

Journal of Wine Research

Making a Shift at Haut-Brion: John Locke's Journal, Claret Terroir, Artifice, Authenticity, and Branding

Submission ID	247405132
Article Type	Research Article
Keywords	John Locke, Haut-Brion, wine branding
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5 **Artifice, Authenticity, and Branding**
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4 **Making a Shift at Haut-Brion: John Locke’s Journal, Claret Terroir,**
5 **Artifice, Authenticity, and Branding**
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11 This article for the first time analyzes a comment made by John Locke during his
12 May 1677 visit to the Haut-Brion vineyard in Pessac, Bordeaux. He concluded
13 that fifty percent of the wine sold by Arnaud III de Pontac did not originate from
14 that vineyard. This suggests the need for a re-evaluation of the historiography of
15 terroir, wine branding, and authenticity, particularly the origin story that has
16 grown up around Haut-Brion. The article explores competing narratives of how,
17 where, and when the New French Claret developed while also clarifying its
18 inception in the English market in the 1660s.
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24 Keywords: John Locke, Haut-Brion, terroir, Bordeaux history, claret, Arnaud de
25 Pontac
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28 **Introduction**
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31 In May 1677, the philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) penned a surprising and
32 heretofore unnoticed remark about Arnaud III de Pontac’s (1600-1681) wine production
33 at Haut-Brion in Pessac, Bordeaux. Highly educated and trained in natural philosophy,
34 Locke is generally regarded as a reliable informant regarding French winemaking.
35 Anthony Ashley Cooper, 1st Earl of Shaftesbury (1621-1683), had requested that he
36 “discover empirically what made Mr. Pontac’s wine so especially good” (Ludington,
37 2013, p. 84). In a frequently cited passage, Locke provided a description of Haut-
38 Brion’s distinctive terroir in his report.
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44 The vine de Pontac, so much esteemed in England, grows on a rising open to the
45 west, in a white sand mixed with a little gravel, which one would think would
46 bear nothing; but there is such a particularity in the soil, that at Mr. Pontac’s,
47 near Bourdeaux the merchants assured me that the wine growing in the very next
48 vineyards, where there was only a ditch between, and the soil, to appearance,
49 perfectly the same, was by no means so good. (Locke, 1766)
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4 In his journal entry that day he made another observation: Of the 50 tonneaux of very
5 expensive wine sold by de Pontac, fifty percent of it did not originate from that vineyard
6 (King, 1829, p. 68).
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10 This note briefly reports on this discovery. It is important because the Haut-Brion
11 vineyard and Arnaud de Pontac hold a hallowed place in the historiography of the
12 transition between Medieval and modern wine production, commerce, and culture
13 (Coates, 2004; Enjalbert, 1953a; Johnson, 1989, pp. 203–204; Pijassou, 1980). In fact, a
14 kind of origin story has grown up around Haut-Brion (Lawther, 2010, p. 9).¹ Haut-Brion
15 marks the historical inception of an identification between the name of a property and a
16 distinctive fine wine (Réjalot, 2002, p. 100). Thus, in popular imagination, Haut-Brion
17 is “the wine that links Thomas Jefferson, Charles II and Samuel Pepys” (Anderson,
18 2021).
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25 The generally accepted picture is that in the 1650s de Pontac single-handedly innovated
26 a new style of claret from the unique Haut-Brion vineyard with its “white sand mixed
27 with a little gravel.” This single estate combined a specific terroir with series of
28 viticultural and winemaking improvements to produce a superior red wine that
29 improved with age, including in bottle (Grieco, 1985; Ludington, 2013; Pijassou, 1980).
30 These “17th-century innovations radically altered wine as a material and social product”
31 (Howland, 2013, p. 328). Haut-Brion wine thus constituted a central component of the
32 “revolution” in wine quality during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries
33 (Enjalbert, 1953a, p. 322, 1953b). This resulted in what English publications in and
34 after 1704 referred to as the New French Claret, a darker more extracted wine style
35 resulting from increased maceration and skin contact that contrasted sharply with the
36 previous light, almost rosé-hued claret (*vin claret*) produced for England (Maldonado
37 Rosso, 2015).
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52 ¹ Origin stories are narratives about the inception of something; they connect the past with the
53 present, clarify what important past events meant, create and affirm cultural values, and
54 undergird versions of social order (Engel, 1993).
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4 In the history of marketing and branding, Haut Brion held unrivalled prowess based on
5 harnessing the power of “terroir” as opposed to, for example, a country of origin or
6 regional appellation.
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10 It is no coincidence that the brand with – probably – the longest continuing
11 existence is a terroir product, Chateau Haut Brion in Bordeaux, which Samuel
12 Pepys recorded drinking in London in 1663 and which is still sold at a very high
13 price today. This longevity may perhaps result from greater consumer
14 involvement with the product, for reasons noted . . . (e.g. perceived authenticity
15 and identity formation). (Charters et al., 2017, p. 763)
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20 Haut Brion is thus “the oldest continuously internationally-recognized brand” (Charters
21 et al., 2011); with the advent of Haut-Brion in the English market, the “first wine brand
22 was born” (Resnick, 2008), largely based on elite English perception of its uniqueness,
23 quality, and authenticity (M. B. Beverland, 2005a, 2005b; M. Beverland & Luxton,
24 2005).²
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28 **Making a Shift**

