BIBLIOTECA CANARY WINE 2

The Wine that Perfumes the Blood

Canary Wine in World Literature

Islas CANARIAS
DENOMINACIÓN DE ORIGEN PROTEGIDA

Canary WINE



The Wine that Perfumes the Blood

Canary Wine in World Literature

BIBLIOTECA CANARY WINE 2

Islas CANARIAS
DENOMINACIÓN DE ORIGEN PROTEGIDA

Canary WINE

www.canarywine.com #canarywine

Published by
Asociación de Viticultores y Bodegueros de Canarias (AVIBO)
Calle La Palmita, 10. 38440, La Guancha,
Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
canarywine.com | info@canarywine.com

Technical Coordinator
Juan Jesús Méndez Siverio.

Scientific Coordination, Research and Text
Cultania. Gestión Integral del Patrimonio Cultural.

Scientific Director
Josué Ramos Martín (Cultania).

Documentation and Research Team
Javier Soler Segura, Adrián Negrín Ramos,
C. Cathaysa Cabeza Carrillo, Yago Viso Armada,
Beatriz Amador Estévez, Semidán León González (Cultania).

History Consultants
Javier Luis Álvarez Santos, Roberto J. González Zalacain,
Luis Francisco Cumplido Mancera, Zebensui López Trujillo,
María Nazaret Martín Pérez.

Translation
Anna Moorby, Patricia P. González-Barreda, Oscar Torres.

Graphic Design and Layout
Gabriela Mailet (Cultania)

Acknowledgements
Museo de Historia y Antropología de Tenerife, Casa del Vino de Tenerife, Instituto de Estudios Canarios, Fundación César Manrique, Bilenio, Biblioteca de la Universidad de La Laguna, Folger Shakespeare Library, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Elia Hernández Socas.

ISBN: 978-84-09-44823-4
First edition: October 2022.

© Of this edition: Asociación de Viticultores y Bodegueros de Canarias (AVIBO).
© Text Copyright: Cultania.
© Images Copyright: their respective authors and archives.
© All rights reserved.

Contents

Introduction 6

Chapter 1
Bacchus arrives on the Fortunate Isles: The Creation of *Canary Wine* 10

Chapter 2
Canary Wine Conquers the World 28

Chapter 3
Transformations in *Canary Wine* and the Search for New Ports 94

Chapter 4
Nostalgia for *Canary Wine* 150

Epilogue
The Renaissance of Canary Wine 188

Directory of Wineries that Bottle DOP Islas Canarias - Canary Wine 192

Notes and Bibliography 196

Introduction



The Merry Fiddler (1623). By Gerard van Honthorst (1592-1656). Rijksmuseum.

The title of this book, *The wine that perfumes the blood*, alludes to the most famous reference to *Canary Wine* contained in world literature. It comes from William Shakespeare's Henry IV, encapsulating in this quotation the intoxicating effects produced by this elixir from the Canary Islands.

Since Humanity discovered or adopted wine growing depending on the place and time, it has accompanied us throughout our history. There has been no civilisation that, having known this enchanting drink, has shunned it. The Bible states that Noah was the first person to plant grape vines, make wine, and experience its effects. "*Plant no other tree before the vine"*, proclaim the Greek poets. Unsurprisingly, it is seen to be a divine gift, from the God Dionysus/Bacchus, capable of bringing joy to the spirit, but also of awakening the most diverse passions. For the Greek philosopher Plato, "*there is no need to fear that wine will move the passions, for it does not move the worst of them, except among the very wicked, whose will is never sober*". Since then, history has run its course with vines planted in our fields and glasses of wine in our hands, for, as we read in *La Celestina*, "*no young man, spruce and fine, walks as briskly as a man with bread and wine*".

Literature captures this inseparable companionship. In fact, one might say that literature and wine are inseparable from one another, as wine is an essential element that alters the conduct of all manner of different characters. It is also a substance that loosens the tongue and unleashes words, and some of our most beautiful creations have been attributed to it. It infuses us with inspiration, sent from the muses or the gods, to untether the spirit and liberate it, in a way, so it is primed for literary creativity. The gifts of wine have always deserved to be sung, praised and celebrated. Vargas Llosa declared that wine is the most literary drink that have ever existed—in fact, without it, literature would never have had a reason to exist. Moreover, literature could never have existed without its presence. Over time, the result has been intoxicating. The body of writing that has glorified wine is almost as vast as the influence it has had on all kinds of arts and its prominence in our culture.

This secular literary epic is hugely important in the Canary Islands. A Macaronesian archipelago of islands located in the Atlantic, where the Ancients imagined the Elysian Fields to be, which received vines from the Old Continent to flourish here ever since. For almost three centuries, the Fortunate or Blessed Isles became the *Wine Islands*, turning their lands to the cultivation of grapevines and the production of singular wines that were held in great esteem throughout the world.

