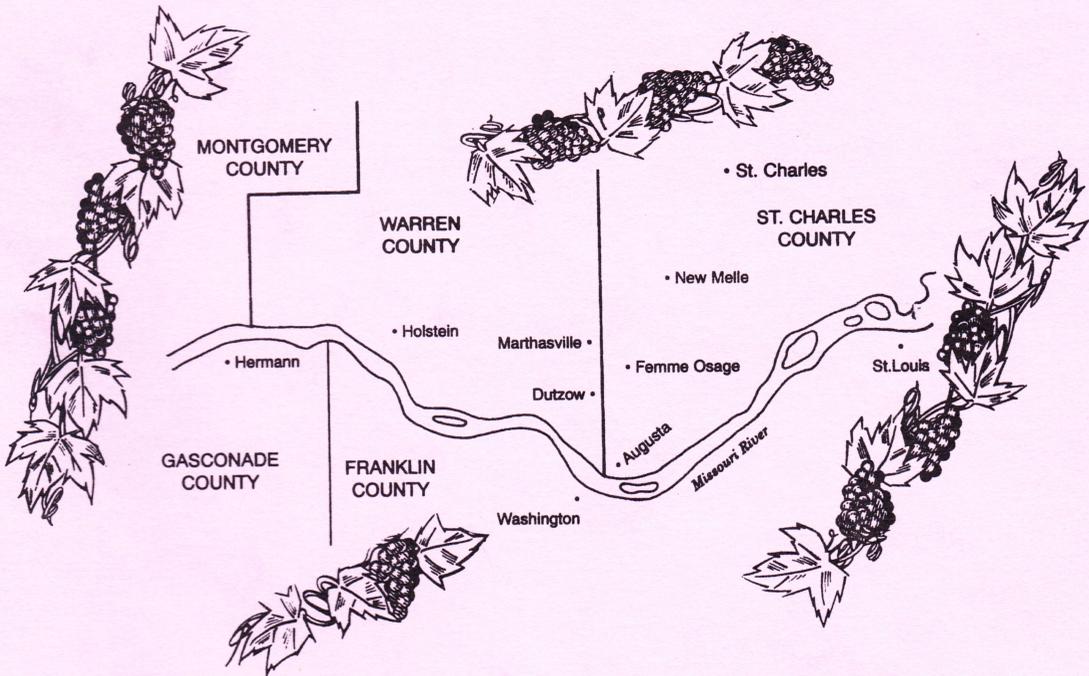


— 1800s History and Customs —

WINE-MAKING

in

"Duden Country"



Ralph Gregory and Anita Mallinckrodt

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FOREWARD

As wineries in the Missouri River Valley flourish, so do tales about them. Imagination often trumps history.

It is said, for instance, that many of the German immigrants were vintners in the "old country," that they specifically picked this area for settlements because grapes for wine-making would grow well, and that they brought vines from Germany to start vineyards here.

Not so.

The *facts*, however, are much more interesting than those historical fictions:

- Not many of the immigrants had specialized experience with grape-growing.
- Most of them turned to grape-growing as a sideline to farming.
- They experimented for 10 years to find domestic grape varieties that would grow well in Missouri's climate and make good wine.

Their innovation and perseverance is the exciting story. It is presented here.

Wine-Making in Missouri's 'Duden Country'

-- 1800s History and Customs --

Ralph Gregory and Anita Mallinckrodt

Missouri's wine country today is centered around six counties bordering the Missouri River, between the mouth of the Gasconade and the junction of the Missouri and the Mississippi Rivers (St. Charles, Franklin, Warren, Montgomery, St. Louis, and Gasconade Counties.)

"Duden Country"

The area surrounds the Lake Creek Valley in southeastern Warren County where the German researcher/explorer Gottfried Duden lived from 1824 to 1827. His observations, composed as a series of letters, were published in Germany in 1829¹. The report attracted large numbers of immigrants to the United States.

Since many chose to emigrate to Missouri, preferably settling in the area near where Duden had lived², that region was often then referred to as "Duden Settlement" or now as "Duden Country." It includes the neighborhoods of early Dutzow, Augusta, Marthasville, Holstein, Femme Osage, Washington, and South Point, all settled in the 1830s or early 1840s; some would include Hermann.

Research suggests that the successful cultivation of the grape for wine in the lower Missouri Valley began about the same time in the 1840s in three locations: St. Louis, St. Charles, and Hermann.³

As a well-known vintner later wrote about that early period,

The Anglo-Saxon, Holland and Swiss immigrants brought with them no knowledge of the grape. The German and French had at first so much to contend with, that they gave no attention to the planting of the vine, and the succeeding generations forgot the whole matter. Now and then a European vine was planted here, thrived but poorly. . . .⁴

When finally begun, grape-growing did not become a run-away success. It took about a decade of systematic trials to determine the adaptability of the soil and grape varieties. The story of that innovation and perseverance is especially well illustrated through the history of two locations, the Hermann and Augusta areas---at the former, progress moved from individual grape-growing efforts in the 1840s, to municipal aid in 1843, to establishment of the first winery in 1847; at the latter, grape-growing progress also followed the path of individual efforts in the 1840s, then to establishment of a cooperative marketing enterprise in 1867, and after its dissolution the organization of a full-scale winery in 1889.

Ralph Gregory's portion of this article was first published in the Missouri Folklore Society Journal (Vol. 6, 1984) and the Washington Missourian (November 23-24, 1985). Anita Mallinckrodt's material appeared in A History of Augusta and Its Area, Vol. I-III, 1998 and 1999.

Hermann

Unlike other settlements of the area, Hermann was not established by individual German immigrants. Rather, it was founded in 1837 as a *colony* of the German Settlement Society of Philadelphia. Why its deputies, sent out to choose a location, chose the site they did is not clear. Obviously the availability of public land on the Missouri River was significant. But in their report the deputies also conceded that the terrain was "rugged and in part hilly. . . not everywhere favorable for cultivation." A few sentences further on the deputies then envisioned that "Vineyards will probably flourish when more of the land has been cleared."⁵

Perhaps the deputies, and then the Hermann colonists, turned early to the idea of vineyards to compensate for the terrain but also to try out a suggestion made by Duden in his Report. In it he had written that,

For immigrants from the Rhineland, nothing is more important [in Missouri] than viticulture. They do not need to worry about a ready market and high prices.⁶

Regardless of the initial stimulus, grape-growing experiments began in Hermann in the mid-1840s. By 1845 the first crop had succeeded; the first wine was made in 1846; and in 1848 the very first "Wine Festival" was held.

Those early beginnings of viticulture (also called viticulture) in Duden Country were later recalled by George Husmann, Hermann's early pioneer and authority on grape culture in Missouri. In his essay "The Progress of American Grape Culture," delivered to the Missouri Horticultural Society, he said,

Well do I remember, when I was a boy of some 14 years old, how often my deceased father would enter into conversation with vintners from the old country, about the feasibility of cultivating the grape in Missouri. He always contended that grapes ought to succeed well here, as the woods were full of wild grapes, some of very fair quality. They would ridicule the idea, and asserted that labor was too high here, even if the vines would succeed to make it pay; but they could not shake his belief in the ultimate success of grape culture. Poor father! he lived at least to see the first successful experiments, and none entered with more genuine zeal on the occupation than he; when an untimely death took him from his labors. Alas! if he lived now [1865], his most sanguine hopes would be verified.

I also well remember the first cultivated grape vine which produced fruit in Hermann. It was an Isabella, planted by a Mr. Fugger, on the corner of Main and Schiller streets, and trained over an arbor. It produced the first crop in 1845... and so plentifully did it bear, that several persons were encouraged by it to plant vines.

In 1846, the first wine was made, and astonished all who tried it, by its quality. The Catawba had, during that time, been imported from Cincinnati, and the first partial crop of it, in 1848, was so enormous that everybody almost commenced planting vines, and very often in unfavorable localities.⁷

Michael Poeschel was another Hermann pioneer. He started a small vineyard and winery in 1847 (today's Stone Hill Winery).⁸ That was after the Isabella grape variety



Michael Poeschel

I rode with one another to this festival at Hermann and as we came near there toward evening, a six-pounder thundered its greetings and well wishes over hill and dale. The news of success in grapeculture penetrated as far in Missouri as German was spoken; and visitors, ladies and gentlemen, had even come from St. Louis on steamboats.