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40 ² The Haut-Brion origin story is almost entirely based on just three pieces of documentary evidence in a
41 span of 17 years: (1) The cellar book record of King Charles II’s purchase of bottled Haut-Brion
42 alongside generic Graves wine in June 1660 (Ludington, 2013, p. 83). This linked a particular wine to
43 a particular estate with a unique name. (2) Samuel Pepys’ remarks on tasting Haut-Brion wine at a
44 London tavern in 1663 (Ludington, 2013, p. 83; Pepys, 2006). This linked the same, now fashionable
45 single-estate wine to its unique organoleptic characteristics. (3) Pepys’ friend John Locke’s reports on
46 his visit to the estate, both in his contemporaneous journal entries and a 1779 report prepared for the
47 first Lord Shaftesbury (King, 1829; Locke, 1766; Unwin, 2000, 2001). Locke’s writings linked the
48 single-estate vineyard soil, viticultural practices, aspect, and slope to the wine’s organoleptic
49 properties, increased demand, and high price.
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4 On May 14, 1677, Locke “rode out, and, amongst other things, I saw the President
5 Pontac's vineyard at Hautbrion.”³ He then specified: “This ground may be estimated to
6 yield about twenty-five tun of wine; however, *the owner makes a shift* to make every
7 vintage fifty, which he sells for 105 écus per tun” (King, 1829, p. 68) (emphasis added).
8 A tun, or tonneau, contained about 999 liters of wine.
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13 The contemporary definition of Locke’s phrase “make a shift” included elements of
14 contrivance, artifice, paltry evasion or subterfuge, and fraud (Colange, 1882, p. 858;
15 O’Conner & Kellerman, 2018; Webster, 1841, p. 750). “By the early 1300s, this verb
16 [shift] was used to mean ‘to change, to replace by another of the kind,’ the [*Oxford*
17 *English Dictionary*] says. And in the 1600s, ‘to shift with (or without)’ meant ‘to
18 manage *with* something inferior or *without* something desirable.’ Meanwhile, the noun
19 had been developing along the same lines.” Later in the sixteenth century shift “meant a
20 substitution. Consequently, ‘for a shift’ (first recorded in 1523) meant ‘for want of
21 something better’; and ‘by the shift’ (1665) meant ‘at a pinch,’ *Oxford* explains”
22 (O’Conner & Kellerman, 2018).⁴ This meaning of shift and making shift remained
23 common in the practice of “artifice, ruse, and subterfuge” at cards (Coyne, 2024;
24 Erdnase, 1902, p. 131, 136). Webster defined, “fraud; artifice; expedient effect a bad
25 purpose; or an evasion; a trick to escape detection or evil” (Webster, 1841, p. 750).
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34 Thus, according to Locke, by 1677, fifty percent of the claret de Pontac sold as
35 originating from what his local informants defined as Haut-Brion was, by subterfuge or
36 fraud, not truly from that exceptional vineyard; nevertheless, it fetched a very high
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41 ³ Alongside Locke’s remarks on terroir and viticulture, the most significant and oft-cited among the
42 historical records is his friend Pepys’ 1663 “tasting note” (M. B. Beverland, 2005a, 2005a; Briggs,
43 1994; Charters et al., 2011; Duguid, 2005; Dumez, 2013; Estreicher, 2002, 2023; Howland, 2014, p.
44 177; Johnson, 1989; Kellaghan, 2012, p. 7; Ludington, 2013, pp. 84–91; Matthews, 2016; Ouvrard et
45 al., 2018; Ouvrard & Taplin, 2018; Resnick, 2008; Taber, 2009, pp. 2–10). He simply wrote that he
46 “drank a sort of French wine, called Ho Bryan, that hath a good and most particular taste that I never
47 met with” (Pepys, 2006).
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54 ⁴ Other examples of this usage include (Dyke, 1645, p. 146; L’Estrange, 1681; Manton, 1681, p. 150;
55 Tillotson, 1696, p. 334)
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4 price. “It was sold some years since for sixty, but the English have raised the market on
5 themselves” to as high as 100 crowns per tonneau. Locke blamed “the fashionable,
6 sending over orders to have the best wine sent them at any rate,” stating that “the
7 English may thank their own folly” (King, 1829, p. 68).
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10 11 **Revolution vs. Longue Durée** 12

