

FROM THE GLASS TO THE PLATE: REFRAMING THE STORYTELLING ABOUT MADEIRA WINE'S LEAP INTO GASTRONOMY

DO COPO AO PRATO: REFORMULANDO A NARRATIVA SOBRE O SALTO DO VINHO MADEIRA PARA A
GASTRONOMIA

[10.29073/heranca.v6i2.668](https://doi.org/10.29073/heranca.v6i2.668)

Receção: 08/09/2022 Aprovação: 08/12/2022 Publicação: 23/10/2023

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ABSTRACT

For a long time, the island of Madeira has been known worldwide for its wine, not only as a beverage but also as an ingredient in the famous sauce *Madère*. This article tells the story of how this drink made its way into gastronomy during the second half of the 18th century, on both sides of the British Atlantic. Recipe books and other types of documents from this period are explored to gather data related to this matter. An ethnographic research conducted at the Madeira Wine company complements the historical approach to understand the results of this study regarding the discourse surrounding the past in relation to this oenological heritage and the self-perception of the producers as guardians of a truly living tradition. This case study shows that updating narratives based on new historical evidence could not only change the perspective of consumers and tourists, as demonstrated by previous research, but also enhance innovative strategies in this line of business.

Keywords: Food and Beverage History, Madeira Wine, Gastronomy, Storytelling, Winemaking

RESUMO

Há muito que a Ilha da Madeira é conhecida em todo o mundo pelo seu vinho, não só como bebida, mas também como ingrediente do famoso molho *Madère*. Este artigo conta como esta bebida deu o salto para a gastronomia durante a 2.^a metade do século XVIII, de ambos os lados do Atlântico britânico. Livros de receitas e outros tipos de documentos deste período são explorados na recolha de dados relacionadas com esta questão. Uma pesquisa etnográfica na empresa Madeira Wine Company complementou a abordagem histórica para compreender os resultados deste estudo no que diz respeito aos discursos sobre o passado em torno deste património enológico e à autoperceção dos produtores como guardiões de uma tradição verdadeiramente viva. Este estudo de caso mostra que a atualização de narrativas com base em novas evidências históricas poderia não apenas mudar a perspetiva de consumidores e turistas, como demonstrado por pesquisas anteriores, mas também potenciar estratégias inovadoras neste ramo de atividade.

Palavras-Chave: História de Alimentos e Bebidas, Vinho Madeira, Gastronomia, Narrativa, Vinificação

1. INTRODUCTION

Shortly after its discovery by the Portuguese around 1419, Madeira became the first laboratory of globalization as we know it today (Vieira, 2017a; Silva, 2018b). Sugar turned Funchal, the capital of the young colony, into the hub of an extensive commercial network. After the discovery of the New World, this industry declined (Vieira, 2004). It would now be wine that would ensure the subsistence of the islanders,

principally the fortified wine simply called “Madeira” wine, known all around the world today. Beginning in the 17th century, the producers responded to a growing demand from the American colonies and the West Indies. In the second half of the 18th century, the Funchal shippers, among whom were many English citizens, began supplying London on a regular basis, the product they sold now being considered a true nectar, i.e., a healthy symbol of luxury, cultural refinement and cosmopolitanism (Hancock,

1998; Hancock, 2003; Hancock, 2005; Hancock, 2009). As we will see next, that's precisely when Madeira wine was first used for cooking in the British Atlantic. This paper relates how this legendary beverage went from the glass to the plate on both sides of the ocean. The analysis of early recipes and other kinds of documents allows us to reframe the chronological and geographical parameters, the contexts of its consumption, and the kind of Madeira wine preferred at that time for culinary purposes. Then, the outcomes of this study in terms of storytelling will be evaluated. The way it can affect the producers' perception of themselves as transmitters of a living heritage will also be considered.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

A long road has been travelled since the pioneer works on food history in the early 1960s (Silva, 2013). The study of how humans prepare meals, drink and feed themselves is today a well-established research area, generating a constant flow of publications year after year (e.g., Fumet et al., 2021; Quellier, 2021). Even so, scholars have shown an on-going interest in Madeira wine for some time, focusing particularly on the production process and its trade¹. Its culinary uses had been mentioned (Simon et al., 1933; Cossart, 1984; Sandy, 1988), but until today, this question had not yet been chosen as a research subject on its own. The dispersion and heterogeneity of sources capable of providing information on this topic may explain the lack of attention from scholars, at least in part. This is particularly true for periods prior to the 19th century, despite some attempts made to compile and publish the earlier documents (e.g.: Aragão, 1981; Vieira, 1993).

Recent works on the history of Madeira wine still have little to say about the way it was used in cooking. Even the quite exhaustive *Oceans of Wine*, by David Hancock (2009), only includes a short chapter dedicated to this topic. According to this scholar, wine

was a cornerstone of the “anglicised cuisine”, and different kinds of wine, including those from Funchal, were already used by American settlers in cooking in the mid-18th century. This author is particularly relevant and well known by stakeholders of the Madeira wine industry². His work (Hancock, 1998; Hancock, 2003; Hancock, 2005; Hancock, 2009) and these of the Madeiran historian, Alberto Vieira (Vieira, 1991; Vieira, 1993; Vieira, 2001; Vieira, 2003; Vieira, 2015; Vieira, 2016; Vieira, 2017b; Vieira, NA), are still today the main source material of the storytelling in this arena.

It is well known that myths and tales form the backbone of ancient and other non-modern systems of rationality (Lévi-Strauss, 1962; Goody, 1994). History, however, emerged as a discipline during the 19th century, and served as an alternative to oral traditions and popular knowledge about the past. More recently, the postmodernist theorists triggered a paradigm shift in regard to how historians conceive their own work. The lines between scientific accounts and fiction are not as clear as they were before, both of them being treated as narratives and the historian himself as a narrator (Bruner, 1990; Jenkins, 2003; Chirobocea, 2017).

Previous research has already highlighted the benefits of storytelling for both the winemaking (Mora et al., 2013; Antonio et al., 2019; Rytönen et al., 2021) and tourism industries (Yavuz et al., 2016; Korez-Vide, 2017; Gonçalves et al., 2018; Moscardo, 2021), and enotourism in particular (Woldarsky, 2019), a recent work even focusing the case of Madeira wine (Santos et al., 2020). Some of these studies revealed that historical data is in fact a main driver of corporate narratives about wine (Mora et al., 2013). Museums or exhibitions dedicated to the drink being promoted play an important role in their dissemination (Lee et al., 2014), making it possible to stage stories through different media related in their own way to a

¹ See an exhaustive account of the historiography of Madeira wine in (Vieira, 2003).

² The works of David Hancock about the history of Madeira wine have as their starting point the MWC's

archives, as explained in the introduction of the book (Hancock, 2009).

shared space (Bedford, 2001; Liu, 2020). The focus of the previous bibliography is, however, almost always on the effects on consumers and tourists, not on the producers. A few decades ago, the spread of a story about the copier repair technicians working for the Rank Xerox company made a huge impact on the corporate world, starting an authentic revolution at the global scale in the field of management strategy (Sole et al., 1999). This example shows that the benefits of storytelling can sometimes be even more important internally than externally. Regarding the winemaking and tourism-related industries specifically, the innovative potential of new narratives among the stakeholders involved still needs to be explored. Another purpose of this paper is to fill this gap.

3. METHODOLOGY

This study started with a systematic inquiry in cookbooks published during the 18th century. This timeline was chosen as it was when Madeira wine expanded its market from America and the West Indies to the whole British Empire (Vieira, 2003; Hancock, 2009). Recipes mentioning this beverage as an ingredient were mapped and analysed. The writings of the founders of the United States of America, with numerous references to cuisine and Madeira wine, most which had not been explored until today, were also considered. The following archives were consulted online:

AP—The Adams Papers Digital Edition

DGM—The Diaries of Gouverneur Morris Digital Edition

DHFFCUS—Documentary History of the First Federal Congress of the United States (March 4, 1789–March 3, 1791) Digital Edition

DHRC—The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution Digital Edition

FO—Founders Online, National Archives

PAH—The Papers of Alexander Hamilton Digital Edition

PDM—The Papers of Dolley Madison Digital Edition

PDW—The Papers of Daniel Webster Digital Edition

PELP&HP—The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Harriott Pinckney Horry Digital Edition

PGW—The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition

PJM—The Papers of James Madison Digital Edition

PTJ—The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition.

Other kinds of documents related to viticulture and the winemaking process were consulted in other digital libraries (Internet Archives, Gallica, Gutenberg Project, etc.) and in the Regional Archives of Madeira (ABM) to contextualize the references to Madeira wine in recipes. The purpose of this task was to define, chronologically and geographically speaking, the process of introduction, the early contexts of consumption, and the kind of Madeira wine used in cooking.

The results of a participant observation (July 2021–...) undertaken by the author in the Madeira Wine Company (MWC), was also explored. This bicentenary business is one of the principal players of the industry. It is owned by the descendants of John Blandy, an English shipper and general trader who was the founder (Silva, in press). Today the main production facilities are installed in Caniçal. However, the company continues to age wine in the historical headquarters of the MWC, built in the 19th century and known today as the Old Blandy's Wine Lodge. Located in the centre of Funchal, close to the coastline, it is one of the most popular spots of the city, receiving numerous tourists along the year. The guided tour to the installations is about the history, the terroir and the production process, explained while passing through the very rooms where the casks are matured (Fig. 1). There is also a little museum inside dedicated to the history of the Blandy family and a cellar where the collection of the oldest bottles is kept. The standard visit always includes a tasting session, and bottles of wine produced by the MWC can be bought in the wineshop close to the main entrance.

The methodology adopted, which involved taking part as a “fabric-acteur” (Suremain,

2015) was previously applied to cultural heritage studies by the author (Silva, 2018a; Silva et al., 2022) and other scholars before that (see, for example: Bortolotto, 2017). In this case, it provides a deeper understanding, not only of what Madeira wine really is, but also of what it means for the producers. The goal is to understand better the making of the storytelling about

this drink, subject to an intensive heritagization¹. It involved taking part in regular activities with the company staff, including the harvesting (Quinta do Bispo, Raposeira do Logarinho), the winemaking process (MWC winery, Caniçal), guided tours and tastings at the Old Blandy's Wine Lodge² (Funchal) (Fig. 1).

Figure 1 - Guided tour at the Old Blandy's Wine Lodge, 24/09/2021



Source: Author

In turn, the author offered a training session to the employees about the history of the Lodge³, and developed an eno tour in the historical centre of Funchal. He also organized tasting sessions of historical dishes and cocktails with Madeira wine, based on his own research⁴. Following this methodological path turns the

historian into an active player in passing on the tradition, which is intended to be a dynamic process. It gives him the opportunity to contribute with his own expertise to avoid the

¹ By law, the producers must make the wine according to the traditional methods in order to have the right to use the label "vinho Madeira" as an origin denomination. Decreto Regulamentar Regional 20/85/M, 21 October, Serie I, No 242, art. 5; Portaria 39/2015, 13 February, Serie I, No 28 – 2nd suppl., art. 7. In a room of the Old Blandy's Wine Lodge included in the main guided tour, there is a large panel showing different aspects of the production and proclaiming the dedication of the MWC to the "preservation of the Madeira wine traditions".