The next morning a whole cavalcade made its way to the vineyard of Mr. Michael Poeschel, and I did not regret having gone the distance of 20 miles, when I saw the magnificent bunches of grapes with my own eyes.

At that time, Mr. Poeschel still lived three miles from town in a narrow, somewhat inaccessible ravine which went down to Coles Creek and the Missouri. His bearing vineyard had hardly the area of a single acre, but the trellises there seemed to be nothing but walls of grapes and there was not a rotten berry to see. The profit from the harvest of this little vineyard was a very high one, for good Catawba, which, when rightly made, is much like Rhine wine, was then much sought and paid well.¹⁰

Münch at Dutzow

At Dutzow it was Friedrich Münch, co-leader of the 1834 Giessen Immigration Society, who was beginning the experimental work of propagation with native grape vines.¹¹ Münch, religious minister turned farmer, learned from Husmann and others.

In 1847, for instance, Münch traveled with an immigrant employee, August Mallinckrodt, of Augusta, to Hermann. Account books show that they traveled there by ferry and, among other things, bought a tin kettle, perhaps for wine preparations.¹²

As Münch would later write, in Germany he "lived far from the vine growing regions."¹³ But in America he was attracted to grape-growing and set out to learn about it. As he put it, "I have always gone hand in hand with my friends in Hermann; we have been accustomed to compare our experiences, and have arrived conclusively at the same results."¹⁴

was introduced, in 1843, and the town of Hermann sold "wine lots" at \$50 each to encourage the new venture. After a while, as Husmann reported, the Catawba variety from Ohio was found to adapt well,⁹ and by fall 1848 Hermann could hold a wine festival.

It was a great event for all who had high hopes for viticulture in Duden Country--following the first large harvest of grapes, it was a two-day *Weinfest*. They had a huge parade led by the town's brass band and a large wagon drawn by two white horses. On the wagon the deity Bacchus, with grape-crowned head, stood next to a large cask of wine and held a goblet of wine. Gert Goebel reported on this *Weinfest* in detail:

I can well remember the first wine fair in Hermann in the fall of 1848. Dr. Gerling and

In the fall of 1851 Münch undertook a two-week trip through the Ozarks to observe wild Missouri grapes. As was his practice, he shared what he learned, this time in a report in the St. Louis newspaper Anzeiger des Westens.¹⁵



Friedrich Münch

souri. The chairman of the Committee gave the following report on the state of the industry:

Lastly, your committee beg leave, in this connexion, to call the attention of the general assembly to the culture of the vine. This is a rapidly increasing production in our state. Missouri stands 6th upon the list of wine producing States, having in 1850 made 10,563 gallons. Our woods are filled with wild grapes which, on cultivation, greatly improve in size and flavor, and will by such continuous treatment, no doubt, in a few years equal the best grapes of France and the Rhine.

The culture of the grape is confined to a few counties, of which Gasconade and Osage are the principal, and chiefly to the German population. Why cannot this culture be rendered general in the State? Every section of it is suitable to the growth and development of the grape; and while the labor of raising is so slight, the process of vintage so simple, and the profits so large, it is a matter of surprise that so few of our American population have turned their attention to this healthy and profitable pursuit.

It would be a matter of sincere congratulation if the culture of the grape for wine, could be extensively pursued. It would not only develop one great and almost unknown source of native wealth, but would add to the

The next year, too, Münch reported in the new St. Charles Demokrat, a weekly German newspaper launched by Arnold Krekel as an educational voice for the German immigrants of the area. In the first issues of 1852 it carried lengthy informative articles for farmers about fruit-growing, by Augusta's horticultural pioneer Julius Mallinckrodt, and another by Friedrich Münch, reporting on his correspondence with Ohio grape growers and airing complaints about the Catawba grape's tendency to mold.¹⁶

State Help - 1852

The young grape and wine industry in Missouri received early encouragement from the state government. In 1852 the Committee on Agriculture of the Missouri House of Representatives urged the House to form a state agricultural society and pointed to the probable value of more widespread wine production in Mis-

beverage. in place of those fiery and poisonous liquors that are crowding our jails with felons, and filling our cemeteries with untimely graves.

Your committee are confident that the inducements held out by a State society would add materially to the development of this great source of pleasure and of future wealth.¹⁷

A state *Agricultural Society* was incorporated on February 24, 1853, had its first fair at Boonville in October, and did encourage and aid grape culture.

Decade of Progress

In a study of the economy of the region, Carl O. Sauer cites statistics that show the extent of wine production a decade after the first vines were planted:

In 1856 a yield of 100,000 gallons was reported for Hermann at a profit of \$300 per acre and of 6,000 gallons for Boonville. In 1857 Hermann claimed a production of 80,000 gallons and in 1858 of 25,000 gallons, which was said to be an average yield. The price, originally about \$2 a gallon, had fallen by 1858 to \$1.25, which still enabled very profitable production.¹⁸

The Sauer report illustrated the ups and downs characterizing the weather-dependent grape-growing business. For instance, newspapers reported the year 1857 as a good year at Hermann:

This year seems to want to deliver anew evidence that tenacious work and persistence is crowned with success, after all, and that here, too, on the Missouri River the noble wine plant finally also will be permanently acclimatized.¹⁹

The next year, however, only half of the 1857 production was expected.²⁰ And by 1859 it was still a mixed picture, as a Hermann newspaper story, reprinted for St. Charles County, reported:

Unfortunately this year, too, the grape rot has partially destroyed the hope to which people in many locations were entitled at the beginning of the summer. On the other hand, one also sees locations which have suffered little, or not at all, and where generally one can still hope for a good half harvest---about 200-300 gallons per acre. Also this year the Virginia Seedling has successfully resisted the rot. Disregarding it, however, the Catawba grape will keep its dominance here for a long time to come. .²¹

Once again action was taken at the state level, possibly to moderate some of the ups-and-downs. A call went out at the end of 1858 for fruit growers and vintners to come to Jefferson City to found a general society of fruit and wine producers in Missouri. Such a group "would hold periodic meetings to share experiences in those branches of agriculture and publish the results of their consultations." And, as a St. Charles newspaper editor added, "Hopefully many of our German farmers will also participate, for in Missouri they have really been the 'pioneers' of this branch."²²

After the Horticulture Society was founded in 1859, wines and grapes were brought to the annual meeting for examination. The committee of wines examined them and tested them by smell, sight, and taste, and "sometimes by scale." The vineyard committee of the society visited locations in Missouri and Illinois to inspect grape-

growing practices and to sample and judge the wines made. Thomas Allen and Alexander Kayser of St. Louis offered prizes for the best Missouri wines.²³

Muench's Book

Not only the founding of the Horticulture Society marked 1859 as a noteworthy year. There also was the publication of a major article on grape-growing by Friedrich Münch in the Mississippi Handelszeitung; the article would later become the small English-language book Muench's School for American Grape Culture.²⁴ A vintner following the book nearly a century later said that Muench's "German sense of order and organization made him an enjoyable author to read."²⁵ Starting with a chapter on "Native American Vines," Muench, indeed, went logically through each aspect of viticulture, from initial choice of vineyard location to final treatment of the wine. The result was 16 chapters of rational, step-by-step, scientific instruction.

