.

²⁰ Delessert, 114–5.

²¹ William Macarthur, Some Account of the Vineyards at Camden, on the Nepean River, Forty Miles South West of Sydney, the Property of James and William Macarthur, (London: John Nichols, 1849), 9.

Barbara Santich

verdelho plus gouais, and muscat grapes, together with a fortified muscat.²² Similar wines were sent to the eminent chemist Justus Liebig in Germany for analysis: verdelho/gouais; gouais/muscat; white muscat; verdelho; and riesling. In Liebig's opinion, they were too rich and strong in alcohol and lacked the acidity that would allow them to improve with age.²³ Nevertheless, after tasting Macarthur's 1848 'aucerot' (possibly a corruption of 'auxerrois') wine alongside a French white burgundy of similar age, members of the New South Wales Vineyard Association concluded that the Macarthur wine offered 'the best possible proof that the character of the finer Australian wines is not inferior to that of the Continental productions, even of the more admired and costly kinds'.²⁴ Macarthur himself believed his wines to have 'a certain dryness and bitterness peculiar to the wines of New South Wales'.²⁵

Following his appointment as commissioner representing New South Wales at the 1855 Paris Exhibition, Macarthur organised a collection of exhibits to represent the colony but was dismayed to learn, on arrival in London, that no site had been set aside for the display, the organisers assuming that Sydney was in South Australia. Further, the small space allocated for the combined colonies was not only at the end of one of the galleries but would be the last to be completed. He immediately crossed to Paris and managed to secure for New South Wales a far more desirable space in the Palais de l'Industrie. Macarthur's efforts were amply rewarded, with Australian wines assessed as being 'in strength and flavour, between the wines of Madeira and those of the Cotes du Rhone' [sic]. 'We were perfectly astonished at the quality of the Australian Wines. ... They do your colony infinite credit', added one of the jurors. Among the wines exhibited were riesling, muscat and 'aucarot' from Camden and red wines from James King's Irrawang vineyard in the Hunter region, both of which were selected

²² Sydney Morning Herald, January 11, 1851, 3.

²³ Sydney Morning Herald, August 6, 1852, 3.

²⁴ Sydney Morning Herald, June 22, 1853, 5.

²⁵ Macarthur, Some Account of the Vineyards, 10.

²⁶ Sydney Morning Herald, August 17, 1855, 2.

²⁷ Sydney Morning Herald, November 27, 1855, 2.

for the Emperor's table at the closing ceremony.²⁸ After the Exhibition, in recognition of his considerable enterprise, Macarthur was honoured with the awards of Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur by France and a knighthood by Britain. On his return to Australia his achievements were celebrated at a public banquet at Camden.²⁹

While in France Macarthur took the opportunity to further his knowledge of viticulture and winemaking, visiting vineyards in the Loire Valley, Burgundy and Bordeaux and ordering a selection of French wines to be shipped to Australia for tasting alongside Australian wines. Didier Joubert, a French wine merchant in Sydney with connections in Bordeaux, arranged a meeting with Pierre-François Guestier from the négociants, Barton & Guestier, and Macarthur gained valuable information on bottling and storage.³⁰

Back in Australia, Macarthur took an active role in the arrangements for the 1862 London Exhibition where eight different New South Wales wine producers were represented. He travelled to London and Europe for the Exhibition, at which his white wine was awarded a medal for 'excellence of quality', returning in 1864.³¹ He was again successful at the subsequent 1867 Paris Exhibition, with a silver medal for his wines.³² Ludovic de Beauvoir, visiting Australia the same year, rated them the best of the Australian 'Burgundies'.³³

William Macarthur was not only instrumental in fostering a wine industry in New South Wales, he also supplied grape cuttings to other colonies and encouraged emigration from Switzerland to establish new vineyards in Victoria. In addition to viticulture, he took a keen interest in horticulture. 'No single person has done more to acclimatise fruits and flowers', noted the *Sydney Morning Herald*.³⁴ The 1857 catalogue of plants cultivated at

²⁸ Sydney Morning Herald, December 21, 1857, 3.