² On the history of the Old Blandy's Wine Lodge, see: Vizetelly, 1880; Silva, in press.

³

https://www.academia.edu/72613997/Training_session_The_beginnings_of_Blandys_Wine_Lodge.

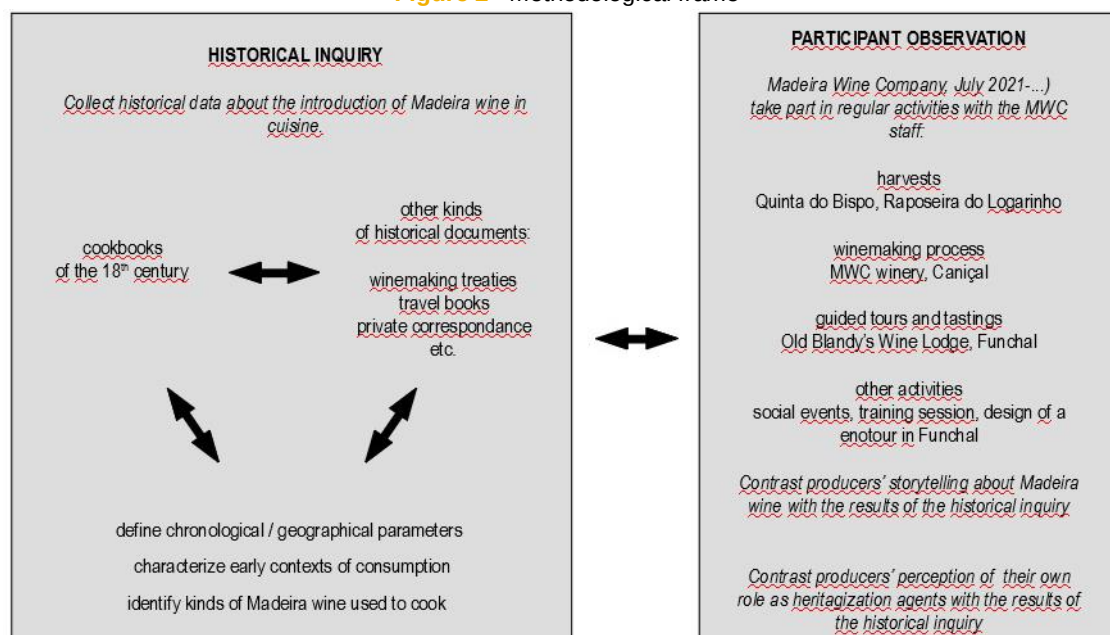
⁴https://www.academia.edu/72613516/Food_exhibition_of_18th_and_19th_century_recipes_with_Madeira_wine.

https://www.academia.edu/79095608/Apresenta%C3%A7%C3%A3o_da_mostra_gastr%C3%B3mica_de_do%C3%A7aria_conventual_e_cocktails_com_vinho_madeira_Casa_Museu_Frederico_de_Freitas_Funchal_13_05_2022. Students of the ESTG—University of Madeira were also involved in these activities.

easy way of the methodological nationalism¹, still dominant in the heritage arena today (Silva, 2016). That being so, confronting the results of the document analysis and the ethnological fieldwork serves to evaluate the potential impact of his research on the storytelling about Madeira wine and also on the self-perception of producers as the guardians

of this living heritage (Fig. 2). The concept of “storytelling” is understood here as the “sharing of knowledge and experiences through narrative and anecdotes in order to communicate lessons, complex ideas, concepts, and causal connections”, following the definition proposed earlier by Sole and Gray Wilson (1999, p.6)².

Figure 2 - Methodological frame



Source: Developed by the author

4. FINDINGS

Although today we tend to associate Madeira wine with French gastronomy, it appears that it was first adopted as an ingredient in cooking in the British Atlantic. Its rise in cuisine predates the height of its exportation to the London market, which we can place between the end of the 1700s and the first quarter of the next century³. In fact, Madeira wine is already referred to in several recipes from cookbooks published in the United Kingdom during the 2nd

half of the 18th century (Table 1). No fewer than 11 are described in the 1769 cookbook of Elizabeth Raffald, printed in Manchester. Among them, an apricot pudding (Table 1: No 14), a kind of cocktail called whip syllabubs⁴ (Table 1: No 17) and the bread-based dessert known as sweet panada (Table 1: No 18). There is another sweet dish (“To make a floating island”, Table 1: No 16), prepared with a jelly from bovine feet also made with Madeira wine⁵ (“To make calves foot jelly”, Table 1: No

¹ Regarding the concept of methodological nationalism, see: (Beck et al., 2006).

² More recently, some scholars established the distinction between the storytelling for entertainment and that for serious contexts (Lugmayr et al., 2017), but it is not applicable in this case. Indeed, the borders between diversion and education are not clear in regard to oenological narratives disseminated by the industry, regardless of the media used (Mora et al., 2013; Santos et al., 2020).

³ According to John Croft (1788), the great demand for Madeira wine in the English market was still new at the time

he wrote. A little further on, he states that 40 or even 30 years earlier, it was considered by Londoners only as an ordinary white wine.

⁴ The recipe of the whip syllabus was plagiarised in the 1787 edition of “The London Art of Cookery” (Table 1: No 25). The author of this cookbook, John Farley, stole other recipes, not only from Elizabeth Raffald, but also from Hannah Glasse (Lehmann, 1999; Snodgrass, 2004).

⁵ Noël Cossart (1984) testifies that Madeira wine is still used to prepare jellies at the time he writes.

15)¹. The rest primarily describe meat dishes—including game-based confections², namely stewed partridges (Table 1: No 13)—such as ox palates (Table 1: No 12). There is a lamb dish (Table 1: No 11) also and three other

entrees whose titles deserve an explanation: “To dress a turtle a hundred weight” (Table 1: No 8), “To dress a mock turtle” (Table 1: No 9) and “To dress a mock turtle. A second way” (Table 1: No 10).

Table 1 - Recipes with Madeira wine in cookbooks published during the 2nd half of the 18th century in the United Kingdom

N o.	Reference	Recipe title	Wines used
1	Glasse, 1760, pp. 331–332	To dress a turtle the West-Indian way	Madeira wine (p. 331, 332)
2	Glasse, 1760, p. 340	To dress a mock turtle	Madeira wine (p. 340)
3	Glasse, 1760, p. 368	To make shouder, a sea-dish	Madeira wine (p. 368)
4	Glasse, 1760, p. 382	To pickle a bottock of beef	bottle of red port or Madeira wine (p. 382)
5	Shackleford, 1767, p. 135–138	[...] Best method of dressing turtles	good madeira wine (p. 138)
6	Shackleford, 1767, p. 91	To make a brown fricassé of eggs	Madeira (p. 91)
7	Shackleford, 1767, p. 250–251	To make a rich giblet soup	Madeira wine (p. 250)
8	Raffald, 1769, pp. 12–16	To dress a turtle a hundred weight	Madeira wine (p. 12, 13, 14)
9	Raffald, 1769, pp. 71–72	To dress a mock turtle	Madeira wine (p. 72)
10	Raffald, 1769, p. 73	To dress a mock turtle. A second way	Madeira wine (p. 73)
11	Raffald, 1769, p. 97	To force a quarter of lamb	Madeira wine (p. 97)
12	Raffald, 1769, p. 106	To stew ox palates	Madeira wine (p. 106)
13	Raffald, 1769, p. 119–120	To stew partridges	Madeira wine (p. 119)
14	Raffald, 1769, p. 149	An apricote pudding	Madeira wine (p. 149)
15	Raffald, 1769, pp. 167–168	To make calves foot jelly	Lisbon or Madeira or any pale made wine (p. 167)
16	Raffald, 1769, p. 176–177	To make a floating island	Madeira wine (p. 176)
17	Raffald, 1769, pp. 183–184	Whip syllabubs	Madeira wine or French brandy (p. 184)
18	Raffald, 1769, pp. 294–295	To make a sweet panada	sack or Madeira wine (p. 294)
19	Glasse, 1777, pp. 257–258	To dress a turtle the West-India way	Madeira wine (p. 257, 258)
20	Glasse, 1777, pp. 263–264	To dress a mock turtle	Madeira wine (p. 264)

¹ It is relevant to mention here a homonymous dessert—*île flottante*—still very popular in France today, and qualified by Auguste Escoffier's *Guide culinaire* (Escoffier, 1903) as an English specialty. However, the dessert described in his work and others published later (Gringoire et al., 1923) is

very different from those proposed by Elisabeth Raffald, Madeira wine not being part of the ingredients in either case.

² In his 1787 cookbook, John Farey also proposes a recipe of fowls seasoned with Madeira wine (Table 1: No 23).

21	Glasse, 1777, pp. 295–296	To pickle a bottock of beef	bottle of red Port or Madeira wine (p. 296)
22	Farley, 1787, p. 22–26	Turtles	Madeira wine (pp. 23, 25)
23	Farley, 1787, pp.119–120	Fowls à-la-braise	Madeira wine (p. 119)
24	Farley, 1787, p. 148	Mock-turtle soup	Madeira (p. 148)
25	Farley, 1787, p. 327–328	Whip syllabubs	Madeira wine or French brandy (p. 328)

Source: Developed by the author

By “turtle” we must understand more specifically the green turtle (*Chelonia mydas*) from the West Indies¹. It was there that the habit of eating this delicacy first appeared, where was already part of the diet of English settlers during the 17th century (Parsons, 2000; Ching 2016). On the American continent, we find a reference to a dish with this meat, seasoned with black pepper in a 1742 letter from Eliza Lucas Pinckney². This lady, owner of a plantation in South Carolina, belonged to a family from Antigua (Pinckney, 1984), a Caribbean Island where the green turtle was

appreciated by the gentry since the previous century as explained below. In 1758, Eliza Lucas Pinckney informs George Morley that Mr P. sent specimens to friends in the United Kingdom³, so it seems terrapin meat was already consumed on the other side of the British Atlantic, too⁴. Two years later, Andrew Burnaby wrote in a letter addressed to George Washington that he dined on turtle during his stay in Philadelphia⁵. There are many other documents of the founders of the American nation, explicitly mentioning the transport and consumption of this animal⁶.

¹ In 1813, Henry Lee offered John Madison “some very fine madeira five years old with a green Turtle the largest I can procure [in Barbadoes]”. PJM: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/JSMN-03-06-02-0469>. Cf. Parsons, 2000; Ching 2016. Jean-Baptiste Labat (1722), who visited the Antilles at the end of the 17th century, calls it “tortue verte” and “tortue franche”, attributing medicinal virtues to its meat.