But there was more in the little book. At the very end, before presenting a new drinking song he composed, Muench favorably compares wine to other stimulants:

wine surpasses all other stimulants as an enlivening, cheering, healthy drink, and, moderately used, the greatly diluted alcohol which it contains, together with the vinous acid, harmless in every respect, is recreating for the time and without any bad after effects. The people in the wine countries are gay, lively and impulsive, social, liberal and temperate, very different from the beer consumers or gin drinkers. Therefore three cheers for the brave vine-dressers!²⁶

1860s

Going into the 1860s, Hermann vintners apparently continued to be predominant. The report of an 1861 Missouri Fruit Growers and Wine Farmers meeting said, "There were especially many vintners present from Hermann, and the procedures were very interesting. . . . Mr. Poeschel, of Hermann, received the first prize for 1860 wine."²⁷

And George Husmann reported the worth of the products of vineyards around Hermann in the summer of 1865 to total \$149,000. This was the rough estimate, which he thought below the actual value. The average crop of Norton's Virginia, he said, was about 600 gallons an acre and of Concord 1,000.²⁸ Joseph Alexander reported to the Agriculture Board on the success of several varieties of grapes in St. Charles County in 1865:

The principal kinds of grapes raised at the Catawba, Norton's Virginia Seedling, Concord, Cassady, Clinton, Taylor's Bullitt, Herbenmont, Delaware and Hartford Prolific. Among these, for table use, the Delaware stands first and the Concord second. For wine, Norton's Virginia Seedling is regarded as best, and the Concord next.

But when the Catawba succeeds it is the most profitable, and ordinarily when it makes a full crop, it yields more than any other kind. The average yield of the whole is about 500 gallons per acre---in a favorable season 800 gallons can be obtained---the ordinary calculation being 18 pounds of grapes to the gallon of wine.²⁹

After the Civil War, there was, as George Husmann said, a "grape fever" in the nation. Agricultural magazines had something on grape culture in almost every issue and nine-tenths of the advertisements were of grape vines for sale. In 1854 the whole number of grape vines sold at Hermann did not exceed 2,000, but in 1865 there was a demand for a million of the Norton's Virginia alone.³⁰

Immigration also accelerated again after the Civil War. Missouri's Board of Immigration convened at Hermann on May 27, 1865 and at Friedrich Münch's farm near Dutzow on July 14. Governor Thomas C. Fletcher was president of the Board and Secretary of State F. Rodmann vice-president. For the meeting at Münch's farm, M. Poeschel, F. Rommel, and Geroge Husmann of Hermann were invited guests.³¹

These meetings were of men interested in encouraging and helping immigration to Missouri. But they also were meetings of some of Missouri's wine experts. Then in September 1865 Fletcher and Rodman journeyed to Augusta, as well, to encourage immigration, visit the vinyards, and thank Augustans for their distinguished loyalty to the Union during the Civil War.³²

Augusta

At Augusta many German immigrants had learned to grow grapes. A county history says they began trial plantings in the 1840s and laid out regularly staked vineyards by the 1850s.³³ Some of the first trials were undertaken by Julius Mallinckrodt, the earliest permanent German settler in the Augusta area who quickly became St. Charles County's leading orchard and nursery man.³⁴



George Münch

By 1857 it was reported that "Vineyards and orchards are especially stressed in the Augusta area."³⁵ Most of the growers were farmers who added grapes as a sideline; others were tradesmen or professional men who began growing grapes as a hobby, a profitable one, they hoped. Dr. Gerling, the town pharmacist, for instance, was well known for his grape yields. So were the Knörnschild brothers---Christian, Henry, John---all farmers.³⁶

And in 1859 George Münch, brother of the well-known Friedrich Münch, moved from Dutzow to Augusta. George, like Friedrich was a Lutheran minister, but he, too, had learned much about farming from his brother and partner.³⁷ As his descendants point out, George was greatly influenced by brother Friedrich's 1859 article about grape-growing, noted above.³⁸

At Augusta, George Münch would grow grapes



Münch vineyards at Augusta in 1865.

on a relatively small plot, as other men of the village did. Initially it was 7½ acres. While beginning his vineyard, George continued his profession as gunmaker. According to the family history,

George designed and manufactured a variety of hand tools, clocks, guns and farm implements. He was considered a mechanical genius by his neighbors. His work with gold, silver and copper was held in high esteem. However, none of the articles he produced were patented.³⁹

As the Civil War wound down, grape-growers could again concentrate on their vineyards. In fact, in September 1864 Friedrich Münch reported "To German Friends of Grape-Growing in This State" that, "Despite the continuation of the war with all its horrors, the planting of new vineyards progresses faster than previously in our Western states, specifically in Missouri."⁴⁰

Augusta, growing more prominent as a site of grape-growing, was an example. Touring St. Charles County, the editor of the weekly German-language St. Charles Demokrat, wrote in early 1864 that while the county was already famous for fruit production,

it is becoming a rival to the most successful [areas for producing grapes for wine] in the United States...we must mention the very great success which the vintners have achieved on the chain of Missouri River bluffs in St. Charles County, especially in Augusta. One hardly knows decay or rotting of grapes...⁴¹

Augusta also was mentioned favorably in the quite lengthy report "About Viticulture in Missouri" that Friedrich Münch wrote for the Demokrat in autumn 1864. Praising the "already significant plantings of Messrs. Husmann and Pöschel" at Hermann, he said about other locations that,

First-class vineyard locations are found around St. Charles, at the so-called Cottleville Landing, and upstream until above Hamburg, then in greater superiority in and around Augusta, also at Marthasville and in the western parts of Warren County. . . . Except for the Virginia Sämling, in Missouri it is advantageous to plant the Concord and Delaware.⁴²

In fact, an Augusta columnist thought that his town "in a few years can be the top-ranking wine-producing town in Missouri....The Augusta wine can also compete in taste and quality with any Western wine. Among others, Dr. Gerling's Seedling and Concord are acclaimed this year."⁴³

The problematic Catawba grape continued to do fairly well at Augusta.. After some years of difficulty, the village reporter wrote that "the 1865 Catawba has achieved far greater quality than at first thought," and that the Virginia-Seedling "also has an extraordinary quality, better on the average than at Hermann." By 1867 he noted that the "Catawba, which was near destruction, hopefully will regain its credit. This year, for the first time since 1863, it again does well here."

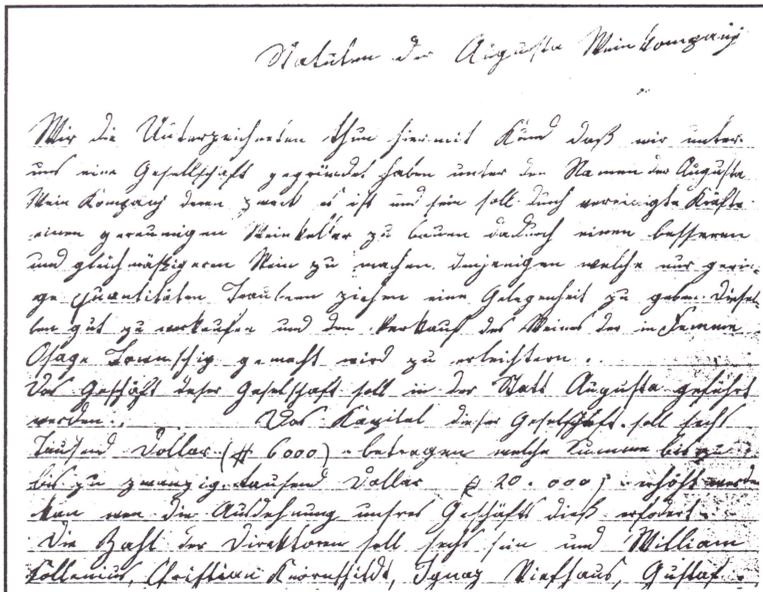
A month later a traveler's account confirmed that at Augusta the harvest was among the best ever, qualitatively and quantitatively. The Catawba was not so abundant because grape-rot cause it some damage. By contrast, Concord, Virginia Seedling, and all other varieties were excellent. This is even more encouraging because viticulture continues to expand and has already become a significant business in Augusta.⁴⁴

The grape-growing business was developing so well at Augusta that in 1867 six major grape-growers decided to organize the first cooperative wine marketing effort in the Missouri River Valley. The articles of incorporation for the Augusta Wine Company

were signed on 7 June 1867, with an investment of \$1000 each and a commitment to deliver to the company the annual product of at least 1500 grape vines:

**Statutes of the
Augusta Wine Co.**

We the undersigned do herewith announce that among ourselves we have founded a company under the name Augusta Wine Company, whose purpose is and will be through combined resources to build a roomy wine cellar to produce a



1867 Statutes of the Augusta Wine Company

better and more uniform wine, to give those who produce small quantity of grapes the opportunity to sell them favorably, and to facilitate the sale of wine produced in Femme Osage Township.