²⁹ Sydney Morning Herald, December 10, 1857, 5.

Pierre, 'France of the Southern Hemisphere', 79-81.

³¹ Sydney Morning Herald, June 10, 1863, 5.

³² *Empire*, August 11, 1868, 2.

³³ Ludovic de Beauvoir, *Voyage en Australie : Récit de Voyage* (Cork: Magellan et Cie, 2017), 121.

³⁴ Sydney Morning Herald, October 31, 1882, 6.

Camden Park listed eighty-six varieties of Camellia japonica and seventy-five varieties of rose, among which were many French specimens. The orchard included forty-seven different varieties of eating apples and seventy kinds of pear from both England and France.³⁵ Macarthur was also a member of the Legislative Council in New South Wales from 1864 until the year of his death. William Macarthur was not the first to plant wine grapes in the new colony of New South Wales, nor necessarily the most successful, but he was arguably the most assiduous of the pioneer vignerons in his attempts to foster viticulture in this new British possession. His *Letters on the Culture of the Vine* (1844) was the first manual on grape-growing and wine-making based on extensive trial-and-error experience in Australian conditions for over two decades. Further, through his Swiss contacts, he played a part in early Swiss migration to Victoria and the subsequent establishment of vineyards in that colony. By the time of his death, Australian vineyards had expanded to nearly 6,000 ha in five colonies.³⁶

Louis Édouard Bourbaud (1838–1883)

By the 1870s, after a decade of rapid expansion, South Australian vineyards were flourishing. Successes at the 1870 Intercolonial Wine Exhibition in Melbourne, the 1873 Metropolitan Intercolonial Exhibition in Sydney and at the 1867 Paris Exhibition, where the Académie Nationale awarded South Australian wines a special medal, had given rise to a feeling of optimism as to the prospects for a wine industry. Yet despite these honours, the colony's vignerons keenly recognised their lack of expertise in grape growing and winemaking. As horticulturist E. B. Heyne wrote in his preface to his translation of *Le Vigneron Provençal*, the 'want of reliable information' represented a 'formidable barrier'.³⁷

Macarthur, Catalogue of Plants.

³⁶ Kym Anderson and Nanda Aryat, *Growth and Cycles in Australia's Wine Industry: A Statistical Compendium*, 1843 to 2013 (Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press, 2015), 149.

³⁷ E. B. Heyne, Preface, *Vine and Wine Making in Southern France* (Melbourne: Walker, May & Co, 1868); translation of *Le Vigneron Provençal: Cépages provençaux et autres, culture et vinification* (Montpellier: Imprimerie typographique de Gras, 1866).

It was not so much written information that they lacked but rather practical and technical know-how, and the proposed solution was, again, government assistance to encourage people with appropriate skills to migrate to South Australia not just for viticulture but also for other proposed new industries, such as sericulture (the cultivation of mulberry trees for silkworms). The request reached South Australia's Agent-General in London, Francis Dutton, a fluent French speaker who, in a surprisingly short time, found and nominated Louis Édouard Bourbaud, recommended to him as 'a man of superior intelligence and high respectability ... highly skilled in the French wine-making process'. As a bonus, his wife Mathilde was 'acquainted with the process of preparing crystallized preserved fruits'. He would be the first viticultural expert appointed in any Australian colony.

Bourbaud was born in 1837 in Cognac, a town of about 3,500 inhabitants. Little is known of his education and early life but it is likely he attended a local secondary school. He served in both the Crimean War (1854–1855) and the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) and, by his own account, had eighteen years' experience in the vineyards of Burgundy and other French regions. He had also served on one of the selection committees responsible for deciding wines to be exhibited at the 1867 Paris Exhibition and was a member of the National Agricultural, Industrial, and Commercial Academy of France.³⁹

Together with his wife and sons, Bourbaud arrived in Adelaide in August 1875. Inexplicably, while providing free passage to South Australia for the family, the government neglected to create a paid position for him, leaving Bourbaud to propose his own terms of engagement to individual vignerons who quickly banded together to assure him of an annual salary of £300 plus travelling expenses. Bourbaud threw himself into the job. In his report to the Vignerons' Society, just two weeks after his arrival, he identified a multitude of areas requiring attention, from vineyard management and harvesting to wine making and storage.