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14 Opposed to the Haut-Brion origin story, another scholarly perspective finds that those
15 who constructed it set about finding the estate’s unique terroir “in the sources, but
16 according to an approach contrary to that of the historian.” That is, certain scholars were
17 “bending the source to the hypothesis and not the reverse; thus, there was a selective
18 sorting of the only occurrences of *crus* associated with an estate or owner’s name, which
19 can testify to the individualization of elite nuclei and the emergence of distinguished
20 wines” (Lavaud, 2018).⁵
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26 Citing the influential writings of Enjalbert and Pijassou, Lavaud finds that an
27 “evolutionary perspective” developed in the historiography “where quality emerged,”
28 “great wines” were born, and “terroirs were finally revealed.” Haut-Brion became,
29 through interpretations of Locke’s writings, “a symbol of the prestigious estate and
30 wine.” Haut-Brion “satisfied the hypothesis of the advent of a new era” (Lavaud, 2018).
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35 Lavaud’s research, by contrast, places Haut-Brion within the context of more gradual
36 changes in Bordeaux wine production. Lavaud points to the development of *bourdieu*—
37 on-site, countryside winemaking facilities—as instantiating a change in wine style
38 toward darker, more extracted red wine (*vin rouge* as opposed to *vin clairet*).⁶ *Bourdieu*
39 appeared, for example, on the isle of Macao in Medoc and, notably, in Pessac. This
40 included at the *hostau* called La Louviere (Lavaud, 2000), now Chateau la Louviere.
41 *Bourdieu* also existed in Chartrons (Lavaud, 2002), which would become the center of
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49 ⁵ In 2014, for instance, Domain Clarence Dillon sponsored a contest to see who could find the earliest
50 mention of Haut-Brion in the historical record (Domaine Clarence Dillon, 2014).
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53 ⁶ The *bourdieu* were “places of innovation, ‘cutting-edge’ wineries. By colonizing new lands, by
54 choosing a production of quantity and quality with *a new product, red wine*, they are the initiators of
55 decisive changes” (emphasis added) (Lavaud, 2000, p. 329).
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4 blending wines for the international trade. In 1478, a *bourdieu* belonging to the
5 merchant Pey Ap already existed “au Brion” in Pessac on the trail leading to Bordeaux
6 (Porcher, 2011, p. 57). Ap had close connections to English wine commerce (Pépin,
7 2009; Peyrègne, 1954). Therefore, the link between the vineyards at Haut-Brion and
8 internationally merchantable vin rouge had origins two centuries before Locke’s visit.
9 By 1521, a notarial instrument referred to wine made from the “cru des vignes”
10 belonging to Jean de Monque of the place called “Aubrion.” These were located behind
11 his *bourdieu* at the placed called Brion “en la paroisse Saint-Martin de Pessac.” The
12 contract stipulated that “if there are no grapes” to satisfy the annual payment of rent in
13 wine, “good, pure and clean and sellable” (*marchand*) from “Brion,” then the wine
14 could come from other nearby vineyards “just as good from the vineyard of the said
15 abovementioned vines” (Domaine Clarence Dillon, 2014). Substitution, or “making a
16 shift,” was quite common. Notably, too, the *bourdieu* were vinification centers that
17 could process the grapes of various nearby vineyards (Lavaud, 2000) into a wine that
18 would become known as the *cru* of the *bourdieu*’s owner.
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28 **Terroir, Cru, and Authenticity in Bordeaux**