The business of this company shall be conducted in the city of Augusta.

The capital of this company shall be six thousand dollars (\$6,000), a sum which can be increased to twenty thousand dollars (\$20,000) if required for the expansion of our business.

The number of Directors shall be six, and William Follenius, Christian Knörnschildt, Ignaz Viefhaus, Gustaf Muhm, John Knörnschildt and Heinrich Knörnschildt shall be the first Directorate.

From among themselves the Directors shall chose a President and Vice-President to serve for a year. It shall be their task to lead and organize the affairs of this Company, to control and pay all necessary expenses, with the agreement of a majority of the stock holders, and to regularly give the stockholders a monthly report of their activities.

William Follenius will be the first President and Christian Knörnschildt the first Vice-President.

Every \$100 stock accepted in this company will represent a share of same, and every share is entitled to one vote in the affairs of the company, with the prerequisite that only grape producers having at least 15,000 vines and delivering their annual production to the Company for mutual wine making, are generally entitled to vote, in relationship to the number of shares owned.

New members can be accepted only with two-thirds of all votes and only under such conditions as the two-thirds of all votes may determine.

Each year the Directorate shall determine a normal price for grapes delivered by stockholders, each according to variety and quality, and this price shall be paid members.

After the wine made from these grapes is sold, the surplus shall be divided among the stock-holders, in relationship to the value of the grapes delivered by each individual. Previously, however, all costs and payments for wine manufacture shall be calculated and subtracted with division among the members in the same relationship as the surplus were calculated.

In cases where Company grapes are bought by non-stockholders, the proceeds resulting shall be equally divided among the shares.

If members want to drop out of the Company, so they shall inform the President and Vice-President at least six months in advance, and the Company then shall pay such members the full amount of their balance after all debts and losses are first calculated relatively and subtracted.

By decision of two-thirds of all votes the Company can be dissolved, after complete adjustment and settlement of all its obligations has taken place. After such dissolution and settlement the remaining property of

the Company shall be sold as profitably as possible in that posters or newspaper advertisements, or both, regarding such sale have previously appeared for three months, and that the proceeds from such sale shall be divided among the stockholders in relationship to their shares.

We further declare that the undersigned have contributed to the 6000 thousand dollars of stock and that as of this date we represent all stock holders.

In witness whereof we have signed our names this 7th of June 1867.

Wm. Follenius
C. Knörnschildt
I. Viefhaus
G. Muhm
K. Knörnschildt
H. Knörnschildt

Noted in Book U.S.A., p. 537, 538, 559.⁴⁵

The following year the Wine Company built a brick wine hall, with a 2-story deep wine cellar and 1000-gallon barrels.⁴⁶ The bricks reportedly were made at a kiln on the Town Square across the street. The Wine Hall was described as a "saloon on



Augusta Wine Company Hall, c. 1870.

the top floor and the most desirable storage in the lower rooms, in addition to all equipment."⁴⁷ The Wine Hall served as a community center, as well, using the first floor saloon as a meeting room. Elections, rallies, celebrations, etc. were held there.

The first newspaper advertisement for Augusta wines from the newly built Wine Hall appeared on March 1868 in the popular German-language weekly, St. Charles Demokrat:

Augusta Wines

The Augusta Wine Company allows itself hereby to announce to the public that it now is in a position to deliver to consumers good, pure wine at low prices, consisting of North Virginia Seedling, Herbemont, Catawba and Concord.

Mr. Wm. E. Clauss, agent for St. Charles, will always have on hand samples of all varieties and will sell the wine in desired quantities. Orders directly to Wm. Follenius in Augusta will be filled with equal promptness.

Orders also will be taken at Märtens' Store.

Augusta, March 1, 1868.

Augusta Weine.

Die Augusta Wein-Compagnie erlaubt sich hiermit dem Publikum anzuzeigen, daß sie nunmehr im Stande ist, gute reine Weine zu billigen Preisen an Conjumenten zu liefern, bestehend in: North Virg. Seedling, Herbemont, Catawba und Concord.

Herr Wm. E. Clauss, Agent für St. Charles, wird stets Proben aller genannten Sorten an Hand haben und die Weine in beliebigen Quantitäten verkaufen. Bestellungen, direkt bei Wm. Follenius in Augusta werden ebenfalls prompt ausgeführt.

Orders werden auch in Märtens' Store angenommen.

Augusta den 1. März 1868.

mrj12

Augusta's reporter summarized the local wine harvest of the next season, 1869, as "unusually abundant." Once again, the Catawba was plagued with grape rot, but instead, Virginia Seedling and Concord did well. In that report the Augusta Wine Company was listed as a major producer, along with Henry Knollenberg, Robert Ewich, Dr. William Follenius, and George Münch. Louis Bennefeld, Dietrich Redhorst, Adolph Mallinckrodt, Dr. C. L. Gerling, August Sehrt, and Eberhard Fuhr were also listed as significant producers, with Julius Mallinckrodt, Henry Spannaus, M. E. Sufisky, John Schroer, John Fuhr, H. Limberg, A. Ruebling, George Mindrup, and Rudolph Dammann as smaller producers.⁴⁸

In a follow-up criticism of that report, an Augusta grape-grower contended that "about 1/4 of Augusta's vintners had not even been mentioned,"⁴⁹ thus again making the point that Augusta was an area of many small and medium-sized wine producers.

In 1869 one of them, Julius Mallinckrodt built an unusual wine cellar on his farm west of Augusta. Unlike the two-story brick structure with cellars of the Augusta Wine Company, Mallinckrodt's was a 3-story building. Built against a hillside, it may have had split-level entrances. At Stone Hill, level entrances to underground storage cellars were created by tunneling into hills from one side to the other.⁵⁰

Around the Augusta area there were also more than a dozen other individual wine cellars, some primarily for home use---for instance, on the property of Louis

Bennefeld, Robert Ewig (Ewich), Eberhard Fuhr, John Fuhr, Otto Fuhr, Dr. C. L. Gerling, Theo and William Heldmann, George Münch, John Nadler, Henry Nahm, Justus Rinderer, John Schroer, Henry Spannaus, Ernst Stock, and possibly also at Haferkamp, William Horst, the Knörnschilds, Ignaz Viefhaus, and Otto Koch.⁵¹

Other Areas

In the late-1860s reassessments of Missouri's wine industry, pioneer Hermann and new-comer New Melle and Washington came in for their share of attention. The editor of the St. Charles Demokrat, for instance, published a quite lengthy and enthusiastic editorial about developments in viticulture in the Hermann area:

(23 July 1868)

VITICULTURE ON THE MISSOURI [RIVER]

For some time now Missouri is in first place among the wine-producing states of the Union. Again it is the German population there that has taken on the pioneer work in this economically important branch of agriculture.

From the German settlement of Hermann ---where one believed to be relocated on the grape hills of the Rhine---the initiative went out for one of the largest wine companies in America. It is the one under the presidency of Mr. George Husmann, author of the valuable publication, "The Cultivation of the Native Grape and Manufacture of American Wines." It is the "Bluffton Wine Company of Central Missouri."

Some 13 miles above Hermann, across from the Morrison Station of the Pacific Railroad, it owns an area of 1600 acres. However, until now only the first 50 of those acres are planted to grapes.

Nevertheless, in the first year of its existence (with only 7 acres of full-bearing vineyards) the young undertaking already was able to pay its stockholders a dividend of 15%.

But of greatest importance to viticulture in America is the excellent grape nursery of the Company, for which a second (whole-sale) catalog recently was published.

Its inexpensive prices for big, strong, well-rooted plants are really astonishing, given the recognized stability of the establishment. It specifically guarantees that every little plant really represents its variety.

So 1-year Catawba roots by the thousand cost only 2½ cent and 2-year Catawba roots in thousands only 4c. For a 3c stamp, the Company, will send a list of all its grape varieties which can be ordered.

With the thorough detail of their catalog---one could indeed say, 'real German'---they create a highly valued contribution to the art of American grape culture.