³⁸ South Australian Register, August 23, 1875, 6.

³⁹ South Australian Advertiser, September 1, 1875, 6.

⁴⁰ South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail, October 16, 1875, 9.

One of his early priorities was the determination of the alcohol content of South Australian wines. This was a matter of grave concern, South Australian wines (as well as wines from other Australian colonies) being disadvantaged in the British market because they exceeded 26 per cent alcohol (about 14.8% alcohol by volume), and therefore paid duty of 2s 6d per gallon rather than the 1s. per gallon for lighter wines. Vignerons might have felt unfairly treated but analyses in London by the Chief Inspector of Distilleries confirmed alcohol contents of 26–32 per cent in South Australian wines.⁴¹ Both diplomatic and systematic in his report, Bourbaud endorsed these results but also justified the vignerons' campaign to have the limit for wines in the lower duty category raised to 30 per cent. South Australia, he pointed out, was 'perhaps without rivals in the world for the production of wines with body rich in alcohol', while in France the tendency was to 'increase the quantity at the expense of the quality and of the alcoholic strength'. 42 The situation was not resolved until 1886 when the unfortified wine classification was changed to include wines with up to 30 per cent alcohol.

Rapidly accepted into the circle of industry leaders such as Thomas Hardy and Samuel Davenport, Bourbaud was appointed a wine judge in early 1876 and unanimously voted an honorary member of the Vignerons' Club.⁴³ In August 1876 he was appointed manager of the newly-formed South Australian United Vineyard Association created by eight of the most influential winegrowers, the aim of which was to offer the public sound wines at a reasonable price as well as low-priced 'working man's' wines, consistent with Bourbaud's firm belief in wine as wholesome, beneficent and 'the best guarantee against drunkenness'.⁴⁴ The range included light red and white wines, medium and sweet red and white wines, sherry and port.

Through Bourbaud, South Australian vignerons had access to current French viticultural and vinicultural science and practice. His series of

⁴¹ South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail, March 13, 1875, 10.

⁴² Adelaide Observer, December 11, 1873, 3.

Express and Telegraph, February 24, 1876, 2.

⁴⁴ Express and Telegraph, September 20, 1876, 2; South Australian Register, December 28, 1875, 7.

learned and technical articles published in the *Adelaide Observer* and *South Australian Register* between July and November 1876, was subsequently circulated in other colonies and published as a pamphlet titled *Viticulture and Viniculture*. It covered such matters as soil types, siting of vineyards, selection of grape varieties, planting, vine diseases, vineyard management and pruning. Pruning, he observed, was effectively an unknown skill in South Australia and to encourage improved practices—which, incidentally, would also reduce the risk of mildew—he proposed pruning competitions with prizes, similar to ploughing matches.⁴⁵ Some six years later, the first pruning match took place in McLaren Vale, instigated by Dr. J. G. Kelly.

A prolific correspondent, Bourbaud submitted long, informed letters to the Adelaide press and presented reports on such matters as the prevention and treatment of powdery mildew and the use of a densimeter or gluco-oenometer to determine the best time for harvest. Initially his writings were translated from the original French by colleagues such as E. B. Heyne, but it seems that within a few years he had mastered English. Nor was his advice limited to the vineyard. He advocated the manufacture of vermouth, brandy, verjuice, wine vinegar, vin cuit (reduced and concentrated must), liqueurs and spirits and medicinal wines, publishing recipes for quinine tonic wine, pepsin wine and sarsaparilla. In 1880 he presented the newly opened Museum of Economic Botany with a range of products demonstrating the versatility of the vine, from wine and raisins to grape syrup, grape sugar, grape jam, grapeseed oil, cream of tartar and potash, and grape charcoal. Unfortunately, these have not stood the test of time.