Canary Wine was shipped to the major ports around the Atlantic, and even beyond, a firm favourite in taverns and wineries, and among sailors, traders, aristocrats, and rulers alike. The coasts of the Archipelago were bristling with ships eager to load up with these wines, whose prestige, characteristics, and demand fluctuated over the years. Malvasia wine was held in the highest regard, especially by poets and playwrights, captivating the most refined palates with its flavour, perfume, and aroma. These authors wrote poems and odes in praise of *Canary Wine*, giving thanks for this ambrosia, which was fit for the gods themselves.

This publication invites you on a journey through time, through those jewels of literature that have extolled the wines of the Canary Islands. Texts have been researched and identified from different types of sources, giving greater prominence to literary texts: poetry, theatre, essays, novels, etcetera, followed by travel writings, journals, biographies, letters, philosophical works, and press articles. Although we have sought to be as exhaustive as possible, we have compiled a careful anthology of the most significant literary references and quotations. The result, presented within the pages of this book, shows the universal fame achieved by *Canary Wine*, occupying a prominent role in the writings of important authors throughout history.

We have been wanting to compile within a single volume the most significant references to *Canary Wine* in world literature for some time now. Although there are valuable contributions in the bibliography that highlight different testimonies, until now, no single work of reference has pulled them all together as comprehensively. The mission of this book, therefore, is to offer a reference and resource for those interested in the cultural and historical value of *Canary*.

The journey suggested by this publication will be divided into four chapters that follow a historical thread, from the origins of wine growing in the Canary Islands to the present day. Each unit includes a historical introduction, a characterisation of the literary genres of each period, and a brief review of the most distinguished figures who make mention of *Canary Wine*. To do this, we have included a selection of different historical documents: treaties, chronicles, memoires, council records, and notarial records. The purpose is to provide the reader with the complex historical context within which that literature was created as well as to highlight the relevance of these historical sources in order to discover the past.

In the first chapter, we explore the introduction of viticulture as an important part of the conquest and colonisation of the Archipelago, highlighting the most significant testimonies documented about this momentous moment in time, in which the lands were transformed substantially and shaped towards the production of new crops for exports, including grapevines and wine. These sources include various chronicles, as well as notarial records, council records, and registries recording the distribution of lands.

The second chapter, which spans the period roughly between 1550 and 1700, explores the first and most splendid era of the *Canary Wine* trade. A golden age that brought praise from eminent European writers, particularly from England, who tasted *Canary Wine* in their literary taverns: William Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, John Lyly, James Howell, Alexander Brome, James Shirley o Thomas Jordan, among many others, highlight the remarkable popularity of Malvasia on the island of Albion, reflected in the form of poems, songs, and plays. Around the Archipelago itself, chronicles and stories such as those of Abreu Galindo, Espinosa, Torriani, Marín de Cubas, and Núñez de la Peña, together with an important body of documentation, provide first-hand accounts of the extraordinary reach achieved by the *Canary Wine* trade, mainly with the Indies and northern Europe.

The third chapter moves forward into the 18th century and the start of the 19th century. A long period in history marked by the transformation of *Canary*

Wine and their trade. A period of fluctuation marked by the decline of Malvasia and the rise of Vidonia, which found a thriving market in the Thirteen Colonies. *Canary Wine* also achieved its greatest expansion at that time, reaching the lands flanked by the Indian Ocean. However, in the middle of the 19th century, a large proportion of the vineyards that once sprawled across the Canaries disappeared, and a new era began.

Against this backdrop, Enlightened and Romantic writers extolled the quality and diversity of *Canary Wine*. Viera y Clavijo became during this time the most prolific writer about wine on the Islands, while beyond their borders, the literary prestige of *Canary Wine* was still very much in the fore. Great figures in world literature such as John Keats, Walter Scott, Lord Byron, Giacomo Casanova, Carlo Goldoni, Voltaire, Samuel Richardson, Immanuel Kant and Friedrich Schiller praised *Canary Wine* in their novels, essays and poems, whilst historical figures such as Charles III, George Washington, Agustín de Betancourt, Alexander von Humboldt, and the Chinese Emperor Kangxi used to taste this wine.

The last chapter looks at a period during which *Canary Wine* is no longer the Islands' biggest export product as the wine growing landscape recedes. It becomes a memory, the cultural heritage of farmers and the islands' *medianías* or midlands, creating a sense of nostalgia that envelops authors who visit the Islands, such as Olivia Stone and Elizabeth Murray. At the same time, during the 20th century, historians began constructing a scientific account through the arduous task of compiling and analysing historical sources. Bethencourt Massieu, Morales Padrón, Peraza de Ayala and Lorenzo-Cáceres, who penned a beautiful essay about *Canary Wine*, laid the foundations for these studies, which would be further developed by Macías Hernández, Fajardo Spínola, Hernández González and Lobo Cabrera, to name but a few.