The Bluffton Wine Company has adopted the system of renting lots of 30 acres in the vineyard and dividing the harvest with the renter. Thereby both sides are pleased. . . .⁵²

Grape-growing was also progressing at New Melle. According to its report in spring 1869,

(New Melle, 5 May 1869)

PROGRESS IN THE LITTLE TOWN OF NEW MELLE

Six years ago the present physician, Dr. Borberg, first started growing grapes experimentally. The old Osnabrück farmers [of the area] really turned up their noses at that and thought the doctor must have too much money. Unruffled, however, the doctor cared for his grapes, achieved a good wine,

and constantly planted more of [that variety] until he had nearly 2000 plants.

Three years ago the demonstrated success in Augusta motivated Pastor Sprenge, who initially had second thoughts, as well, to also plant a vineyard. The success, the harvests, were very good and abundant. The farmers had not trusted the experiments of the transgressing doctor, but certainly those of the anointed one.

Then the grape-planting began, and until now the action was so great that already 18,000 grape plants, mostly Concord, Catawba, and some Seedling, were planted in and close to New Melle. Preparations are made for additional plantings.⁵³

For the same year, Hermann had an equally positive autumn report:

The grape harvest began here this week. In most vineyards the Concord grapes have reached the highest degree of ripeness and deliver an excellent juice. The Catawba grapes are rather late and ripen slowly; the vines are mostly without leaves and look sick, and the harvest of this variety will be very small.

Fortunately, our vintners long ago gave up planting only the Catawba grape and planted more productive varieties. Otherwise their cellars would be sadly empty this fall, and the coopers would have had little work.

Regarding quantity and quality, Concord and Nortons Virginia, also Ives, Clinton, and Herbemont, leave nothing to be desired. Therefore, they increasingly recommend themselves for planting, as does also the Rüländer which this year is abundant and promises a nice harvest. The Delaware vines hang full of grapes, but like the Catawba suffer from defoliation.

Among the newer varieties which we had the opportunity to see, the Martha and Maxatawney are characterized by healthy appearance and abundant productivity; both, and especially the latter, deliver an excellent white wine which undoubtedly will soon be generally introduced.⁵⁴

Then in the early 1870s Washington made news by holding a wine-tasting event. The first wine show was held there in 1870, but the most detailed report of a wine-tasting in the Duden Settlement area was one on Monday, April 10, 1871. It was held at the Turner Hall in Washington. Forty-eight wines were exhibited, most from the Washington vicinity. A few came from Augusta.

Four committees tested the wines. Some of the winners were Ferdinand Muench (Red Concord, 1870); Julius Muench (White Concord, 1870); G. L. Busch (Red Concord and White Concord, 1869). The best red wine was the "Black Rose" of Julius Muench; the best white wine was Frederick Muench's 1870 Herbemont. The wine of the show was sold at auction and bought by A. F. Zoff, of Washington, for \$4.85 a gallon.⁵⁵

Helping French Grape Growers

The 1870s brought the grape-growers of Duden Country the opportunity to help colleagues in France overcome a serious problem---the grape louse. It had long caused damage to grape vines without the vintners being aware of it.

In 1868 the French ampelographer J. E. Planchon discovered that a louse, which he named *Phylloxera vastatrix*, was what was then ruining European vineyards. Studies

of the natural history of the louse proved it to be the American grape louse---it was believed to have been carried to Europe on American vines brought in for grafting.

Though American grape growers seemed to have sent the grape-louse to Europe, they [then] also helped save the European vineyards by supplying cuttings of louse-resistant vines. In 1873, to advertise Missouri's vineyards, George Husmann sent two boxes of assorted wines from Hermann to a French winery in Montpellier, France. The French were impressed with the quality of the wine and ordered some cuttings from Missouri vines to improve their stock.

Other Missouri viniculturists, notably Hermann Jaeger of Neosho, sent cuttings from roots of Missouri vines to France to save Europe's grape and wine industries. Husmann reported to the Board of Agriculture in 1874 that the Norton's Virginia and Concord grapes were the most cultivated varieties in Missouri, commenting that "there are more acres of land adapted to grape-growing in this State than in the whole of France."⁵⁶

Augusta grape-growers, too, cooperated with Husmann's efforts to help the French growers. In 1876, for instance, George Muench was supplying Herbemont cuttings to be delivered to France. As reported in August,

Since the significant price of \$4.25 will be paid for a thousand, and Mr. Münch receives an extra fine commission, it appears Mr. Husmann is getting an extraordinarily high price for the seedlings and that they are very valued in France.

In November, Muench sent another 45,000 Herbemont cuttings to Husmann, while Fritz Tiemann sent 40,000 to Isidor Busch in St. Louis---all for France.⁵⁷

1870s Boom Years

On the whole, the 1870s were boom years for the wine industry in Missouri, specifically Duden Country, with good or bad weather conditions bringing the usual ups and downs in harvests.⁵⁸

There were, for instance, reports that the Missouri grape was winning recognition abroad, "in nothing less than the London Globe."⁵⁹ An 1871 survey of vineyards at New Melle, Lake Creek, and Hermann was promising.⁶⁰ The 1873 St. Louis Fair offered enticing \$20 premiums for first-prize wines and \$10 for second.⁶¹ Friedrich Münch continued to help his area with learned articles about how to prevent spring frost damage to vines through judicious pruning and with his updated reports on the advantages/disadvantages of differing varieties.⁶²

An overview of St. Charles County found "a significant quantity of very good wines" being produced, especially in the Augusta area.⁶³ Its vineyards were expanding, investments were paying off, and its Wine Company cooperative was a success.⁶⁴ Sometimes the company shipped 20 barrels of wine at a time to St. Louis, usually on river steamboats; individual producers, too, reported single shipments of that size to a St. Louis wine dealer.⁶⁵

"Within 15 years [1860-1875]," it was said, Augusta farmers had "created vineyards and fruit orchards now worth about \$10,000."⁶⁶ And by the end of the decade \$4000 worth of wine was shipped from Augusta within a single week.⁶⁷ Sometimes individual records also made the newspapers: J. Fuhr producing 19 pounds of Concord grapes on one stem and D. Koch even 24 pounds of Elmira grapes on one plant in late summer 1879.⁶⁸

In 1874 it was reported,

The [Augusta] Wine Company produced 130,000 lbs., of which, for example, some 25,000 lbs. were from the 6 acres of Mr. O. Koch; the brothers Knörnschild each delivered similar contributions, as well as Hr. Viefhaus. Dr. Gerling, Sr. got about 12,000 lbs. from 2300 Virginia plants, over all some 20,000 lbs. from 3 acres. Tiemann's vineyard brought an average of 4 lbs. (Virginia Seed) per plant. Mr. G. Munch's harvest is unknown to me.

The quality of the fruit juice showed itself in its heaviness. At 62 degrees F., Virginia Seed weighed up to 105, Concord from 76 to 80, Herbeumont, indeed, nearly 95.

The reporter also included a description of the grape harvest itself at Augusta:

For the grape harvest, two to three families usually agree to help each other. The woman of the house where the cutting will take place customarily feeds the folks. The cutting time is passed with fun, jokes, and pleasant entertainment. At the same time, one works without pause. Whoever drinks a glass of the spicy wine thinks seriously about the many drops of perspiration, sour work, and sleepless nights behind the so easily-drunk beverage.⁶⁹

Wine-Drinking

"Easily drunk" may have been the impression of a British correspondent who in the mid-1870s wrote a widely-discussed humorous description of Augusta's "wine etiquette"---that is, the alleged requirement of visitors to the village to drink a bottle or two of white Concord in the morning before doing business and the same routine in the evening but with red Concord.⁷⁰

However, in most households in the Duden Settlement wine was not served regularly at meals. The drink was part of the art and joy of the German-American culture, an integral part of social and community life, especially at the many festivals tying together the river communities of Washington, Hermann, and Augusta. It was the custom to drink wine in moderation. Delicate tastes were enjoying by sipping. There was pleasure in the different effects of drinking wine, and many effects have been detailed in various accounts. There are more than a hundred words in German for the feelings and behavior consequent on the consumption of alcoholic drinks. German-Americans believed wine the purest stimulant, as in the earlier words of Friedrich Münch.⁷¹

The early makers of wine despised watered wine and sugared wine, though they did add sugar to some wine to sweeten it for the American taste and for ladies and children. In the early days they also disapproved of "gallicized" wine, wine made from must [expressed grape juice] that had sugar added to it before or during fermentation.