² PELP&HP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/PIHO-01-01-02-0098>. Eliza Pinckney mentions again how to prepare the turtle in a letter written in 1753. PELP&HP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/PIHO-01-01-02-0222>. An entry in her cookbook, dated 1756, mentions a turtle recipe contained in a work she compiled earlier: “NB An Excellent Receipt (and very particular) to dress Turtle in my other receipt Book No: 1.”. “Another way”, PELP&HP: <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/PinckneyHorry/ELP1343>. The technique for preparing this protein is also described in *American Cookery*, the first cookbook to be published in the United States of America, in 1796 by Amelia Simmons (Haff, 2011).

³ Eliza Pinckney (1984) lived in London between 1753 and 1758.

⁴ PELP&HP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/PIHO-01-01-02-0245>. See also PELP&HP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/PIHO-01-01-02-0254>. PELP&HP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/PIHO-01-01-02-0255>. PELP&HP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/PIHO-01-01-02-0256>. PELP&HP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/PIHO-01-01-02-0263>. PELP&HP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/PIHO-01-01-02-0314>. PELP&HP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/PIHO-01-01-02-0309>.

PELP&HP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/PIHO-01-01-02-0349>. PELP&HP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/PIHO-01-01-02-0361>. PELP&HP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/PIHO-01-01-02-0359>. PELP&HP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/PIHO-01-01-02-0415>.

⁵ PGW: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-02-06-02-0248>.

⁶ The documents usually refer to dinners where green turtle had a prominent place Those that date back to the War of Independence, sometimes specify that it comes from boats captured from the English by the insurgents. Cf. AP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ADMS-01-02-02-0004-0006-0013>. AP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ADMS-01-02-02-0004-0007-0023>. AP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ADMS-06-03-02-0086>. AP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ADMS-06-03-02-0089>. AP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ADMS-06-03-02-0113>. AP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ADMS-06-03-02-0119>. AP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ADMS-06-03-02-0149>. PGW: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-03-05-02-0461>. PGW: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-03-15-02-0343>. PGW: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-03-15-02-0385>. PGW: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-03-15-02-0412>. PGW: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-03-15-02-0412>.

In regard to the United Kingdom, it was in 1728 that the royal family had the opportunity to taste this delicacy for the first time, but it would be necessary to wait for the middle of this century for it to be definitively adopted by the most fortunate (Wilson, 1991; Parsons, 2000; Ching, 2016), giving way to the famous turtle feasts (Kirby et al., 2007; Mandelkern, 2013). It would quickly become the fad of London high society. Being a very expensive product, all parts of the animal were used¹. They were served separately during the same meal, being particularly appreciated in the form of “potages”, that is broths². This protein became what May-bo Ching (2016) calls an “Empire food”, i.e., a marker of belonging to the social

elite, remaining as such until the 20th century³. There is already a handwritten recipe entitled “To dress a turtle. The West-Indian way” at the end of the 4th edition of Hannah Glasse's cookbook entitled “The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy; [...]”⁴ published in London in 1751 (Glasse, 1751 apud Wilson, 1991; Ching, 2016). In the next edition, dated 1755, the recipe is now printed. It would be reproduced again, together with other additions, at the end of the 1760 edition (Table 1: No 1). The author explains in detail how to prepare different dishes from a whole terrapin, including a soup (“soop”), fins, lights, callepy and callepash⁵. The ingredients differ a little from the recipe

15-02-0416. AP:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ADMS-06-13-02-0170>. FO:
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-11599>. PGW:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-04-01-02-0249>. AP:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ADMS-04-05-02-0187>. AP:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ADMS-04-06-02-0119>. AP:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ADMS-04-06-02-0122>. PGW:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-01-04-02-0002-0011-0021>. AP:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ADMS-03-02-02-0001-0006-0028>. DHRC:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/RNCN-02-03-02-0004-0012-0002-0005>. DHRC:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/RNCN-02-22-02-0002-0008-0001>. DGM:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GRMS-02-01-02-0002-0001-0008>. DGM:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GRMS-02-01-02-0002-0001-0017>. DGM:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GRMS-02-01-02-0003-0001-0015>. DHFFCUS:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/FFCP-01-09-02-0001-0002-0121>. DGM:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GRMS-02-01-02-0005-0004-0025>. PTJ:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-17-02-0136-0004>. DHFFCUS:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/FFCP-01-20-02-0003-0041>. DGM:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GRMS-02-02-02-0001-0002-0022>. AP:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ADMS-04-10-02-0009>. DGM:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GRMS-02-01-02-0003-0001-0015>. AP:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ADMS-01-03-02-0013-0003-0019>. DGM:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GRMS-01-02-02-0003-0007-0017>. DGM:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GRMS-01-02-02-0004-0008-0013>. PAH:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ARHN-01-26-02-0001-0088>. AP:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/default.xqy?keys=FOEA-print-03-03-02-1328>. DGM:

<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GRMS-01-02-02-0008-0010-0025>. DGM:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GRMS-01-02-02-0009-0010-0023>. DGM:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GRMS-01-02-02-0010-0007-0022>. DGM:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GRMS-01-02-02-0011-0009-0011>. PELP&HP:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/PIHO-01-01-02-0683>. PJM:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/JSMN-03-03-02-0469>. AP:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/default.xqy?keys=FOEA-print-03-03-02-3180>. FO:
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-03-02-4670>. PDW:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/WBST-01-06-02-0228>.

¹ This was already the case among settlers in the Antilles at the end of the 17th century, according to the account of Jean-Baptiste Labat (1722). This author claims that the fat itself would be used for frying and the eggs were enjoyed in the form of omelets.

² In the United States of America, we already find a reference to the turtle specifically for making soup, in an entry in the diaries of Gouverneur Morris, dated 1789. DGM: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GRMS-02-01-02-0002-0001-0008>. There are occasional references to this dish in the correspondence of the 1st half of the 19th century, as well. FO: <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-03-02-4670>.

³ In the 1960s, turtle consumption had already declined among the privileged classes of the Western world at the same time that it entered the diet of the popular classes. The green turtle is currently a species subject to a strict protection regime in the territorial waters of countries where populations of this marine reptile still exist (Parsons, 2000). Its consumption continues to be exceptionally authorized at weddings in the Seychelles Archipelago (oral information from an inhabitant of Mahé in 2008).

⁴ On Hannah Glasse, cf. Lehmann, 1999.

⁵ In his dictionary of cuisine, Alexandre Dumas (1873, p. 345–347) mentions an American dish called “calape”. It is a turtle stew, dry Madeira wine being part of the list of ingredients. It corresponds to what the founding father of the American nation, John Adams, calls “Callipee” in a letter dated 1775. AP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ADMS-06-03-02-0089>.

recorded in 1794 by Jean-Baptiste Labat¹ in the French Antilles, but despite the absence of lemon and nutmeg, there are several similarities. Both are seasoned with pepper, clove and chili. Madeira wine was now used to cook the belly meat among other parts and to enhance the sauce in which the fins are served, no alternative to this beverage being suggested. The recipe published in the 1767 cookbook of Ann Shackleford (Table 1; No 5), given by “a gentleman who has [sic] often eaten them in those countries where they most abound” is quite different from the precedents. However, the green turtle is seasoned with Madeira wine, too, specifying that it must be of good quality. This beverage also enters in two other recipes of this work: “To make a brown fricassé of eggs” (Table 1; No 6), and “To make a rich gible soup” (Table 1; No 7).

In the second half of the 17th century, 2/3 of the wine produced in Madeira was already exported (Silva, 1995). It is well known that the American and West Indies colonies had a privileged commercial relationship with the island since the restoration of Portugal's independence in 1640 (Azevedo, 1873; Silva et al., 1922; Vieira, 2015). At the end of that same

century, the ports of New England and the Caribbean Sea became the preferred outlet for the wine shippers from Funchal, a situation that would continue until the American revolution² (Croft, 1788). This commercial relationship had a reflex in the eating habits of the richest settlers. In Virginia, an elegant dinner like that described by John Adams in 1774 would not only involve drinking Madeira wine, but also savouring turtles and several dishes mentioned above, usually made with the same wine: jellies³, whip syllabubs, and floating islands⁴. Recalling his stay at the Mann's Inn in Annapolis in 1790, Thomas Lee Shippen writes: “I never saw so fine a turtle or so well dressed a dish as he gave us the second day for dinner. Everything was of a piece—Old Madeira £80 a pipe to season it.”. Madeira wine, in addition to having probably served to flavour the terrapin meat, was the drink chosen to accompany the meal⁵. It also served at this time to make sweet dishes, often accompanied with the same beverage. Indeed, a year later, George Washington offered pudding to his guests at the dinner, serving old Madeira as usual on this occasion⁶.

¹ Ching (2016) argues that this recipe, lemony and rich in spices, resulted from the fusion between the culinary traditions of the natives and those of the pioneers from the Iberian Peninsula, despite noting that the Portuguese and Spanish elites never integrated turtles into their diet, as previously noted by Parsons (2000). The fact is that Jean-Baptiste Labat (1722), whom this author indicates as its source, says that he ate this same dish at the table of a settler named Mr Pocquet in 1694. His surname and the fact that he had children studying in Paris suggest that he is a wealthy French colonist. According to the missionary's account, the meat could simply be roasted on a spit, processed into soup or served with a wide variety of preparations, using techniques typical of French cuisine at the time: fricassée, daube, ragout, gribette. The hypothesis of a Hispano-Caribbean culinary fusion cannot, therefore, be based on this account, as suggested by Ching.

² In 1783, John Adams claimed that, in the United States of America, the “... Port Wines, common Lisbon, and Caracavalles had been before the war frequently used, and that Madeira, was esteemed above all other wines. That it was found equally wholesome and agreeable in the heats of Summer, and the Colds of Winter, so that it would probably continue to be preferred, though there was no doubt that a Variety of French Wines would now be more commonly used than heretofore”. AP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ADMS-06-15-02-0085>.

³ We found a jelly recipe in Eliza Pinckney's recipe book, dating from 1756. However, it is made with a mixture of Rhine and sack wine. “To make Jelly”, PELP&HP: <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/PinckneyHorry/ELP134>

⁷ Around 1820, it would be prepared with Madeira wine,

as can be seen from a passage in a letter addressed to John Adams dated that same year: “It is said jelly is only to be made twice during the Season Madeira Wine being too expensive”. FO:

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-03-02-3856>.

⁴ “Dined with Mr. Chew, Chief Justice of the Province, with all the Gentlemen from Virginia, Dr. Shippen, Mr. Tilghman and many others. We were shewn into a grand Entry and Staircase, and into an elegant and most magnificent Chamber, until Dinner. About four O Clock We were called down to Dinner. The Furniture was all rich.1 —Turtle, and every other Thing—Flummery, Jellies, Sweetmeats of 20 sorts, Trifles, Whip'd Syllabubbs, floating Islands, fools—&c., and then a Desert of Fruits, Raisins, Almonds, Pears, Peaches—Wines most excellent and admirable. I drank Madeira at a great Rate and found no Inconvenience in it.”, AP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ADMS-01-02-02-0004-0006-0023>.

⁵ PTJ: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-17-02-0136-0004>. DHFFCUS: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/FFCP-01-20-02-0003-0041>.