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31 Thus, in contrast to other regions such as Bourgogne and Alsace, the notion of a
32 particular “cru” in Bordeaux became defined by “socio-spatial” characteristics and not
33 strictly by terroir. “This choice was partly based on one of the fundamental
34 characteristics of ‘Bordeaux’ [wine] which makes it an *assemblage* of several grape
35 varieties, hence the necessary variety of terroirs.” “The weight of man, his techniques
36 and his capital” were important in creating a wine’s quality and identity (Hinnewinkel,
37 1998, pp. 23–24, 1999). As Garcia notes, “different places” were “subordinate” to a
38 proprietary name, involving “the *assemblage* of places and grape varieties.” Producing a
39 merchantable wine involved “the *assemblage* of the wines of the property, which
40 encompasses the know-how and the very social quality of the owner” (Garcia, 2021).
41 Expanding and incorporating new and different vineyards, each with a distinct terroir,
42 hence formed a common pattern in Bordeaux, which remains quite alive today (Rigaux,
43 2024). This contrasted sharply with how the idea of terroir and cru developed in
44 Bourgogne with its *climats*.
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54 In all, by the mid seventeenth century, creating a wine for the international market
55 routinely involved the *assemblage* of the wines of various vineyard terroirs unified
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4 under the name of the proprietor, or, later, the chateau. From the perspective of de
5 Pontac and the Bordeaux merchants interviewed by Locke in 1677, then, nothing
6 unusual or untoward was happening. “Definitions of wine adulteration,” notes Phillips,
7 “have changed, and in the relatively lawless past, there was often little agreement at any
8 given time as to what constituted adulteration or fraud” (Phillips, 2020, p. 5). Locke’s
9 perspective reflected that in the English market, thanks to the royal patronage, “Haut-
10 Brion” identified a particular vineyard linked to a particular wine. This caused his
11 somewhat deprecatory journal entry noting that subterfuge or fraud existed. From the
12 Bordeaux perspective, nothing ran afoul of the standard practice of *assemblage*. Yet,
13 Locke condemned the unreasonable and uneconomic demand of the “fashionable”
14 English more than he condemned de Pontac for his artifice.
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22 **The Rise of “Pontack”**