Viticulture Problems

Perhaps the success of the Augusta Wine Company's collective efforts led vintners of the 1870s to think about solving other problems of their business through mutual efforts.

1. **Taxes** were a problem, with Augusta columnists making a strong case for more equitable treatment. As columnist "Rusticus" put it when county collectors came to town:

It surely is time to register an energetic protest against the overly high assessment of the vineyards. . . .vineyards are like other farm land, the product of industriousness and work; therefore it is unjust to assess the vineyards four times higher than farm land.⁷²

2. **"Too much experimentation"** was a charge leveled at Missouri grape farmers in a lengthy criticism published in 1875 by a fellow-grower. The "disappointment and discouragement" with the industry's depressed prices, it was said, came because "the public became perplexed" by all the noise about yet another new, wonderful grape and "drew back skittishly" from Missouri wine. It was time to operate by mature experience.

3. **Quality** was being compromised. It was necessary, the critic said, "to earnestly combat the wine adulteration and falsification. . . they color and adulterate Concord with Cochincinello to make Virginia Seed and to sell it as such."⁷³

4. **Marketing** was a, if not the, major problem. A Growers Association was needed, it was counseled, so the smaller grape farmers could hold their wines until they were bottle-mature. Then the farmers would not be "in the hands of several monopolists, Isidor Busch, Pöschel & Scherer, the Löhning, Wetzler, Conrads, etc. [who] regulate the prices."⁷⁴

Wine dealers in St. Louis seemed to be key to the marketing problem. According to an Augusta columnist apparently with "inside" information,

A band seems to exist there which we do not want to name up front. But if the situation does not change, through the press we will expose their ways and say which gang it appears to be that intends to take everything from the vintners.

Not only are the posted bills unpaid---and the price is unquestionably miserable---but the vintner must tap into his wine income to continually remind these guys [to pay]. Moreover, they also falsify contracts in order to gain more time for their fraud.

[On the other hand], a significant export to New Orleans has developed. Busch of Washington, the Münches from here, and others sell rather a lot of Missouri wines to a dealer there. They, thus, clearly are considered worthy. In addition, it is a certain fact that dealers, for example, serve St. Louisiana Missouri white wines as Rhine wines.⁷⁵

Some interesting suggestions followed that critique. The editor of the Washington Post, Otto Brix, suggested, for instance, addressing the marketing and quality

problems by opening

a big, elegantly furnished wine hall in Philadelphia during the Exhibition [1876] and through the sale of good Missouri wines win back what was lost in recent years through dealers in European wine.⁷⁶

Apparently, however, conflict with Hermann growers negated Brix's idea. At any rate, the next year the Augusta columnist angrily wrote,

Our wine farmers will not participate in the [U.S.] Centennial through the St. Louis Committee. This Committee includes elements which have long ago lost the trust of people here. . . . Clearly the exclusive posturing of the Hermann folks has destroyed the suggestion for a general exhibit of Missouri wines.

Perhaps the Missouri viniculturists gradually will also see the light as those in Germany did who gave up their old particularistic ideas and this time just exhibit as a German wine 'unit.'

The Hermann folks simply believe that beyond Hermann nothing more exists. Now we certainly do not want to deny their achievements, but they should not look down on other people so arrogantly. Behind the hills live people who also know something.⁷⁷

Similar to Brix's suggestion was one from an Augusta grower who believed that local fair exhibits would help. Reporting that Justus Rinderer had been awarded a prize at the St. Louis Fair "without knowing or doing anything," the Augusta grower added,

Until now the wine producers of the region have not been motivated to compete for prizes at the fairs, although with good conscience they could have. Other people occasionally take care of the deal. So the Augusta Wine Company also once received prizes at the fairs in Sedalia and Jefferson City.⁷⁸

1880s

The new decade began with high hopes. At Augusta, the Augusta Wine Company, Dr. Gerling, Wilhelm Heldmann, and Justus Rinderer remained major producers.⁷⁹ While Rinderer had some plants he thought would produce 30 pounds, Robert Ewich anticipated 6000 gallons; The Wine Company sold 126 barrels in one order to Isidor Busch, in St. Louis, the largest wine sale anyone in Augusta could recall. At the St. Louis Horticultural Fair, Rinderer won prizes for the best assortment of North's Virginia Seedling grapes, while Gustav Münch received prizes for his Herbemont.⁸⁰

It was a time of change, as well. At the state University, pioneer grape-grower George Husmann, of Hermann, was replaced as the first teacher of Fruit- and Wine Culture by M. Kern.⁸¹ At Dutzow, widely respected Friedrich Münch died in his vineyards.⁸² The words of his will to his children would long echo through Duden Country:

Do not dishonor the memory of a father who strove not to misbehave; remain united in affection and accord; be unselfish, industrious and frugal. Remember always that those who succeed the best in life are those who are able to be satisfied with themselves and their own actions.⁸³



George Muench [Jr.]

At Augusta, too, there was change. Ownership of the Muench vineyards passed into a new generation. Established by George Muench [Sr.] in 1859, the vineyards went to George Muench [Jr.] in 1881 after his father's 1879 death.⁸⁴

Threat of Prohibition

The threat of temperance-inspired prohibition laws had troubled German immigrants since the 1850s. Not only did they perceive such laws as impingement on personal freedom, but for vintners and brewers the taboo could mean economic disaster.

When an amendment to the Missouri Constitution forbidding production and sale of alcoholic drinks was proposed in 1881, the citizens of Augusta and surrounding area gathered in the wine town to protest passage of any such law. Their resolutions said,

Resolved that we, the undersigned citizens of St. Charles County, earnestly protest passage of any law in this state forbidding the production and sale of wine, beer, and distilled fermented drinks;

Resolved, that we as citizens protest earnestly against an intervention of the Legislature in the inviolable rights of our fellow citizens;

Resolved, that through the passage of such a prohibition law a great injustice against and a robbery of thousands of our citizens would be committed, for their vineyards would, in fact, become worthless; this injustice would be so much more outrageous since previous legislatures encouraged this branch of industry;

Resolved, that the interests of the farmer would be significantly damaged through any kind of prohibition law, for Missouri is a great grain-producing state, and millions of bushels of grain now used for distillation purposes would overflow the market with our staple products. . . .⁸⁵

Some time later the editor of the St. Charles Demokrat happily quoted a gubernatorial candidate who said prohibition was a bad thing because, "In addition to

mockery brought on by the lack of moderation, it also would add a large number of law violators, liars, and hypocrites."⁸⁶

Despite energetic protests from farmers and German-immigrant groups, the situation was tightening. In 1885, for instance, a new "Dramshop Law" went into effect for sale of alcohol by the drink. (Laws effecting the sale of larger quantities of alcoholic beverages went back as far as 1835 when such liquor stores were called "grocers."⁸⁷) While it affected primarily minors, the 1885 law was feared to be only the first step of regulation.⁸⁸

Augusta Wine Company Dissolution - 1884

Prohibition was not the only problem for Duden Country vintners. After nearly 20 years of successful operation the Wine Company at Augusta declared its dissolution on November 8, 1884. To this day why the step was taken remains a mystery. The notarized "Statement of Fritz Tiemann, Clerk of the Augusta Wine Co." says the dissolution

was unanimously resolved by all members and their representatives of those not present . . . from the fact that the assets of the company being insufficient to cover all liabilities. . .

The six resolutions that followed detailed liquidation procedures.⁸⁹ Oral history's explanation for the Company's demise was "careless behavior by a leading salesman vis-a-vis out-of-town accounts."⁹⁰ No newspaper or other report of the dissolution has yet been found.