⁶ DHFFCUS: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/FFCP-01-09-02-0001-0003-0049>. There are two pudding recipes in Eliza Pinckney's handwritten notebook, dating from 1756, however Madeira wine is not part of the list of ingredients. “A Common Bread Pudding”, PELP&HP: <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/PinckneyHorry/ELP129> 9. “To make a water pudding”, PELP&HP: <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/PinckneyHorry/ELP129> 0. Her daughter, Harriott Pinckney (1984) also includes several pudding recipes in her cookbook, dating from 1770.

Some authors claim that the popularity of the wine shipped from Funchal in the United Kingdom was boosted by the return of US independence war veterans (Simon et al., 1933; Cossart, 1984; Sandy, 1988; Gregory, 1988; Hailman, 2009) and the increase of the triangular trade between England, America and the Iberian nations (Unwin, 1991)¹. It quickly became the preferred drink at the court after being adopted by King George IV (Cossart, 1984; Sandy, 1988), now being seen as a luxury stuff. However, in the “Dissertation on the use of wines in general-Britain [...]” printed in 1788, John Croft’s explanation was different. According to this author (Croft, 1788), Madeira wine gained fame in London thirty or forty years before the moment he writes—1788—due to its medicinal virtues², being previously cheaper than an ordinary white wine³. So, its popularity in the Empire capital started close to the same time as that of the turtle. It now reached extremely high values in that market, especially the vinho de roda, matured on board during a long trip aboard ship in hot areas⁴.

So, at that time, it would be possible to acquire Madeira wine to cook the turtle on both sides of the British Atlantic⁵. It does not necessarily mean that its meat was obligatorily prepared in the same way everywhere. In fact, the recipe proposed by Elizabeth Raffald in her 1769 cookbook, published in Manchester, is distinguished from its West Indies version, by the addition of typical ingredients of the *Nouvelle Cuisine* (Flandrin, 1996), such as artichokes and mushrooms, in powder form, or whole. Its author specifies that these are morels, but also truffles (Table 1: No 8). This wild fungus, endemic in several provinces of France, became the “sacrum sacrorum” of gastronomes from the first half of the 19th century onwards (Dumas, 1873). In this sense, Elizabeth Raffald’s turtle recipe reflects the early Francisation of English cuisine, this mushroom being used in its confection, along with morels⁶. In 1773, “An Old Fellow” already deplored the fact that “instead of that firm roast-beef, that fragrant pudding, our tables groan with the luxuries of France and India”, in an article published by the London Magazine (Bickham, 2008). Being so, when Madeira wine conquered the Empire capital, English high

¹ Direct commercial relations between Madeira and the United Kingdom would be sporadic throughout the 17th century and during much of the following century (Unwin, 1991).

² Regarding the medicinal uses of Madeira wine, see: McBride, 1793. An almanac, published in 1756 in the city of Philadelphia, already mentions this beverage in the description of a treatment for acute fevers (“For the Ague or Intermittent Fever”). FO: <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-06-02-0136>. “For an Ague of Fever”, PELP&HP: <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/PinckneyHorry/ELP127.1>. “For an Intermittent Fever”, PELP&HP: <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/PinckneyHorry/ELP127.0>. In 1778, the hospital of Bethlehem (Pennsylvania?) received counterfeit Madeira wine, intended for medicinal purposes. PGW: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-03-13-02-0564>. The authentic one continued to be used to treat acute fevers in the United States throughout the 19th century. AP: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/default.xqy?keys=FOEA-print-03-02-02-5755>.

³ A sentence in scene II of Shakespeare’s “Henry IV” suggests the import of wine from Madeira to London already in the 16th century (Shakespeare, 1887). The storytelling disseminated by the Madeira wine stakeholders often mention this famous author (<https://www.visitmadeira.com/pt-pt/a-madeira/historia/ciclo-do-vinho>).

⁴ This kind of “nomad aging”, attested by this same author (Croft, 1788), was known in Portuguese under the name of “vinho de roda” (Silva et al., 1922; Vieira, 2015; Vieira, 2016; Vieira, 2017). The need for this voyage is justified by John Croft (1788) by the fact that Madeira wine is not fully

fermented when it is shipped, and not being preserved when subjected to the climate of England. West India Madeira and East India Madeira were then distinguished, depending on whether the pipes travelled to America or India. This practice continued until the beginning of the 20th century, being ultimately abandoned due to its high cost (Cossart, 1984). Guimerá Ravina (2004) also considers that the vinho de roda was in high demand in the second half of the 18th century. However, he does not provide any precise date, nor the source on which the proposed dating is based. In 1788, Seabra Silva e Teles attests to the practice of shipping Douro wine to India, Brazil and the North and then returning it to the starting point. He goes on to say that the winemaking process used in the Douro Valley is similar to that of Madeira (Teles, 1788).

⁵ The first edition of Hannah Glasse’s cookbook published in 1747 does not contain any turtle recipe, which leads to the belief that its consumption in England only appeared after 1750, as several authors argue (Wilson, 1991; Clarkson, 2010; Ching, 2016).

⁶ The influence of French cuisine was also already felt in the American colonies before the war (Pinckney, 1984). We know that settlers used truffles, morels, and other mushrooms in the mid-18th century, forming part of a Eliza Pinckney’s recipe, dating from 1756. Cf. “To Dobe a Rump of Beef”, PELP&HP: <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/PinckneyHorry/ELP124.8>. This lady also has a recipe for a stew of mushrooms, truffles and morels, and other one, untitled, with the same ingredients. Cf. “To Stew Mushrooms”, PELP&HP: <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/PinckneyHorry/ELP129.1>. Untitled, PELP&HP: <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/PinckneyHorry/ELP131.1>. However, in her writings, the use of Madeira wine is restricted to the field of medicine. See note above.

society was already surrendered to the new culinary fashion from the neighbouring country (Lehmann, 1999). Vincent Chapelle would have been its main ambassador to make it known in the United Kingdom, where he practiced his profession for a while (Hyman et al., 1996). It was also in London that he published the first edition of “The Modern Cook” in 1735. He contributed to the dissemination of this new range of foodstuffs, including the truffle. The association of Madeira wine with mushroom and turtle was natural, all these foodstuffs being seen at this time as highly prized ingredients. We find the same combination in Glasse’s recipe for shoulders (Table 1: No 3). The French influence also had

a reflex in the names given by English cooks to new dishes, such as the *fowls à-la-braise* (Table 1: No 23), flavoured with Madeira wine, as well, published in the 1787 edition of Farey’s cookbook.

The elite’s greed for turtles can be measured not only by the longevity of the recipes (Suzanne, 1894; Escoffier, 1903), but also because it was quickly the subject of an imitation, replacing the reptile meat, which was increasingly difficult to find, with bovine heads. It gave rise to the so-called “mock turtle” immortalized by one of the characters in the famous children’s tale “Alice in Wonderland” a few decades later (Fig. 3).

Figure 3 - Alice sitting between Gryphon and Mock turtle. John Tenniel’s original (1865) illustration for Lewis Carroll’s “Alice in Wonderland”.



Source: Wikimedia Commons

The fame of this new dish was lasting and gained borders like the one that inspired it (Table 1: No 24; Suzanne, 1894; Escoffier, 1903; Simon et al., 1933). We already find versions of this Victorian classic in the work of Elizabeth Raffald (“To dress a mock turtle”,

Table 1: No 9) (“To dress a mock turtle. A second way”, Table 1: No 10), and also in the 1777 edition of the cookbook by Hannah Glasse (“To dress a mock turtle”, Table 1: No 20¹). In both cases, Madeira wine flavoured this alternative to terrapin meat, together with

¹ Contrary to what Ching (2016) defends. The fact that this author believes that this recipe only appeared in the 19th

century, led her to suppose that it had been created to satisfy at a lower cost the growing number of cookbook

artichokes, truffles, and morels, which was now already a usual combination with this kind of protein¹.

It appears from what was said above that in the third quarter of the 18th century, Madeira was already used as an ingredient for different types of preparations appreciated by the British elite. It remains to be seen which kind(s) was (were) preferred by cooks at the time. Unfortunately, the first recipes do not normally specify which one should be². The authors sometimes suggest alternatives, which does not in itself guarantee that they have organoleptic properties like the one they replace. The Madeira wine recommended by Elizabeth Raffald for her jelly could thus be exchanged for Lisbon wine³ “or any pale made wine” (Table 1: No 15). Although the appellation “pale wine”⁴ is usually reserved for whites, nothing guarantees, however, that this author's first option is also the same. On the other hand, the latter can be exchanged for “French brandy” (Table 1: No 17) in the “Whip syllabubs” recipe, or for “sack” to make “Sweet panada” (Table 1: No 18). This last designation derives from the Spanish “*vino de sacca*” as opposed to “*vino secco*”, i.e., dry wine (Pope, 2004). From the end of the 15th century, it was used to refer to sweet wines from Jerez de la Frontera⁵ with a high alcohol content, capable of withstanding sea voyages, and therefore usually reserved for export, i.e., to “*sacar*” (Unwin, 1991, p. 193). Some authors believe that they were already enriched with brandy in the 17th century, when they started to be called “sherry sack”⁶ and later simply “sherry” (Unwin,

1991). After the middle of the 18th century, this practice was already the norm. Would the “Madeira wine” used in this dessert be a fortified wine, the only one to deserve this name by law⁷ today? The adding of brandy to the mash was first tried by the shippers from Funchal around 1750, becoming the standard procedure since then when it came to exports (Vasconcellos, 1889; Simon et al., 1933; Cossart, 1984; Unwin, 1991; Hancock, 1998; Hancock, 2003; Hancock, 2009; Guimerá Ravina, 2004). The technique that consists of stopping the fermentation artificially was first tried in the Bordelais, a French region known at the time for its clarets. These early fortified wines made with white grapes were known as “mistelles”. It was an invention of Gascon producers in response to the demand of the Dutch who became the main trading partners of this French province during the 17th century (Enjalbert, 1953a). Brandy, then called *vin brûlé*, *brandevin* or *brandwijn*, was already the main export of the southwestern coast of France, in the first third of that century (Enjalbert, 1953a; Enjalbert, 1953b). The Dutch mediation would contribute to the progress of winemaking techniques in other southern European countries since the mid-18th century, from this point onward this market being dominated by the English merchants (Guimerá Ravina, 2004). The treatise on viticulture by Silvestre Gomes de Moraes, published under the pseudonym Vicencio Alarte (1712), already attests to the habit among Portuguese winemakers of adding

readers belonging to the middle class and their appetite for this expensive dish. Another possibility should be considered, namely that it arose in response to supply failures resulting from the recurrent conflicts between Atlantic nations throughout this period. On the other side of the Atlantic, Harriott Pinckney (1984) also proposed a version of this dish mentioned in his recipe book, shortly after writing his first recipe in it in 1770. Madeira wine, truffles and morels are part of the list of ingredients needed to prepare it.

¹ Another addition at the end of Hannah Glasse's work explains how to make a marinade with Madeira wine for a buttock stew, also of a bovid (“To pickle a buttock of beef”, Table 1: No 21).

² We know, however, thanks to Noël Cossart (1984) that at the time he writes, there was the habit of using sercial, rainwater or verdelho both to cook the turtle soup and to accompany it.