Venturing into other areas of agriculture and manufacturing, Bourbaud proposed remedies for ophthalmia and for the prevention of red rust in wheat, and the use of wattle bark as a dye.⁴⁹ He suggested taking advantage of telegraphic connections between colonies to share meteorological

⁴⁵ South Australian Register, August 12, 1876, 6.

⁴⁶ Adelaide Observer, April 22, 1876, 9.

South Australian Register, June 2, 1877, 4.

⁴⁸ Adelaide Observer, August 20, 1881, 11.

⁴⁹ Evening Journal, March 8, 1878, 2; South Australian Register, April 5, 1879, 5; South Australian Advertiser, March 20, 1880, 6.

information in order to improve forecasting.⁵⁰ He made, and presented to the Chamber of Manufactures, samples of a jam that could be cheaply made, composed entirely of fruit, possibly substituting grape concentrate for sugar.⁵¹ Gardeners benefited from his introduction of French sorrel and the French potiron, a large pumpkin with grey-blue or reddish skin and deep orange flesh.⁵²

Bourbaud was a fervent advocate for South Australia, recommending participation in the 1878 Paris Exhibition with displays demonstrating the colony's progress and potential and the quality of its products, especially its wines, which he believed had their own individual character and deserved to be more widely known. His attempts to further South Australia's interests and to foster greater French-Australian cooperation included a proposal that South Australian goods such as wool, wheat and copper enter France directly through the port of Le Havre instead of via England.⁵³ He encouraged sericulture in the colony, sending samples of local silk to manufacturers in Lyon who responded favourably.⁵⁴

As a firm believer in progress through the dissemination of knowledge, Bourbaud was instrumental in the establishment of Roseworthy Model Farm and Agricultural College, the first such institution in Australia. Deploring the colony's reliance on wheat, in 1878 Bourbaud revived the idea of a Model Farm, adding an Agricultural College that would conduct experiments as well as provide practical advice—Roseworthy Agricultural College subsequently opened in 1883. Further, he urged keeping abreast of developments in the northern hemisphere through subscriptions to the best English and French journals, with all relevant information circulated in a monthly review.⁵⁵

Yet scientific acumen momentarily deserted Bourbaud in October 1879 when he mistakenly identified phylloxera in an Adelaide vineyard.

⁵⁰ South Australian Register, November 22, 1877, 5.

⁵¹ Adelaide Observer, May 6, 1976, 12.

⁵² Adelaide Observer, November 27, 1880, 11; South Australian Register, March 16, 1883, 6.

⁵³ Adelaide Observer, April 6, 1878, 9.

⁵⁴ Evening Journal, April 30, 1879, 3.

⁵⁵ Adelaide Observer, June 8, 1878, 9.

South Australian vignerons had been fearful of its spread after detection in Victoria in 1877. Bourbaud was clearly familiar with the disease that had hit France in the early 1860s, and with the insect responsible, having presented a paper on the subject to the Chamber of Manufactures in December 1878.⁵⁶ Although he recanted several days later, he felt his reputation damaged and resigned his honorary membership of the Vignerons' Club.⁵⁷

Almost immediately the indefatigable Bourbaud launched into a new business, the Franco-Australian Alimentary Company, making preserved canned meat products (experiments with refrigeration had not yet proved successful). In April 1880 he presented samples of three of his products to the Chamber of Manufactures, pâté de Paris, galantine de Paris and boeuf à la mode, all of which were very favourably received. More products were added and promoted at both the 1880 Melbourne Exhibition and 1881 Adelaide Exhibition. Soon after the close of the Adelaide Exhibition, however, Bourbaud sold the goodwill in the business to L. Conrad, while continuing as manager. Conrad maintained the full range of fourteen Frenchstyle products alongside his own more English ones, such as corned mutton, ox tongues and tripe, for another year.