Mt. Pleasant Winery - 1889

The situation then obviously was opportune for the organization of a local winery. Not surprisingly it was George Muench [Jr.] who traveled to St. Charles in spring 1889 to "contact business people" and announce that he with two brothers and a brother-in-law had organized the Mount Pleasant Wine Co. "to carry on viticulture in an extensive manner."⁹¹ He had already built a first wine cellar in 1881, as attested by the date etched into the small stone well house to its west.⁹²

Prizes came rapidly to the newly-organized Winery for its grapes and wines. In 1890 the prizes were from the St. Charles County Fair, as well as in 1894, 1897, and 1900.⁹³ In 1893 it was a 1st prize at Chicago's 1893 Columbian Exhibit, and in 1896 a 1st prize at the St. Louis Fair (for Virginia Seedling, Elvira, and red Concord)⁹⁴ In 1904, at the St. Louis World's Fair, the Augusta winery "swept four-fifths of the gold."⁹⁵

In 1897 Mt. Pleasant took another significant commercial step---it incorporated:

The Mt. Pleasant Wine Company was incorporated. The capital stock is \$16,000, and the incorporators were George Muench, Frederick Muench, Louis Muench, H. August Kirchoff and Herman Stening. The company has a splendid reputation for its native wines and every year has a splendid exhibit at our [Washington] country fair.⁹⁶

George Muench was president and his eldest son Paul was secretary.⁹⁷

1885 Summary

When the history of St. Charles County was published in 1885, the wine totals for the area were impressive, especially for Augusta:

There are 400 acres in vineyards; 200 acres are in Femme Osage Township, and near the town of Augusta; the other 200 acres are distributed around St. Charles, up to O'Fallon, Wentzville, New Melle, Hamburg, Cottleville, etc. Wine is made in considerable quantities and meets with ready sale, as also the grape for table use, and each at remunerative prices.

The most of the vineyards, planted prior to 1860, were of the Catawba variety which, after a few years of successful cropping, proved to be a failure. At the present time two-thirds of the vineyards consist of the Concord. The other principal varieties are Norton's Virginia and Herbemont.

Connoisseurs here consider our white wines equal, if not superior, to the best Rhine wines. The Concord will produce 500 gallons per acres. The annual production for the county in 1872 was about 100,000 gallons. New Melle has eight wine cellars, total capacity 50,000 gallons. Augusta, 20, total capacity 100,000 gallons. St. Charles three, capacity 60,000 gallons beside several small cellars and aggregate capacity of 100,000 gallons. Hamburg and Weldon Springs have a number of small cellars with a capacity of about 30,000 gallons.⁹⁶



A 1900s drawing of Storage Cellar No. 2 at Stone Hill Winery, Hermann, shows the wines that made Duden Country famous: left barrels, "Virginia Seedling" and "Concord"; right barrels, "Catawba" and "Riesling." These wines won Stone Hill gold medals at international exhibitions, as well as the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia and a Grand Medal at the 1904 Exposition in St. Louis.

1900s Postscripts

The long-feared prohibition of production and sale of alcoholic beverages came in the 1920s. That, of course, is worth its own historical report, but suffice to say here the 19th Amendment ended wine-making in Duden Country for half a century. At Augusta, Alfred Nahm was one of the last vintners to continue the viticulture begun by his family in 1870.⁹⁹

Then in the mid-1960s a resident of Illinois, Lucian Dressel, came to Augusta with his family, bought the old Mt. Pleasant Winery property and staged a dramatic come back for Augusta's grape-growing industry. In fact, he and another vintner, Clay Byers of Augusta's small Montelle Vineyards, pulled off a real coup: they got Augusta recognized as the nation's First Wine District. Meanwhile, "up river," at Hermann, Poeschel's old Stone Hill Winery also began again to flourish, along with others of the area.

But all that is another story, the modern story about economic enterprise and revival. And the impact on little towns of wineries as tourist attractions.

That development surely would surprise the old wine makers enormously, the Muenchs, Poeschels, Husmanns, and others. However, the spirit of "making it work" through innovation and hard work would be familiar, for that is the truly remarkable first chapter they wrote.

NOTES

1. Gottfried Duden, Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri (in den Jahren 1824, 25, 26 und 1827) in Bezug auf Auswanderung und Überbevölkerung. Elberfeld: Sam Lucas, 1829. (Trans. James W. Goodrich, general editor, et. al., Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America---and a Stay of Several Years along the Missouri (During the Years 1824, 25, 26, and 1827). Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1980.)
2. Joan Juern, Call to the Frontier - Gottfried Duden's 1800 Book Stimulated Immigration to Missouri. (Augusta, MO: Mallinckrodt Communications, Missouri Research Roundtable Paper 5, 1999).
3. Friedrich Münch said that Paul Follenius reported grape culture beginnings in St. Louis (Ralph Gregory, "Paul Follenius," Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society 23 [1967] 325-347) and Frederick Braches, of Franklin County, was reported by Frederick Steines (in William G. Bek's "The Followers of Duden," Missouri Historical Review, XVI [October 1921] 133-134) to be cultivating grapes in 1840 and making wine.
4. Frederick Muench, School for American Grape Culture (St. Louis, Mo.: Conrad Witter, 1865) 7. (In English usage, Münch anglicized his first and last name.)
5. William G. Bek, The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and Its Colony Hermann, Missouri (Hermann: American Press, Inc., 1984) 60.
6. Duden, translation, 68.

7. "Proceedings of the Missouri State Horticultural Society for 1865 and 1866," Appendix to the House Journal of the Adjourned Session of the Twenty-Third General Assembly, 1865-1866, Volume 2, Appendix IV, 286-287. The proceedings of the sixth (1865) and seventh (1866) annual meetings of the Missouri State Horticultural Society are published in this volume of the House Journal as part of the report to the State Board of Agriculture. Frederick Muench was the Treasurer of the Board of Agriculture in 1865 and a member in 1866; Husmann also was a member in 1865.
8. Samuel F. Harrison, History of Hermann, Missouri (Hermann, Mo.: Historic Hermann, 1966).
9. "Proceedings of the Missouri State Horticultural Society," Appendix IV.
10. Gert Goebel, Länger als ein Menschenleben in Missouri (St. Louis, Mo.: C. Witter, 1877), translation (Western Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri, File 1109) 284f.
11. The spirit of this remarkable German immigrant is well presented in his article, "Die Lateinischen Bauern" ("The Latin Farmers"), 1 August 1862 [printed in a St. Louis newspaper, probably Die Westliche Post]. His signature was his customary pseudonym "Far West."
12. Anita Mallinckrodt, From Knights to Pioneers (Carbondale: University of Illinois Press, 1994) 267.
13. Frederick Muench, School for American Grape Culture, 5.
14. *Ibid.*, 6.
15. Siegmur Muehl, "The Wild Missouri Grape and Nineteenth-Century Viticulture," Missouri Historical Review (July 1997) 377.
16. A History of Augusta, Mo. and its Area (I), trans./ed. Anita Mallinckrodt (Augusta, Mo.: Mallinckrodt Communications, 1998), 6-7.
17. "Report of Committee on Agriculture," Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Missouri at the Extra Session of the Seventeenth General Assembly, 1852, Appendix, 278.
18. Carl O. Sauer, "The Geography of the Ozark Highland of Missouri," Geographical Society of Chicago Bulletin No. 7 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920) 170.
19. St. Charles Demokrat, 6 August 1857, (History I, 21).
20. St. Charles Demokrat, 14 October 1858, (History I, 27).
21. St. Charles Demokrat, 25 August 1859, (History I, 30).
22. St. Charles Demokrat, 23 November 1858, (History I, 27).
23. See, for example, the report of the Committee on Wines in Appendix V of Appendix to the House Journal, 1865-1866, Vol. 2, 369-371 and the "Proceedings of the Missouri State Horticulture Society," Appendix IV, 289.
24. Frederick Muench, School for American Grape Culture.
25. Lucian/Eva Dressel's facsimile reprint of School for American Grape Culture was published in 1981 to honor the 100th anniversary of Friedrich Münch's death and the founding of the Mount Pleasant Wine Company of Augusta by his relatives. (Washington, Mo: Miller Publishing Co.)
26. *Ibid.*, 134.