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25 This also goes some way to explaining a conundrum that has plagued scholars
26 concerning the difference between “Pontack” wine (or “vin de Pontac”) and “Haut-
27 Brion” wine (Ludington, 2013, p. 86; Penning-Rowse, 1989, p. 73). Locke himself
28 referred to “Pontac” and Medoc wines as Bordeaux’s best products in 1677 while
29 simultaneously describing Haut-Brion. “Pontack” wine appears in the English record as
30 early as the late 1660s (Longleat House, 1667), if not earlier. In 1683, Locke’s
31 colleague John Evelyn referred to “that excellent vignoble of Pontac and Obrien, from
32 whence comes the choicest of our Bordeaux wines” (Evelyn, 1850, p. 181). The two
33 appeared to exist concurrently, or did Evelyn mean one wine from one vineyard,
34 melding terroir and owner identities? In any event, “Pontack” went on to become the
35 generic “brand name” for high-quality Graves wine throughout most of the eighteenth
36 century. In 1709, a Dutch trader sent “2 hampers of pontack, one directed for [Mr.]
37 Powys, the other for Mr. Teyler” via “Dover by the first packet-boat” (Macky, 1709).
38 Other eighteenth century references to Pontack or “vin de Pontac” abounded while
39 “Haut-Brion” practically disappeared (Brabant, 1717; Knoop, 1766, p. 129; Lamberty,
40 1734; Malvezin, 1892, p. 36, 271, 277; Mandeville, 1723, p. 118; Michel, 1870, pp.
41 127–128; Nugent, 1768, p. 317; Raynal, 1749, p. 218). Google Book’s nGram viewer
42 illustrates the predominance of references to “Pontack” (in English) and “vin de Pontac”
43 (in French) during the late seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth centuries (Figs. 1
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Figure 1. Google Books nGram graph for "vin de Pontac" and "Haut-Brion" in French language publications, 1660-1840



Figure 2. Google Books nGram graph for "Pontack," "Haut-Brion," and "Margaux" in the English language, 1660-1840

In English publications, "Pontack" appeared in 1674 and references to it only began slowly declining starting around 1750. "Haut-Brion" did not appear until the 1770s and only overtook Pontack in the nineteenth century. Of course, a victim of its success, "Pontack" became a generic term, like Xerox, Kleenex, or Velcro.

Given Locke's comment, a reasonable inference is that the original *cru de Pontac* included an assemblage of wines from de Pontac's various estates, which included Pez in today's St. Estephe appellation, Bisqueytan in Entre-deux-Mers, and likely various smaller parcels in Pessac and Talence purchased by de Pontac's ancestors (Dorbe-Larcade, 2007; Le Mao, 2013). It is established that "the Pontacs used wine from their estate at Pez to top up" the barrels at Haut Brion (Ludington, 2013, p. 84).

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4 De Pontac's success very quickly drew replicative competition from the other *crus*
5 belonging to the wealthy nobility.⁷ All these wines were eventually counterfeited.
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7 Although Pontack lost its distinct identity, high quality Pontack wine appears to have
8 kept some connection to a more diffused regional terroir. A 1740 medical text, *Opera*
9 *omnia physico-medica denuo revisa*, explained that the best claret wine came from
10 Graves, which had the distinctive sandy soil remarked upon by Locke decades earlier.
11 "Praestantissimum Vin de Pontac quo Angli multum delectantur." "The most excellent
12 Wine of Pontac, which the English delight in" (Hoffmann, 1740, p. 342). Third-party
13 counterfeiting became widespread, diluting any relationship between brand and
14 authenticity. In 1729, Irishman Arthur Dobbs referred to,

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21 the same wine cooper'd up by different Mixtures to nice Palates, under Mock
22 Names of this or 'tother Vintage, Hermitage, Pontack, Chateau Margoux, Haut-
23 Brian, &c, all made out of Vin de Grave; some cook'd up in the Cellars of
24 *Bourdeaux*, the rest here, according to Palates and Vogue. (Dobbs, 1729, p. 90).
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28 In 1748, Georg Heinrich Behr made clear that Pontac was commonly counterfeited and
29 that the English consumed most of it. Generic Graves wine, he concluded, was often
30 sold as "Pontac" (Behr, 1748).
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33 **When Did the New French Claret Style Arise?**