³ Wines from the Lisbon region gained market after 1689, along with those from Madeira and the Algarve. The high alcohol content helped them to endure the trip to England (Unwin, 1991). According to John Croft (1788), Madeira

wine was the one that was best suited to the climate of the American colonies.

⁴ See also PGW: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-02-07-02-0065>.

⁵ In 1687, Hans Sloane talks about white wines from Madeira, which, once mixed with a little red and exposed to the sun, acquire a flavour reminiscent of “Sherry” or “Xeres”. His description of the manufacturing process does not at any time mention the addition of brandy (Sloane, 1707). The practice of leaving wine in the sun and keeping it in the attics of houses is mentioned a century later by José Veríssimo Alvares da Silva, as techniques used by the ancient Romans to give wine more strength (Silva, 1788).

⁶ In the last quarter of the 18th century, the word “sack” is also used alone to designate a sweet white wine from the Canaries. Duncan McBride (1793) also calls it “canary”, not specifying whether it is fortified or not.

⁷ Portaria 40/2015, 13 February, Serie I, No 28—2nd suppl., art. 2.

brandy in 1712¹. In regard to Madeira, Noël Cossart (1984) argues that the beginning of wine distillation also dates from that period, more specifically from the time of Queen Anne of England (1702–1707)². The war against the French (1702–1713) deprived the island producers of access to their privileged markets, who opted to “burn” a large part of their harvests³. But it is only around 1752/1753⁴ that the fortification of Madeira wine is attested for the first time (Cossart, 1984; Guimerá Ravina, 2004), with a ratio of 15% alcohol by volume being customary, making the wine clearer (Cossart, 1984). At first, a large part of the needed alcohol was met by cognac imported from France (Bowdich, 1826), until it yielded its place a few decades later to the aguardente from the island (Vieira, 2003; Guimerá Ravina,

2004). So, the Madeira wine used to prepare the whip syllabubs (Table 1: No 17) and sweet panada (Table 1: No 18) of the Raffald’s cookbook was probably already a fortified wine.

Although inferring the exact variety of Madeira wine based exclusively on the recipes’ description is not possible, identifying where the cookbook was written can be elucidative. Fortunately, we know well which kinds were for sale not only in the United Kingdom, but also in different areas of the British Empire. Sources from this period⁵ generally distinguish between dry wines—dry wine—made with a mixture of grapes from different varieties as opposed to malmsey, having a naturally high and sweet grade —sweet wine—⁶ and made with *malvasia* grapes only⁷. We already find this

¹ This work was first printed in 1712, but it is probably the Portuguese treatise on viticulture that Noël Cossart (1984) says was published in 1705. The ratio mentioned by the author was half of one canada of brandy for each barrel of wine. In the 1780s, English merchants from Funchal exported their wine in 110 old-gallon barrels, sometimes using slightly larger (120 old-gallons). “During the years 1782, 3, & 4 the shipping price of particular wine was £31 stlg per pipe of 110 gallons, which is the Common gauge of a Madeira pipe. ... The pipe we had the pleasure of shipping you last December, was of the age of 3 years, and of the large or Barbadoes gauge, that is instead of holding 110 gallons, contained 120”, PGW: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-04-04-02-0295>.

² According to Noël Cossart (1984), the export of brandy from Funchal is noted for the first time by William Bolton in 1704, its manufacture being, according to him, only seen then as an experiment. This English merchant, however, already mentions the brandy loaded on a boat bound for Flushing (New York) in a letter dated 1696 (Aragão, 1981: letter 13), as well as in another one sent in 1700 (Aragão, 1981: letter 95). In another correspondence, he alludes to those destined for Guinea (Aragão, 1981: letter 48) in 1698. He also reports that a boat from Dunkerque headed for Faial, in the northern coast of the island, where it was supplied with the same product along with wine in 1699 (Aragão, 1981: letter 66). All these documents indicate that Madeira would already regularly export locally distilled alcohol a few years before the date indicated by Noël Cossart for the start of its production.

³ According to Guimerá Ravina (2004), it is the adoption of the fortification that forced the English shippers of Funchal to let their wine age for at least 4 or 5 years in the cellar before embarking to harmoniously marry the brandy with the mash. Pertinent to what this scholar claims, this would also be the reason why they started to mix wines from different years.

⁴ Don Sandy (1988) argues that Francis Newton, was the first to fortify Madeira wine sometime after his arrival to Funchal in 1745. However, this author doesn’t reveal his source.

⁵ In 1773, Thomas Jefferson already made this distinction: “Mrs. Wythe puts 1/10 very rich superfine Malmsey to a dry Madeira and makes a fine wine”, PTJ: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TJSN-02-01-02-0007>. References to malmsey from Madeira are rare in

founders correspondence in the following decades. DGM: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GRMS-02-02-02-0006-0004-0020>.

PTJ: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/default.xqy?k=FOEA-print-04-01-02-5674>.

FO: <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/03-01-02-0204>. In 1819, Thomas Jefferson describes a silky wine made with a mix of dry Madeira and a little portion of malmsey. “silky wines, which are in truth a compound in their taste of the dry dashed with a little sweetishness, barely sensible to the palate. the silky Madeira we sometimes get in this country; is made so by putting a small quantity of Malmsey into the dry Madeira.”, PTJ: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TJSN-03-14-02-0324>.

PTJ: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TJSN-03-14-02-0321>.

⁶ The wine made from bunches of malvasia, immediately trodden and destemmed, can reach an alcohol content of 16° to 18° after 15 to 18 months of aging in pipes, still maintaining a sweet taste (Saint-Phalle, 1886, p. 55). Today, to be labelled as vinho Madeira, the wine made with malvasia or other grapes has to reach an alcoholic graduation of at least 17° and not be superior to 22°. Decreto Regulamentar Regional 20/85/M, 21 October, Serie I, No 242, Anexo, art. 12.

⁷ The chronicles that report the discovery of Madeira around 1419 do not mention the introduction of the *vitis vinifera* (Vieira, 2003). Nor was any cultivar identified that predated the arrival of the first settlers, contrary to what happened in the Canaries (Marsal et al., 2019). The Venetian Alvise Cadamosto, who is probably the first foreigner to visit the young colony in 1455 (and not in 1445 as claims Silva et al., 1922), reports the existence of strains of malvasia (Silva, 2018b). This traveller testified, as many others will later do, that the Infante D. Henrique ordered them to be brought from Candia, a kingdom in Crete, then under the dominion of the Republic of Venice (Aragão, 1981). Alex Liddell (2014) believes that this is the ancestor of the white grape variety with a high sugar content (between 10° and 13°) that today goes by the name of malvasia cândida. However, analysis of its molecular markers suggests that it is very close, generically speaking, to the variety known in Spain as malvasia de sitges and in Italy under the name malvasia di Sardegna, at the same time questioning its Greek origin. Eduardo Pereira ([1939]1989) doubted of this provenance a long

distinction clear in the account of Captain Cook's voyage, by Georg Forster (1777), and mentioned again a few years later by Georges Staunton (1797), who also calls the dry Madeira, "hard Madeira"¹. If we believe Noël Cossart (1984), there were already several classes of dry wines sold in London in 1760, that is, only ten years after the adoption of the fortification technique: common Madeira (dry or rich), London market, London particular, the latter being the most highly regarded. This author argues that the vinho de roda, both East India and West India classes, was already

being traded in the capital of the British Empire during the same decade². We also have a very detailed description that differentiates manufacturing processes by categories of Madeira wine, in a manuscript³ from Garachico (Tenerife) dated from about 1784, belonging to the family Brier Ponte Ximenez (Guimerá Ravina, 2004). This report, by an anonymous author, first attests that the composition and techniques applied varied significantly depending on whether the wine was destined for American ports or to London, and even at the level of each of these markets⁴. This was

time ago. Thus, the debate remains alive (Crespan et al., 2006; Rodrigues et al., 2018). In the 19th century, Álvaro Rodrigues de Azevedo (1873) had already suggested that what the first settlers called malvasia was just a generic designation given indiscriminately to the varieties cultivated in several islands of the Levant with which the Italians traded at the time, including Chios or Cyprus. This would be the wine that the English also called malmsey since the 15th century, much appreciated throughout northern Europe. Its introduction in Madeira was probably motivated by the possibility of exporting to this market (Silva, 2018b). It already had a good reputation in the mid-16th century according to the testimony of André Thevet (1878). The storytelling disseminated by the Madeira wine stakeholders often refers to the legend of the Duke of Clarence (<https://www.visitmadeira.com/pt-pt/a-madeira/historia/ciclo-do-vinho>), and the MWC has even marketed a bottle with his name for a long time. This aristocrat was incarcerated in London prison, drowned in a barrel full of malvasia in 1478. This episode should attest to imports from Madeira to England at the end of the 1400s. But contrary to what certain authors have suggested (Câmara, 1841; Mauro, 2019), this story does not specify that the malmsey where the British aristocrat drowned came from the Portuguese colony (Azevedo, 1873; Pereira, [1939]1989). It would then continue to be imported from the eastern Mediterranean, as we have just seen, the oldest references to that exported from Funchal being no earlier than 1537 (Simon, 1907).

Alex Liddell also mentions the tradition according to which malvasia babosa, another variety present for a long time in Madeira Island (Liddell, 2014), was introduced by the Florentine nobleman Simão Acciaiuoli. His source seems to be Álvaro Rodrigues de Azevedo (1873), according to which it was the Italian expatriates and not the Infante D. Henrique to whom we must give credit for the acclimatisation of malvasia, specifically mentioning this Italian merchant, who arrived in Madeira in 1515. In his view, such a late date is confirmed by the fact that Azurara does not mention wine among the products that make up this overseas territory in his chronicle of the discoveries. The commentator of *Saudades da Terra* does not specify, however, whether he is referring to the candida or the babosa variety of malvasia, to which Liddell specifically alludes. The fact is that there is no source from that period or later to confirm this version of the facts, although it is known today through phylogenetic studies that the malvasia babosa has Italian ancestry. It would be the result of a cross between malvasia di Sardegna—the malvasia cândida as it is called in the region—and the mourisco branco from the mainland of Portugal, known in Spain as hében and from which derive many cultivars that we currently find in the Iberian Peninsula (Zinelabidine et al., 2015).

¹ Alfred Lyall (1827) contrasts dry Madeira with malmsey, sercial, bual and tinta. The criterion followed in this case is the commercial value of these wines, the last three costing twice as much as the price of the first.

² According to David Hancock (2009), around 1775 there is already the habit of reserving new wines for markets in hot climates. This author claims that the first "wheel trip" to western India took place in 1749 and to eastern India in 1772. Alberto Vieira (2003), in turn, states that the oldest documentary reference to vinho de roda dates back to 1722. In a previous publication, he mentions that the wine "de torna viagem" or "East India Madeira" was already on sale in London around 1730, without substantiating this statement. Immediately afterwards, he quotes Artur Alberto Sarmento who, contrary to him, places the beginning of this practice only at the end of the 18th century (Vieira, 1991). More recently, Augustin Guimerá Ravina (2004) indicated the birth of this practice as being a little earlier, around 1750, and not during the 19th century as Tim Unwin (1991) does.