Ever active, in June 1882 Bourbaud reconstituted the South Australian Winegrowers' Association and became its manager. At this time he was still advising individual vignerons such as Samuel Davenport and Sir Thomas Elder, and it might have been in one of their cellars that Bourbaud directed the making of an experimental champagne, arguably the first made in South Australia.⁵⁹ His sudden death in January 1883 at the age of forty-five was unexpected and probably the result of an aneurysm, although he was reported to have been suffering from an unknown illness for two years.

Bourbaud introduced both scientific rigour and practical expertise to vineyard management and winemaking in South Australia at a critical time in their development. Obituaries lauded him as a man of genial manners

⁵⁶ Adelaide Observer, February 2, 1878, 9.

⁵⁷ South Australian Register, October 30, 1879, 4; South Australian Advertiser, November 4, 1879, 6.

⁵⁸ Adelaide Observer, June 5, 1880, 11.

⁵⁹ South Australian Register, June 4, 1880, 5.

and a cultivated mind, 'probably the cleverest expert in blending and treating wines that the colony has possessed', who 'contributed largely and practically to our local viticultural literature'. ⁶⁰ The motto 'Work, hope and perseverance' that Bourbaud proposed for his adopted country could indeed be applied to his own approach to life. ⁶¹

Bill Hardy (1950-)62

Bill Hardy represents the modern face of French-Australian wine industry exchanges. He was the first Australian to study at the prestigious University of Bordeaux and complete its *Diplôme national d'ænologie*. But for World War II, he may well have been the second Australian wine graduate of a French university. His grandfather, Tom Mayfield Hardy, was about to enrol in oenology at the University of Montpellier in 1914 when war intervened.

Born in 1950, Bill is the great-grandson of pioneer vigneron Thomas Hardy. He was educated in Adelaide and graduated from the University of Adelaide with a degree in agricultural science in 1972. Although a career in the wine industry would have seemed a natural choice, it was not until his final year of study that Bill expressed a wish to continue in the family enterprise. With a number of Roseworthy-trained graduates already employed by Hardy's, Bill's father encouraged him to continue his studies in Europe and, of the handful of institutions providing specialised wine education, he chose the highly reputed University of Bordeaux.

Bill and his new wife Merilyn left Adelaide in June 1972 but, realising that two years of high school French and a couple of months of intensive lessons would hardly equip him for tertiary study in France, he spent four months working in various roles at Cognac Hardy, on the outskirts of the town of Cognac. The specialised wine vocabulary he learned on the job proved invaluable when he began study in Bordeaux. Bill was a

⁶⁰ South Australian Register, January 8, 1883, 4.

⁶¹ Adelaide Observer, February 26, 1876, 9.

This biography is based on the author's interview with Bill Hardy on March 18, 2021, with additional information sourced from 'Full transcript of an interview with Bill Hardy by Rob Linn on December 21, 2001', State Library of South Australia, J. D. Somerville Oral History Collection, OH 692/59, https://archival.collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/oh/OH692_59.pdf.

diligent student and long hours spent in the university library resulted in his graduating with distinction at the top of his class after one year of study, having been granted credit for subjects already covered in his undergraduate degree.

One of the requirements of the Diplôme national d'œnologie was practical experience in the wine industry. Bill was introduced to the legendary Jean-Bernard Delmas, winemaker at Château Haut-Brion, who arranged for him to do a vintage at the historic Château Bouscaut in the Graves district, at that time managed by Haut-Brion. He finished with two weeks in the laboratory at Haut-Brion. Travels through France, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Germany and Italy followed, with visits to many vineyards and cellars. During this formative period, both Bill and Merilyn were impressed by their hosts' generosity with both hospitality and the sharing of information. They vowed to continue this in Australia, where licensing reforms in the late 1960s had facilitated winery sales and encouraged tasting visits to cellar doors. The Tintara cellar door opened in 1972.