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36 Relatedly, as some have suggested, the chronology of the "New French Claret"—which
37 defined the organoleptic character of the Bordeaux "grand cru" over ensuing decades—
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43 ⁷ Notably both the Irish wine trader Thomas Walsh (*Passeurs de Mémoire de Pessac*, 2022) and the
44 winegrower Charles de Secondat de Montesquieu (Meloni & Swinnen, 2016) bought sandy, stoney
45 vineyard land in Pessac to replicate the Haut-Brion style in the 1720s, recognizing that a specific
46 terroir contributed to its commercial success. Montesquieu and a friend subsequently purchased the de
47 Pontac estate at Bisqueytan around 1749-50 with an eye to increasing claret production for Britain
48 after the War of the Austrian Succession (Koga, 1976). Montesquieu was a distant descendant of the
49 de Pontac family and appears to have paid a great deal of attention to their winegrowing techniques,
50 trying to replicate their profitable practices.
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4 requires some greater subtlety and clarification. Did this new kind of *vin rouge* appear
5 in the English market in the 1660s, the 1700s, or around 1750 (Ludington, 2019)?
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8 A general shift in elite English taste toward darker red claret—subsequently marketed
9 as the New French Claret—began after Charles II’s purchase in the June 1660, not forty
10 years later in the 1700s. The king probably encountered the darker, more extracted style
11 while living in exile in Holland, and a “tierce of claret” accompanied the royal
12 provisions shipped from Holland to England in May 1660 (Clayton, 1859, p. 90), a
13 month before his Haut-Brion order. This wine’s early origins likely go back to the *vin*
14 *rouge* that began to be produced in the *bourdieu* many decades earlier and sold to the
15 Dutch (Lavaud, 2000, 2002, 2018). As Clive Coates observed, “it seems unlikely that it
16 was only Haut-Brion which made wines of renown; and it was the Graves area, in what
17 are now the suburbs of the city, which was exploited for wine long before the marshy
18 gravels of the Médoc were drained by the Dutch and became suitable for the vine”
19 (Coates, 1995, p. 29). Locke himself noted that Graves was “all vineyard” in 1677
20 (King, 1829, p. 76). In England, this red wine became known by various superlatives
21 such as best, special, dark red, excellent, good, strong, and “born of the Royal vine”
22 (Brome, 1668, p. 17; Hughes, 1670; Kitckpatrick, 1946, p. 7; London, 1682, p. 385; M,
23 1662; “St. James’s May 10,” 1713; Taaffe, 1668; E. Wood, 1665a, 1665b). The writings
24 of Locke’s and Pepys’ friend Robert Boyle (1627-91) show that by 1670 he
25 distinguished between “spiritous” (i.e., high-alcohol) “good claret” (Boyle, 1725, 617,
26 636) and “ordinary French claret” (Boyle, 1725, p. 480), which probably resembled the
27 “light claret” of years past (Plantagenet, 1648, p. 20).
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41 This new wine style became sufficiently economically significant that it upset the
42 perceived balance of trade with France. This demanded a politically-inspired response
43 from English natural philosophers. The new claret’s advent on the English market
44 resulted in experiments by Boyle on the novel product, which could miraculously
45 improve with age in-bottle, and the planting of experimental “claret”-producing
46 vineyards by the likes of his colleague Ralph Bathurst at Trinity College, Oxford (Plot,
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4 1686, p. 380).⁸ Such experiments were very much in the vein of the Royal Society’s
5 mandate from Charles II to expand England’s economic prowess through
6 experimentation. This would contribute to England’s commercial superiority, and thus a
7 linkage existed between expanding political empire and expanding empirical knowledge
8 (Gascoigne, 1999; Moxham, 2019; Ochs, 1985).
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13 Haut-Brion wine, therefore, was not totally unique in the 1660s and 1670s, although it
14 probably still provided the prototype for the new claret (Ludington, 2013), hence
15 Locke’s empirical investigation at the behest of Shaftesbury, both members of the Royal
16 Society. It appears almost undeniable that Locke’s May 1674 visit to Haut Brion was
17 “espionage on Shaftesbury’s behalf, with an eye to America” (DeLuna, 2018; Goldie,
18 2015, p. 34), where both had their sights set on the colony of South Carolina for
19 establishing vineyards that would dampen demand for the expensive French product
20 (Agha, 2020; Roper, 2004; Stanwood, 2017; Unwin, 2001).⁹ Clearly, “the new high-
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29 ⁸ While the first edition of Hughes’ *The Compleat Vineyard* (Hughes, 1665) did not mention
30 Haut-Brion claret, by 1670 the second edition specifically remarked on its “dark red colour”
31 (Hughes, 1670). Boyle’s friend and colleague Locke owned a copy of *The Compleat*
32 *Vineyard*, as did Boyle’s assistant Robert Hooke (Rostenberg, 1980; N. Wood, 2023, p. 28).
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37 ⁹ There is no indication that Locke had permission to visit Haut-Brion. He appears to have only
38 had access to the vineyards and not any winemaking facilities, *chais* or *caves*. He could not
39 communicate well with the vineyard workers because they spoke Gascon, and apparently de
40 Pontac was not there to translate. Although the powerful Lord Shaftesbury had supported
41 Charles II’s Restoration, “concern over tyrannical governmental power led to his resignation
42 as the lord chancellor (1672–3), once Shaftesbury discovered that the Treaty of Dover he had
43 signed in 1670 was a lie” (Mansfield, 2022, p. 977). In fact, a “causal relationship . . . existed
44 between the growth of commercial trade,” including prominently the wine trade, “and the
45 increasing absolutism of Charles II. The customs revenue that accrued to the king increased
46 as England’s trade prospered, and this growth in revenue tended to free the king from his
47 dependency upon parliamentary grants of money” (Ashcraft, 2021, p. 14). The Whigs in
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4 quality French wines began to be produced before the start of the Franco-British wars
5 from 1672 to 1697” (Maldonado Rosso, 2015). It was thus not the English prohibition
6 on French wines between 1678 and 1686 followed by high tariffs starting in 1689 that
7 led to the New French Claret style, competing with Port and Spanish wine, in 1704. By
8 the mid eighteenth century, Chartrons merchants had taken over *assemblage* to define
9 the consistent taste and quality of the *grands crus* headed to Britain (Ludington, 2019,
10 2023).