According to historical documents published by Noël Cossart (1984), the vinho de roda is explicitly attested in 1783 by a catalogue from the Christie's, which reports the sale in London of a pipe with 5 years aging in West Indies. Another document of this type dating from 1790 also refers to 30 pipes from India. In 1796, it was the turn of a "Madeira London Particular (vintage 1791)" with the same origin to be sold. A year earlier, 39 London Particular pipes that had made the trip to Brazil are sold by the same auction house. In 1815, a batch of 3000 bottles of "East India and West India" bottled between 1812 and 1814 were sold at once by the Brook's Club on account of the dissolution of a trading company. The fame of the vinho de roda was then established for a long time. In 1808, James Leander Cathcart writes to James Madison the following: "I have not been able to procure any Wine on this Island [su]perior to what I sent to Washington Bowie for Sale. A Voyage to [the] East Indies, or other Warm Climates, is the only thing that [am]eliorates Madeira Wine". FO: <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/99-01-02-2665>.

³ This document was intended for Tenerife producers who were dedicated to producing fake Madeira for export (Guimerá Ravina, 2004). From now on, we will refer to this document as the Tenerife manuscript.

⁴ Georg Forster claims that wines destined for the North American, West and East Indies markets would be of lower quality than those sold in London (Forster, 1777). We know, thanks to a letter sent in 1786 to George Washington by Lamar Hill Bisset & Co., that the prices of the different classes of Madeira wine were fixed annually by the British Factory and the English Consul in Madeira according to the quality and quantity available: "the shipping prices of the different denominations of wine are annually fixed upon at a meeting of the Consul and factory, at a season of the

confirmed by John Croft, who, in 1788, already distinguished the “London or English Madeira” and the “American Madeira”¹, called “Rainwater” from the end of the 18th century, afterwards becoming very popular in Great Britain (Cossart, 1984). However, the “vino Particular”, known locally under the name London particular², and the “Vino de embarque

para Londres”, that is, the London market³ were the most appreciated by consumers from the Empire’s capital. The first, as we have already seen, was the top of the range. It would have been exclusively prepared with grapes from the best vineyards on the south coast of Madeira: verdelho⁴ and boal and, perhaps, some vidonho⁵. It could be eventually mixed

year, namely the last day of December, when the new wines are already clear, and a competent judgement can be formed of their quality and quantity; upon which two circumstances the shipping prices are principally dependent”.

PGW: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-04-04-02-0295>. The British Factory was a corporate organisation founded in the mid-17th century, which defended the interests of members of the English community in Funchal involved in the wine business (Gregory, 1988; Newit, 1988).

¹John Croft (1788) also mentions a “New York Madeira” on the next page in a footnote, reminiscent of the “Vino [...] de Nueva York”, described in the Tenerife manuscript, dated about 1784 (Vieira, NA). However, it appears that it designates a new Madeira wine that has been boiled to acquire properties similar to those of the vinho de roda. A list of prices, practiced by English traders in 1778, is based on a classification system largely in agreement with that used in the sources mentioned above: London particular, London market, New-York, cargo and common (Vasconcellos, 1889).

²John Barrow (1806), who visited Madeira in 1792, also mentioned the London particular as a quality product. We found another classification in the work of Duncan MacBride (1793) that presents, however, some similarities with the two previous ones: West-Indies, Philadelphia, New York, London, Particular, these last two being considered the best by the author. By Particular, London particular should be understood as being the top of the range, as can be seen a few pages later (MacBride, 1793). Although it was usually destined for the English market, London particular was also sometimes shipped to the United States of America, as can be seen from an advertisement published in the Georgia Gazette (No 885, 9/10/1800, p. 1). There are already several references to it in founders’ correspondence since 1779, which shows that this class of wine was also appreciated on the other side of the Atlantic for a long time. PELP&HP:

<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/PIHO-01-01-02-0456>. DHFFCUS:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/FFCP-01-03-02-0002-0086>. DHFFCUS:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/FFCP-01-04-02-0033-0002>. DHFFCUS:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/FFCP-01-06-02-0070-0001>. DHFFCUS:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/FFCP-01-04-02-0036-0002>. DHFFCUS:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/FFCP-01-06-02-0070-0004>. DHFFCUS:
<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/FFCP-01-01-02-0002-0304>. FO:
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-11598>. FO:
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-26-02-0002-0176>. FO:
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-06-02-0076-0002-0001>. FO:
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-06-02-0077>. FO:
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-11-02-0480>. Both London particular and London market are

listed in a schedule of rates transcribed in an American Treasury report dated 1792. PAH:

<https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ARHN-01-11-02-0113>. There is, also, a mention to “1 pipe, 2 hds & 1 qr. cask good market Madeira wine” commissioned by the president of the United States of America James Madison in 1811, which may be the London market originally intended for the customers of England, as we saw earlier. Cf.

PJM: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/JSMN-03-04-02-0294>;

PJM: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/JSMN-03-04-02-0306>. In turn, Noël Cossart (1984, p. 60) considers that the American Madeira would also be considered as one of the best by Londoners in the 18th century without, however, mentioning any source.

³This commercial denomination is still mentioned in 1809 in a letter from William Simons of the East India House. The author refers to the “India Market Madeira Wine” but paler and lighter than the London market, its quality being comparable or even superior to the London particular (Cossart 1984).

⁴The American consul in Madeira sends two twigs of verdelho to George Washington in 1786. PGW: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-04-04-02-0177>.

⁵That is in contradiction to the idea that this is what the verdelho variety would then be called vidonia, defended by Noël Cossart (1984). Also, despite what Cyrus Redding (1836) says, “vidogna” being mentioned immediately before verdelho in his list of grape varieties cultivated in Madeira around 1836. Richard Shannon (1805) already did the same in 1805, having visited the island in 1789. In regard to Portuguese sources, there is the description of Madeira around 1580 by Gaspar Frutuoso. This author sometimes distinguishes between the malvasia and the vidonho vineyards that we find in these same places. This dichotomy is already evident in contemporary documents two decades before the publication of *Saudades da Terra*. Rafael Bluteau (1721) will define the word “vidonho” in the early 18th century in both the narrower or broader sense of “sarmento”, as a synonym for the variety, which recalls how Gaspar Frutuoso uses this term in the passage of the work referring to Gaula: “Os vinhos que ha nella [Gaula] de boas malvasias, que são as melhores da ilha, e de outros vidonhos que naquela ribeira [do Porto Novo] se colhem cada ano mais de trezentas pipas de vinho ...” (Azevedo, 1873, p. 79). This is confirmed by the fact mentioned a few lines above that the same place has “muitas vinhas de malvasias, e muitos vinhos de outra casta”. On the other occasions, this author clearly opposes the vidonho vines to the malvasia vines: “vinhos de malvasia e vidonhos, ...” (Azevedo, 1873, p. 78), “muitas vinhas de muitos vidonhos e de boas malvasias” (Azevedo, 1873, p. 79), “muitas vinhas de malvasias e vidonhos” (Azevedo, 1873, p. 89), “vinhas de malvasia, e bons vidonhos” (Azevedo, 1873, p. 91). Indeed, in the last decades, several authors have come to admit that the word “vidonho” could designate several classes of white grapes during the modern era. However, in the second half of the 19th century, it sometimes named a single variety, compared by French (Jullien, 1866; Boinette, 1882) and Anglo-Saxon authors (Thudichum & Dupré, 1872) to Chasselas. There is

with sweet malmsey wine at the time of shipment (Vieira, NA). We know, thanks to the testimony of Robert Stewart, who spent two weeks in Madeira in 1768, that 23 different varieties were already cultivated in the island vineyards at the time¹. So, the London particular class would be the result of a careful selection corresponding simultaneously to a restricted terroir and a small variety of cultivars. Being made exclusively from white grapes, its colour would be pale, at times being compared to that of amber². It is perhaps this variety that the recipe for the calves' foot jelly (Table 1: No 15) refers to³. As mentioned above, for the one used for desserts such as the "whip syllabubs"⁴ (Table 1: No 17) or "sweet panada" (Table 1: No 18), the proposed alternatives suggest that it should be fortified. The author of the Tenerife manuscript states that the addition of brandy imported from France—preferably at least one year old⁵—would then be the norm if the wines were destined for export. Therefore, it could be either the London particular or the London market, the second quality being distinguished from the first by its darker tone. It was obtained by adding red grapes of the negra mole, maroto, bastardo and moscatel negro, in addition to the white ones mentioned above (Vieira, NA).

In turn, in the West Indies, it would then naturally be the "vino da India [Occidental]" as it is called in the Tenerife manuscript, which was used to cook turtles. It was prepared with varieties that were less valued at the time ("menos apreciáveis"), such as listrão, sercial, verdelho de crapuza ("que es una uva pequenita y dura") and malvasia from the

Canary Islands. Even if Hannah Glasse (Table 1, No 1) and Elizabeth Raffald (Table 1: No 8, No 19) do not specify exactly which type of Madeira wine should be used to flavour this kind of protein, we can presume that "vino da India" would be the most readily available in the Caribbean ports. As for the calves' foot jelly (Table 1: No 15), it is likely that it was the superior quality, i.e. the London particular, pale in opposition to the London market type, which is red, as referred to before. In turn, when Hannah Glasse (Table 1: No 4, No 21) proposes to replace the bottle of "red Porto" with one of "Madeira wine" in the recipe "To pickle a bottock of beef", this time it could be London market, the colouring of which would be closer to that of red. However, as with alternatives recommended in other recipes, nothing proves that this option had the same attributes as the one suggested in the first instance.

The fact that Hannah Glasse mentions a bottle as a unit of measurement of the quantity of wine required for this 1760 recipe (and later in the 1777 version) deserves some explanations, too. In the 18th century, ceramic and wooden recipients were still preferred for packaging stuffs in bulk. Glass bottles were rare and expensive. As the demand surpassed the offer, they were often recycled (Busch, 1987). The first ones made in the United Kingdom during the early 17th century were designed to serve beverages, similarly to the Italian prototypes, and possessing them was a signal of good taste (Hancock, 2009; Dungworth, 2012). It was only after 1650 that a new type, known as the English bottle, would

currently no grape variety called vidonho on the island of Madeira.

¹ "We stopped near two weeks at Madeira, an African Island peopled by and under the Dominion of Portugal, that Island so well known by its excellent wines is in a most delightful Climate where extremes of heat and cold are never felt, it is covered with an eternal verdure which runs up even to the summit of its immense high Mountains, which branch out into a variety of odd Figures that, form many Valleys now converted into rich vineyards which produce no less than twenty three different species of Grapes from which nineteen thousand Pipes of wine are annually made—Citrons, Lemons, Oranges, Apples, Peaches and in short most of the Tropical and European Fruits grow there to perfection", PGW: <https://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-02-08-02-0051>. However, according to the testimony that Nicholas Cayetano de Bettencourt Pitta left us in 1812, the number of cultivated varieties would be less, precisely 13 (Pitta, 1812).