Bill returned to Australia in 1974 with not only a diploma but also an understanding and appreciation of French practices that he transferred to Hardy operations. At the McLaren Vale Tintara winery he instituted the Bordeaux custom of rotating barrels at the end of the malolactic fermentation in order to reduce oxygenation. He also introduced egg white fining, at that time uncommon in Australia, as a way of achieving a softer style of wine by removing the harsher tannins. Yet it was perhaps the philosophy of French winemakers that Bill most wanted to emulate. 'They saw wine as a living being and treated it with tenderness. Their approach to winemaking was more emotional, while Australian wines are more technically driven.' Recalling his vintage at Château Bouscaut, where casuals were employed for harvesting while the permanent vineyard workers relocated to the winery for the important task of transforming into wine the grapes they had nurtured over a long year, convinced him that good wine is essentially made in the vineyard.

Over the next fifteen years Bill was winemaker at various Hardy vineyards and also oversaw brandy production, from base wine through distillation, incorporating some of the practices he observed in Cognac. In the late 1980s, the company decided to expand into Europe and to purchase a wine-producing business in France. The region chosen was the Languedoc,

principally because this would allow them to produce varietally-labelled wines for the British market, an option not always possible in appellation zones. In addition, properties there were relatively cheap, the varieties sought were already grown and its Mediterranean climate echoed that of Australia. Domaine de la Baume, a run-down vineyard situated between Pézénas and Béziers, was added to the company's portfolio, and in 1990 Bill was sent to la Baume to help coordinate the first vintage. He returned a few months later to manage the property where modern winemaking facilities, similar to those in Australia, had been installed.

Under Bill's management, the vineyard at la Baume was expanded with plantings of chardonnay, cabernet, merlot and viognier to produce varietal pays d'oc wines for export. Partly through his efforts, viognier became an authorised variety for the region. Nevertheless, with the capacity of the new winery greatly exceeding la Baume's modest harvest, Bill was obliged to source additional fruit from independent growers not contracted to the local cooperative. Traditionally, these producers would have made their own wine and sold it in bulk at prices varying according to alcoholic strength. Faced with the challenge of persuading them to sell fruit rather than wine, Bill promised to pay slightly more than the equivalent in wine, and to pay promptly. Before long growers were contacting him with offers to sell their harvest and grapes arrived at la Baume from over fifty kilometres away, a radical break with local tradition. Bill also introduced night harvesting, a practice already common in Australia. In the days of hand harvesting in the Languedoc, pickers worked fixed hours and when they were replaced by mechanical harvesting, the same routine was followed. Bill overcame initial reluctance by making sure he was present at the vineyard when harvesters arrived at night and explaining to growers that their nightharvested grapes would make better wine.

Knowledge of vineyards, viticulture and winemaking garnered over many years, together with experience in France and Australia, have informed the whole of Bill's working life in wine and enhanced his stature as a wine judge, most recently at the Vinalies Internationales wine competitions in Paris. To honour his contribution, in 2012 Hardys created the William Hardy range of wines that aims to express the aromatic, ripe fruit character so typical of Australian wines and the tighter structure of French wines—the best of both worlds.

With his introduction of French tradition into Australia and of Australian practices into France, Bill Hardy exemplifies the current phase of reciprocity in French-Australian exchanges in the wine industry.

While other countries also contributed to the early development of the Australian wine industry in the nineteenth century—Swiss and German migrants were also influential—France provided the model, especially through its southern viticultural regions whose climate ressembled that of Australia. Its vineyards and botanic gardens were the principal source of vine stock, in particular the collection gathered by James Busby in 1831 that became the foundation of the Australian wine industry. Further, French manuals on viticulture and winemaking were referenced in early Australian wine literature, with several published in translation in Australia.

The three individuals whose lives, significant achievements and contributions to Australian wine-making and viticulture are summarised in this article are but a sample of the many individuals whose roles will be highlighted in the ISFAR *France Australia Wine* research project, through both *FADB* entries and other publications. In different eras and in different ways, each demonstrates the strength of French-Australian relations in the wine industry.

University of Adelaide