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12 Further research is needed on what kind of vineyard and brand monopolies developed in
13 Bordeaux, as opposed to, for instance Bourgogne (Unwin, 2022). Locke himself
14 returned to Graves in September 1677, recording the economic plight of peasants with
15 postage-stamp vineyards that contrasted sharply with the vast holdings of de Pontac
16 (King, 1829, p. 76). In Bordeaux, the pattern of steady vineyard expansion while the
17 wine remained the monopoly and brand of one family, company, or chateau became
18 well established (Rigaux, 2024). How did this affect the definitions of “terroir” and
19 “cru” in both places? What implications does this have for the economic geography and
20 economic history of French wine?
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31 In conclusion, this article complicates the hallowed narrative of Haut-Brion's singular
32 influence on modern wine production by revealing John Locke's observation of Arnaud
33 III de Pontac's vinous artifice in 1677. Locke's discovery that fifty percent of Haut-
34 Brion-labeled wine did not originate from the eponymous vineyard underscores the
35 complex dynamics of Bordeaux's wine industry during this period. The integration of
36 various vineyard wines under a single, prestigious name, in this case a family name,
37 reflected a broader, socio-economic strategy rather than an exclusive reliance on terroir.
38 This insight necessitates a reassessment of Haut-Brion's role in the historiography of
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45 parliamentary opposition, prominently Locke’s patron Shaftesbury, too, were “defenders of
46 commercial expansion,” but with different objectives. “Shaftesbury’s vision was of an
47 empire united by the crown as figurehead, but led by an aristocracy that would prosper
48 commercially” (Mansfield, 2022, p. 988). In this perspective, he shared certain ideas with
49 Montesquieu (Crisafulli, 2017).
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4 wine and suggests that the rise of Bordeaux wine's international reputation was as much
5 about savvy branding and *assemblage* as it was about the intrinsic qualities of precise
6 terroirs. The implications extend beyond historical intrigue, prompting contemporary
7 wine scholars and consumers to consider the lasting impact of historical winegrowing
8 practices on modern wine branding and authenticity.
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