² "very choice [London] Particul[a]r Madeira Wine, of a fine Amber Colour, High Flavour, & Three years Old", FO: <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-11598>. In the mid-19th century, the London particular would already include red varieties as Negrinha in its composition (Hughes, 1845).

³ John Croft (1788) distinguishes Madeira wine coloured with "uva roxa" giving it "a foxy or deep colour" by opposition to another described as: "genuine, natural, and best sort, is of the colour of oil, and tinges in the glass, affording a hue or shade of a light blue, and has a kernelly taste like a walnut".

⁴ We already find a reference to a "whipt syllabub" made with white wine in an unidentified cookbook, compiled by an anonymous author in Virginia around 1700 (Harbury, 2004).

⁵ Such as adding gypsum and also egg whites to clarify the wine (Guimerá Ravina, 2004). The gypsum was still used by Madeiran producers to make wine in the 2nd quarter of the 19th century (Taylor, 1840).

make it possible to store and transport liquids. Stronger than foreign glass, it would rapidly gain the preference of metropolitan and colonial drinkers (Hancock, 2009). One of the first specimens, belonging typologically to the “onion” series dated at close of the 17th century, was discovered in 1999, during an archaeological excavation in the Spitalfields quarter of London. It was corked with its content intact, being presented to the public (Derbyshire, 1999) as a bottle full of dry wine, made with white grapes from Madeira, which is uncertain, considering the very low 6 percent of alcohol measured from a sample taken from it¹. It would be only after the beginning of the 18th century that consumers and retailers used bottles for the first time to age wine in cellars. It is worth mentioning that, at that time, Spanish and Portuguese exported their wine in casks; only the French used bottles to ship wine, often arriving broken at the destination (Hancock, 2009).

It would only be in the last quarter of that century that glass recipients became commonplace in England (Dungworth, 2012), and a little later in America, more specifically after the War of 1812 (Bush, 1987; Hancock, 2009), with most of the bottles being imported from England, where they were still considered as prestige items (Hancock, 2009). In the period 1775–1835 there were forty factories in the United Kingdom, with an annual production

of 10 to 20 million bottles (Dungworth, 2012). The first ones containing Madeira wine, known up to now, are from this era. The oldest collection in the United States of America contains one specimen imported to Philadelphia, that had been corked for the first time in 1796 and rebottled in 1888². In regard to France, an inventory reports 1 539 bottles of Madeira in the cellar of the Palace of Versailles in 1782 (Lucio, 2019). In Madeira Island, the private collection of the Blandy family includes some specimens dated from the end of the 18th century, too³.

During a recent intervention carried out at No 128–132 of Rua dos Ferreiros in Funchal, a fragment of a glass bottle was discovered, bearing the initials “I I” and the date 1749, hot-printed on a blob seal on its flank (Fig. 4; Pereira, 2020). It is the first time that a seal, previously documented in England and in the British colonies (Jeffries and Major, 2015) has been attested in the Portuguese island. Those consisting only of initials were often associated with wealthy settlers, merchants and shippers, who sold wines and bottles, wishing to individualise their personal possessions (Pope, 2004; Jeffries and Major, 2015). The indication of the date is rare, even within the collections of London museums. Some authors believe that they would mark an important moment in the owner's life, but this hypothesis is far from unanimous (Jeffries and Major, 2015).

¹ In 1687, Hans Sloane defines “Madeira wine” as very strong, which is usually drunk diluted with water. This naturalist mentions three varieties of grapes: “White, Red and great Muscadine, or Malvasia”. He distinguished the “white wines”, which have a high alcohol content and are those that change more quickly (Sloane, 1707). A copy of an article about the 1999 discovery, is displayed on the walls of the Atlantic room of the Old Blandy's Wine Lodge.

² This collection, discovered during the remodelling of the Liberty Hall Museum in New Jersey, was evaluated in 2018 by Francisco Albuquerque, the oenologist of the Madeira Wine Company. <https://www.sisab.pt/noticias/the-oldest-collection-of-madeira-wine-discovered-in-the-usa/?lang=en>

³ The Blandy family collection is displayed in the Old Blandy's Wine Lodge.

Figure 4 - Fragment of a glass bottle, bearing the date 1749 hot-printed on a blob seal discovered in 2019 during an archaeological intervention in Funchal (Pereira, 2020, Annex 3: FER2019-V-1, Photo 3.2)



Source: Liliana G. Pereira

The context of the find, behind the former home of the British consul and very successful wine shipper, Henry Veitch¹, suggests that the bottle might have originally contained Madeira wine. If true, it would have been corked ten years before the publication of the Hannah Glasse cookbook. However, according to David Hancock (2009), it would only be in the late 18th century that Funchal wine shippers began to use seals to identify the bottles they exported. So, the 1749 specimen was probably only for private use, such as those mentioned by Hannah Glasse, which would be owned by the reader, using it to supply himself from the usual retailer or tavern as was usual at this time (Hancock, 2009).

Despite the omissions and the inaccuracies, the confrontation of the recipe's corpus analysed below with other kinds of sources from the same period, provide a better understanding of how the Madeira wine went from the glass to the plate. From the beginning, Funchal attracted merchants from different nationalities. Many British who began arriving

in the 17th century rapidly formed the most influential and solid expatriate community (Azevedo, 1873). They took advantage of their privileged relations with the colonial empire of their nation to prosper as wine shippers and general traders, the two activities complementing each other (Silva et al., 1922; Liddel, 2014; Mutch, 2016; Silva, in press). They sent Madeira wine to the West Indies and the American colonies, rapidly turning into the favourite drink of the colonial elite in these outermost territories of the British Empire (Hancock, 1998; Hancock, 2003; Vieira, 2003; Hancock, 2005; Hancock, 2009; Vieira, 2015). Furthermore, the English settlers soon adopted the native habit of consuming green turtles, creating their own ways to cook this delicacy. Madeira wine was now used to flavour it, making this beverage indispensable at any party, not only for making toasts but also as an ingredient in the food. It was also added to puddings, jellies, sweet panadas and whip syllabubs, on the menu during these festive occasions, also. So, Madeiran wine was used to prepare not only salty dishes and desserts,

¹ The property, located between the Avenida 5 de Outubro and the Rua dos Ferreiros, front of the Jesuits' College of Funchal, was later acquired by the wine shippers Cossart & Co (Rodrigues, 2012) and afterwards by the Companhia

Vinícola da Madeira. It now belongs to the Madeira Wine, Embroidery and Handicraft Institute. On Henry Veitch, cf. Gregory, 1988.

but also cocktails, which they called mixed drinks in the old days. At that time, the wine shipped from Funchal, normally consumed until the middle of the year following the harvest¹, was now susceptible to aging. Before, it was a cheap and simple table wine among others, according to David Hancock. Successive innovations² would be necessary to substantially alter its manufacturing process by stages during the 18th century/early 19th century³. This leads this scholar to place the “invention” of Madeira wine as we know it today at this stage (Hancock, 1998; Hancock, 2003; Hancock, 2009). The changes in the winemaking process, including fortification, contribute to substantially ameliorating the final product. That being the case, it was already as an icon of cosmopolitanism and luxury that this Madeira wine conquered the London consumers. As such, the cooks at the service of the English gentry naturally mixed this alcoholic ingredient with truffles and morels to prepare the turtle soup, the growing use of mushrooms probably being due to the influence of the French chefs established in London at the same period. This exquisite dish and other preparations made with terrapin gained more and more fans in the United Kingdom, contributing greatly to the decimation of the *Chelonia mydas* populations in the West Atlantic. The substitution of this protein by calves’ heads to prepare the mock turtle enabled the dissemination of the tendency attested by other recipes of the early days to

flavour bovine meat with Madeira wine, a combination still appreciated today.

DISCUSSION

Excepting the green turtle, which has long been the object of protection to prevent its extinction, it still is easy to find the ingredients needed to prepare the recipes described below, including the Madeira wine, which continues to be exported all around the world today. There are however notorious differences between those used to prepare these dishes in the old days and the product made today by islander winemakers, such as MWC. In the first place, the content of the bottles sold presently in France, the United States of America or Japan is mostly the same. In the golden age, on the contrary, the grapes selected, and the *modus operandi*, varied according to the target market and sometimes, at the same port, there were several options, depending on the customer profile. In any case, what the sources of this period called Madeira wine was a dry mixture of white grapes, in some case tinted with some red ones, fortified with a little brandy after pressing, and eventually more before boarding, sometimes being enriched with some malvasia. At that time, only malmsey was made exclusively with that variety of grape. Today, any good quality bottle of Madeira wine is, by rule, prepared with a single variety⁴. It may not only be malvasia, but also boal, verdelho, sercial, or more rarely terrantez, conferring different degrees of sweetness to the final product⁵. In practice, sercial, being the

¹ Cf. Simon et al. 1933; Unwin, 1991. Whether in France, Spain or Portugal, it was only wines of one year or sometimes 18 months that were exported before the second half of the 18th century according to Guimerá Ravina (2004). This scholar argues that in the specific case of Madeira, the norm would be 18 months. However, those aged two or three were considered the best ones.

² According to a local tradition, a wine shipper of Funchal called Pantaleão Fernandes invented a revolutionary technique enabling an acceleration of the winemaking process in the 1790s, heating it artificially for a few months (Vasconcelos, 1835; Vieira, 1991; Vieira, 2003; Câmara, 2002; Vieira, 2017b). The “estufa” was the name given to the facilities dedicated to this operation, which even today is a unique particularity of Madeira wine, recognized by law. Cf. Decreto Regulamentar Regional 20/85/M, 21 October, Anexo, art. 10. The Madeira wine produced according to this technique was not considered in this study for being chronologically out of range in relation to the recipe corpus analysed here.

³ The “invention” of Madeira wine has as its context a general trend of transformations in winemaking methods in the whole Atlantic area between the late 17th century and

the end of the Napoleonic wars, due to technical, social and political factors (Guimerá Ravina, 2004).

⁴ In the 1920s, the categories of Madeira wine produced were: malvasia, boal, sercial, verdelho, tinta, and Madeira. This mixture of several kinds of grapes was still the most exported at that time (Silva et al., 1922). Since the 1990s, the Madeira appellation is reserved for the less prized vinho de estufa, artificially heated to age faster, the naturally matured (método de canteiro) being, by rule, single varietal (Brazão, 1998). From this point of view, the Porto wines of today are closer to the early Madeira wine, because even the best vintages still are multiple varietal wines from a large set of authorised varieties of grapes. Cf. Portaria 413/2001, 18 April, 1st Serie B, art. 8. On the other hand, the Porto producers still fortify their wine with aguardente. Cf. Regulamento No 84/2010, 8 February, Serie 2, No 26. By law, Madeiran winemakers are currently restricted to use 95% grape neutral alcohol instead. Decreto Regulamentar Regional 20/85/M, 21 October, Serie I, No 242, Anexo, art. 8.