27. St. Charles Demokrat, 17 January 1861, (History I, 55).
28. "Report on Gasconade County to the State Board of Agriculture," Appendix to the House Journal, 1865-1866, Vol. 2, Appendix I, 70.
29. "Report on St. Charles County to the State Board of Agriculture," *Ibid.*, 113.
30. "Proceedings of the Missouri State Horticulture Society," 289.
31. "Proceedings of the State Board of Immigration," Appendix to the Senate Journal of the Twenty-Fourth General Assembly of the State of Missouri, 1867, Vol. 1, 140, 143.
32. St. Charles Demokrat, 28 September 1865, (History I, 137-138). The Münch brothers were significant anti-slavery leaders in Duden Country. For Friedrich's role, see What They Thought (II) (Augusta, Mo.: Mallinckrodt Communications, 1995); examples of George's leadership are strikingly recorded in A History of Augusta and Its Area (I) (Augusta, Mo.: Mallinckrodt Communications, 1998) 91-98, 101-102.
33. Paul R. Hollrah, ed., History of St. Charles County (Patria Press, 1997) 237.
34. Anita Mallinckrodt, From Knights to Pioneers, 132. (In Westphalia, Prussia, Julius Mallinckrodt had been in the family's textile and agricultural businesses.)
35. St. Charles Demokrat, 10 September 1857, (History I, 22).
36. The background of many of Augusta's early grape-growers is sketched in Anita Mallinckrodt's Historic Augusta - Its Buildings and People (Augusta, Mo.: Mallinckrodt Communications, 1996).
37. Vernon H. Joyce, "George Christopher Rudolph Muench (1801-1879)," Muench - Arnsburg Hesse to Augusta, Missouri, 1305-1922. (Kingston, Canada, 1994), 33ff.
38. *Ibid.*, 50.
39. *Ibid.*
40. St. Charles Demokrat, 8 September 1864, (History I, 115).
41. St. Charles Demokrat, 14 January 1864, (History I, 109).
42. St. Charles Demokrat, 13 October 1864, (History I, 121-122).
43. St. Charles Demokrat, 21 March 1867, (History I, 160).
44. St. Charles Demokrat, 11 January 1866, 19 September 1867, 24 October 1867, (History I, 147, 163, 165).
45. "Statutes of the Augusta Wine Company" (Augusta, Mo.: Augusta Historical Museum Archives) 1867.
46. St. Charles Demokrat, 8 July 1875, (History II, 300).
47. St. Charles Demokrat, 17 February 1870, (History II, 209).
48. St. Charles Demokrat, 21 October 1869, (History I, 188).
49. St. Charles Demokrat, 4 November 1869, (History I, 189).
50. For a photo of Julius Mallinckrodt's 1869 wine cellar see Plate 14 in From Knights to Pioneers; see also page 388. (The Mallinckrodt wine cellar no longer exists; however, bricks from its ruins were used to construct the handsome fireplace in the Terrace Room at Augusta's Mt. Pleasant Winery.)
51. William Baggerman, "Wine Industry in St. Charles County," St. Charles Heritage, 14 (October 1996): 155.
52. St. Charles Demokrat 23 July 1868, (History I, 172-173).

53. St. Charles Demokrat, 13 May 1869, (History I, 184).
54. St. Charles Demokrat, 26 September 1869, reprinted from 17 September 1869 Hermann Volksblatt, (History I, 187).
55. Die Washingtoner Post, April 13, 1871.
56. George W. Husmann, "The Future of Grape-Growing in the West," Proceedings of the State Board of Agriculture and the State Horticulture Society, 1873, 237.
See also George Husmann, American Grape Growing and Wine Making, 4th ed (New York: Orange & Judd, 1904) 75-76, and Muehl, "The Wild Missouri Grape," 381.
57. St. Charles Demokrat, 10 August 1876, 30 November 1876, (History II, 346, 353).
58. In spring 1875, for instance, a heavy rain storm knocked out the blooming vineyards of Rudolph Müller, Christian Koch, Henry Spannaus, Dr. C. L. Gerling, Robert Ewich, Theodore and Wilhelm Heidmann [Heldmann], Heinrich Nahm, Ignatz Vieffhaus, Henry Knoernschild, and Otto Koch. (St. Charles Demokrat, 3 June 1875, [History II, 294]).
59. St. Charles Demokrat, 2 March 1871, (History II, 221).
60. St. Charles Demokrat, 11 May 1871, (History II, 223).
61. St. Charles Demokrat, 3 October 1873, (History II, 258).
62. St. Charles Demokrat, 5 May 1870, 15 June 1876, (History II, 210, 342-343).
63. St. Charles Demokrat, 20 November 1873, History II, 260).
64. St. Charles Demokrat, 17 February 1870, (History II, 208).
65. St. Charles Demokrat, 13 August 1874, 18 May 1876, 2 December 1875, (History II, 279, 340, 320).
66. St. Charles Demokrat, 15 July 1875, (History II, 300).
67. St. Charles Demokrat, 12 June 1879, (History II, 398).
68. St. Charles Demokrat, 4 September 1879, (History II, 401).
69. St. Charles Demokrat, 8 October 1874, (History II, 281).
70. St. Charles Demokrat, 20 May 1875, (History II, 293).
71. Frederick Muench, School for American Grape Culture, 134. (For the role of wine at German-American festivals in Duden Country, see, for example, accounts of the annual Maifest of Augusta's renowned cultural society, the Harmonie-Verein [History I-III]).
72. St. Charles Demokrat, 12 August 1875, (History II, 305).
73. St. Charles Demokrat, 23 September 1875, (History II, 309-310).
74. Ibid.
75. St. Charles Demokrat, 10 August 1876, (History II, 346).
76. St. Charles Demokrat, 7 October 1875 (History II, 314-315).
77. St. Charles Demokrat, 23 March 1876 (History II, 335-336).
78. St. Charles Demokrat, 12 October 1876 (History II, 348).
79. St. Charles Demokrat, 22 January 1880 (History II, 439).
80. St. Charles Demokrat, 5 August 1880, 16 September 1880, (History II, 446, 448).
81. St. Charles Demokrat, 29 September 1881, (History II, 464).
82. St. Charles Demokrat, 22 December 1881, (History II, 465).

83. Jerry Holtmeyer, The Historical Center of Duden County, Dutzow, Mo. (Washington, Mo.: Holtmeyer Enterprises, Ltd., 1999) 154-155.
84. Herman Lackner/Antoinette L. Webster, "George Muench 1801-1878," in Three Latin Farmers (Augusta, Mo.: Reunion of Muench and Follenius Descendants, October 6, 1984)
26. See also Paul R. Hollrah, 255 and Mallinckrodt, Historic Augusta-Its Buildings and People, 47, 72.
85. St. Charles Demokrat, 24 February 1881, (History III, 455-456).
86. St. Charles Demokrat, 19 July 1883, (History III, 485).
87. Laws of the State of Missouri, March 18, 1835 (St. Louis: 1841), 64.
88. St. Charles Demokrat, 2 July 1885, (History III, 509).
89. Augusta Wine Company Documents. Augusta, Mo.: Augusta Historical Museum Archives.
90. Baggerman, 146-147.
91. St. Charles Demokrat, 11 July 1889, (History III, 554).
92. Mallinckrodt, Historic Augusta, 72.
93. St. Charles Demokrat, 18 September 1890, 10 September 1897, 6 September 1900, (History III, 565-566, 637, 666).
94. St. Charles Demokrat, 20 September 1894, 29 October 1896, (History III, 607, 625).
95. Robert Lewis Thompson, "Missouri: America's First Wine District." American Bar Association Journal 67 (November 1981): 1560.
96. Washington Journal, June 18, 1897 (as cited in Joyce, 67).
97. Joyce, 61.
98. Hollrah, 139. See also, "Agriculture," Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri, ed, Howard L. Conrad (St. Louis: The Southern History Co., 1901), Vol. 1, 16, reports that 22,500 tons of grapes and 1,250,000 gallons of wine were produced in Missouri in 1890.
99. Baggerman, 153.

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