⁵ In regard to red grapes: bastardo, tinta da Madeira, malvasia roxa, verdelho tinto and negra mole. A few other autochthonous grapes, white and red, are authorised but

driest one, is what is closest to the early Madeira wine in terms of taste¹. Yet, in the mind of many island producers, the winemaking method has not changed significantly since the late 18th century. They

see themselves as the guardians of a very traditional know how, despite the modernisation of the production process, which has been very intense during the last 20 years (Fig. 5, 6).

Figure 5 - Aspect of the estufa room of the MWC winery at Caniçal. 19-12-2019



Source: Author

not recommended by the Madeira Wine, Embroidery and Handicraft Institute. Cf. Decreto Regulamentar Regional 20/85/M, 21 October, Serie I, No 242, Anexo, art. 3.

¹ The sercial is consequently the most adequate to replicate the recipes presented above.

Figure 6 - Aspect of the laboratory of the MWC winery at Caniçal. 19-12-2019



Source: Author

As previously mentioned, this cold perception of the producers' role was reinforced by Hancock's works, which disseminate the idea of the "invention" of Madeira wine¹. In the last decades, the use of the concept of invention has been very popular in historical and social sciences, probably more than it should be. In fact, focusing the search on the origins of a diachronic phenomenon tend to ignore minor periodic changes, artificially accentuating the impression of continuity in the long run (Wersinger-Taylor, 2018). Indeed, it is true that several innovations during the 18th century contributed to making the Madeira wine as we know it today. However, it is also undeniable that the Madeira wine produced in the golden age was very different from the Madeira wine of today. Considering what is set forth below, the reality seems to be somewhat more complex, requiring further research to clarify this question. Meanwhile, taking into account the substantial changes in the *legis arte* after the official birth of this beverage (i.e., the

moment of the "invention") could help producers to reassess the way they see themselves. Instead of simple guardians of a fixist tradition, they could assume their active role as disseminators of a living heritage, in constant evolution, openly leaving room for their creativity and healthy innovation. This change of outlook would fit the current good practices in the heritage arena, which has given more and more room to transmission agents in recent decades (Ciarcia, 2011; Bortolotto, 2012; Silva, 2016).

On the other hand, winemakers, governing entities, and other stakeholders, however, appear uncomfortable at times when the topic of conversation is food and the catering uses of Madeira wine. Questioned about this issue, they often mention the crisis of the 1980s, when this beverage lost the excellence which made it famous at a global scale. To survive, the industry exported most of the harvests in bulk². A large part of it was then used mainly

¹ Before Hancock's works, the storytelling about the origins of the Madeira wine privileged the belief in its birth from the practice of the *vinho de roda*, from the time the Portuguese began to sail around the world (Sandy, 1988). However,

this "nomad" kind of aging is documented for the first time only in the 18th century, as explained earlier.

² In 1980, only about 15% of the Madeira wine was bottled. In 1997, bulk wine still represented around 70% of the

by cuisine brigades that were less demanding in terms of quality to prepare the classic sauce Madère¹. So, in the winemaker's mind, gastronomy tends to rhyme with mediocrity, recalling a dark period of this sector of activity. On this point, this study was able to reassess, historically speaking, the relation between Madeira wine and gastronomy, revaluing it more positively than previously. The fact this drink became an ingredient at the same time it was turned into a high-priced and status-laden good, being drunk and “eaten” simultaneously in high society parties should help fight the “stigma” of the sauce Madère. Indeed, the early recipes give us no indication of a preference for using inferior quality vintages in cooking as happened in France during the 1980s. On the contrary, the wine was paired with very

expensive products, such as turtles, truffles or morels. On this point, this study provides materials for an evidence-based storytelling, available for producers desiring to more deeply explore the link between haute cuisine and Madeira wine, free of any complex. It may be done in various ways, the most obvious being to include this topic in the contents presented during guided tours to wineries of the island². Other possibilities are marketing bottles of good quality Madeira wine as a premium ingredient and creating new gastronomic experiences based on this beverage. Forgotten mixed drinks, such as the whip syllabub referred to above (Fig. 7) can also serve as inspiration for new cocktails, a niche that is increasingly promoted by producers to attract younger consumers³.

Figure 7 - Recreation of the Raffald's whip syllabub served to MWC staff on the occasion of a tasting session of 18th- and 19th-century recipes with Madeira wine. This event, organized jointly with Valentina Vezzani and Clara Freitas (Dep. of Design—University of Madeira) within the framework of the ESTG technical courses, was held at the University of Madeira, Funchal, 07/02/2022



Source: Clara Freitas

exports. France was still the major market in those days (Brazão, 1998). In the first trimester of 2022, it represented only 27.1% of the total exports according to the Direção Regional de Estatística da Madeira. <https://estatistica.madeira.gov.pt/en/download-now-3/economic/comercio-gb/comerc-vinho-gb/comerc-vinho-noticias-gb/3395-29-04-2022-in-the-1st-quarter-of-2022-the-madeira-wine-sales-in-quantity-and-value-grew-year-on-year.html>.

¹ Cf. Guichard, 1991. Mauro, 2019. Since 2001, it is illegal to export unbottled Madeira wine despite rare exceptions specified by law. Those destined to the food and catering industry must be seasoned with salt and pepper before

being exported. Portaria 39/2001, 8 May, Serie I, No 29; Despacho Normativo No. 3/2001, 5 June, Serie I, No 42. Cf. Liddell, 2014.

² The guides of the Old Blandy's Wine Lodge already share information with the visitors about pairing Madeira with food.

³ The MWC inserts cocktail recipes on the bottles of Miles, encouraging the consumers of this mark of Madeira wine to try them: <https://www.milesmadeira.com/cocktails.html>. This winery also organised the Miles Madeira Wine Cocktail Festival this year at the Hotel Savoy of Funchal, within the framework of the Blandy's Wine Festival (5-9 September 2022).

Further research into the evolution of production, trading and consumption patterns over time should have an important role to play. In the 1980s, the pioneers of the food and beverage history initiated this emerging area of research as an attempt to deconstruct popular explanations based on the rigorous study of historical documents (Flandrin & Montanari, 1996). That outlook was in harmony with the general state of art in their own disciplinary field, as the revealing of the truth was still the main goal at this time. Today, however, history and stories are both presented as narratives, as referred to before, blurring the frontiers between fiction and reality. Writing history is now mostly intended to be a perpetual recreation act, as Keith Jenkins (2003, p. 26–27) explained earlier so clearly:

“[...] in going about their work of finding various materials to work on and ‘work up’, historians shuttle between other historians’ published work(s) (stored up labour-time as embodied in books, articles, etc.) and unpublished materials. [...] The historian can then begin to organise all these elements in new (and various) ways—always looking for that longed-for ‘original thesis’—and so begins to transform the traces of the once concrete into the ‘concrete in thought’, that is, into historians’ accounts. Here the historian literally re-produces the traces of the past in a new category and this act of trans-formation—the past into history—is his/her basic job.”

As is often the case (Silva, 2015; Silva, 2021), earlier historical narratives about food and beverage continue to be disseminated through different media, even if in total contradiction with the current state of knowledge about Madeira wine (for example: Silva, in press). Such anachronistic outlooks, which Noel Salazar (2009) calls “cultural representations”, are common to other domains of social life, often being very active. In this particular case, they not only impact the perception of consumers and tourists interested in oenology. They also considerably limit the space of liberty allowed to the stakeholders of the Madeira

wine industry, dissuading them from exploring new paths. Indeed, in a business that depends closely on the obsession with tradition, it is very risky to affront such “cultural representations”, in this specific case, the curse of the sauce Madère and the stakeholders’ humble role as guardians of an unaltered know-how.

5. CONCLUSION

In “Usage des plaisirs”, the philosopher Michel Foucault (1984) claims that the simple pleasure of satisfying our curiosity is, *per se*, a legitimate reason to study the past. It is probably the main reason why so many historians keep doing their unprofitable job. It doesn’t mean that the knowledge they produce necessarily has no practical applications. In this case, the research results presented above could have a positive impact, not only on the way the producers see themselves as keepers of a drinkable tradition, but also on the storytelling about the Madeira wine they disseminate. Furthermore, it could encourage them to leave behind the bad reputation associated with the sauce Madère and explore what gastronomy had to offer to this industry. Tourism generates ever greater opportunities of revenue for winemakers (Santos, 2020)¹, and the appetite of travellers for food-related experiences is still growing (Silva, 2022). So, the present conjuncture is very propitious to fully mining this vein.

Last but not least, the previous studies about storytelling in the winemaking industry and enotourism mostly focused on the consumers and visitors, showing how narratives affect their behaviour. This case study, on the contrary, shows that updating the historical accounts based on new evidence could allow stakeholders to develop innovative strategies.

6. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Being ongoing research, the results presented here are necessarily provisional. At least this work had the merit of revealing several issues that deserve more investigation. In regard to the historical data, it is now evident that there is a lack of studies about the evolution of the

¹ In general terms, see: (Senkiv et al., 2022); specifically, about the case study of Madeira: (Abreu et al., 2019). In 1993–1997, tourists visiting the island already bought 89.9% of the fortified wine sold in the country (Brazão,

1998). In regard to the MWC, currently the Old Blandy’s Wine Lodge generates, directly or indirectly (guided visits, tastings and wine sales included), 20% of the company’s entire turnover.

winemaking process. Establishing the “invention” of Madeira wine as being in the 18th century/early 19th century seems to have induced the minimisation of innovations posterior to this period. On the other hand, whilst it appears to have first gone from the glass to the plate in the British Atlantic, it is undeniable that today it is more often associated with the French cuisine, mostly for being the main ingredient of the sauce Madère. How and when this beverage crossed the Channel is another future line of research. In regard to the field work, this study revealed the pertinence of a more thorough exploration of the data collected during guided tours in the Old Blandy’s Wine Lodge to better understand both the storytelling disseminated by the producers and their role as agents of heritagisation and touristification of Madeira wine. The next step will be the dissemination of an updated narrative based on these study results among producers and other stakeholders to observe the effective impact of storytelling changes on their business and marketing strategies.

ABBREVIATIONS

AP—The Adams Papers Digital Edition

DGM—The Diaries of Gouverneur Morris Digital Edition

DHFFCUS—Documentary History of the First Federal Congress of the United States (March 4, 1789–March 3, 1791) Digital Edition

DHRC—The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution Digital Edition

FO—Founders Online, National Archives

MWC—Madeira Wine Company

PAH—The Papers of Alexander Hamilton Digital Edition

PDM—The Papers of Dolly Madison Digital Edition

PDW—The Papers of Daniel Webster Digital Edition

PELP&HP—The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Harriott Pinckney Horry Digital Edition

PGW—The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition

PJM—The Papers of James Madison Digital Edition

PTJ—The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study was supported by CITUR—Centre for Tourism Research, Development and Innovation (Pole Madeira) and funded by national funds through FCT—Portuguese Science and Technology Foundation, under the project reference UIDB/04470/2020.

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PROCEDIMENTOS ÉTICOS

Conflito de interesses: Nada a declarar. **Financiamento:** Artigo com o apoio da FCT, através do projeto UIDB/04470/2020. **Revisão por pares:** Dupla revisão anónima por pares.



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