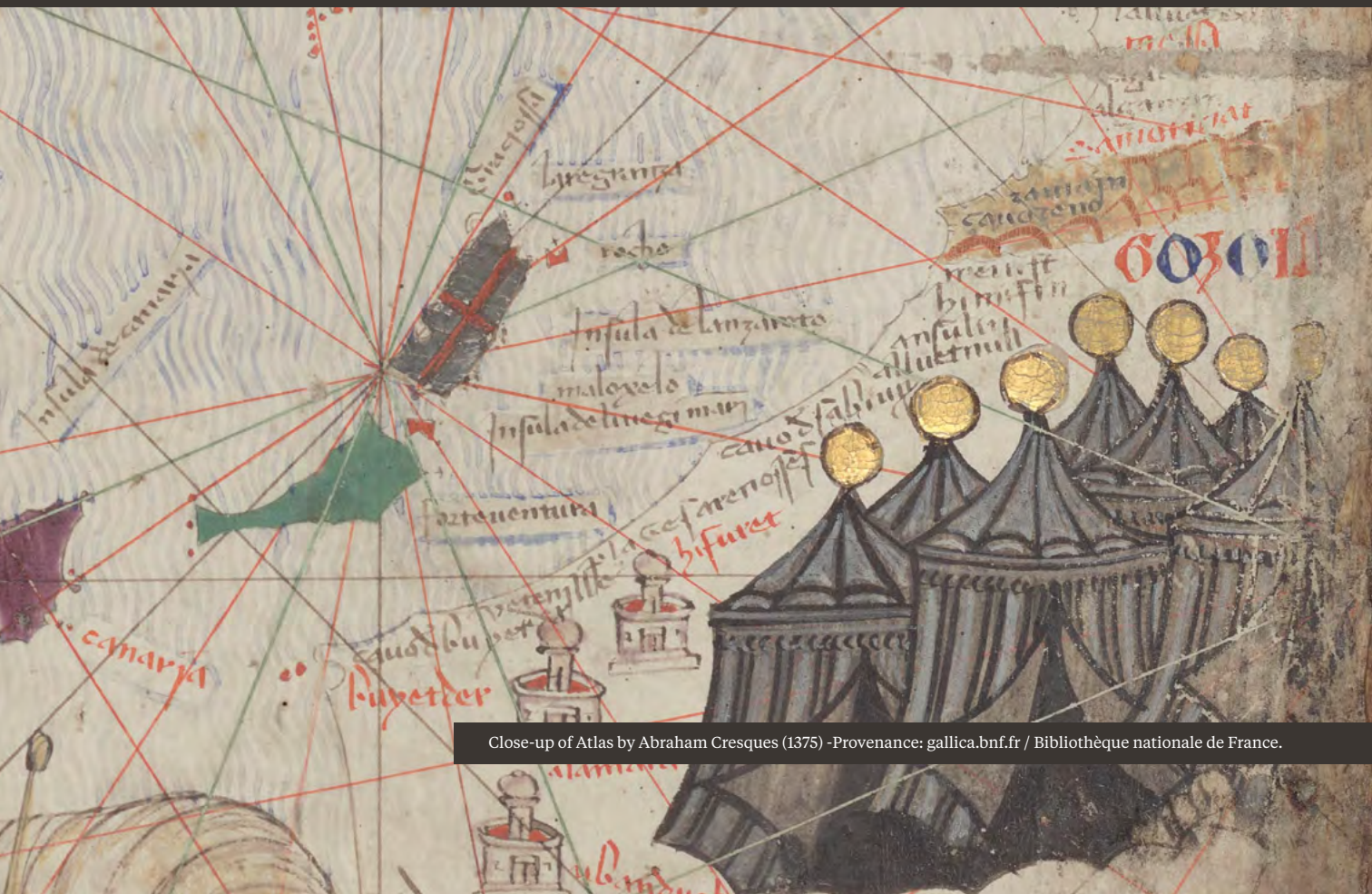
In this last period, the fame enjoyed by *Canary Wine* in the past remained very much alive in the literary imagination. Several works rescued its presence, especially historical novels, thus making it become somewhat of a relic. It was written about by an incredible list of great literary figures: Robert L. Stevenson, Arthur Conan Doyle, Victor Hugo, H. G. Wells, Alexandre Dumas, Jules Verne, Herman Melville, Louise Chandler Moulton, Edgar Rice Burroughs, and Aleksandr Kuprin. But after these last few pages marked by nostalgia, the final epilogue announces the renaissance of our wines and how they are, once more, reaching the best markets thanks to the trade name that became so famous in the past: *Canary Wine*.

We would like to conclude this introduction with a quotation from the brilliant essays written by the historian Andrés de Lorenzo Cáceres in *Malvasia y Falstaff*, in reference to the Shakespearian character who adored the wine of the Canary Islands: "*Canary wine comes to us perfumed with poetry. The same contemporary authors perceive their literary aroma. Their evocative light. That penetrating beam of light that dazzles the sensitive reader in its starry memory of universal gems*".

Chapter 1

Bacchus arrives on the Fortunate Isles: The Creation of *Canary Wine*





Close-up of Atlas by Abraham Cresques (1375) -Provenance: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The gift of Bacchus reached the Canary Islands with the colonisers. Very soon, the landscape of these islands was transformed through the introduction of new intensive crops, such as sugar and grapevines, as part of the creation of a new Atlantic society.

With the rediscovery of the Canary Islands in the context of European expansion in the late Middle Ages, wine took centre stage. The cultivation of grapevines and the consumption of wine were basic necessities in the late Middle Ages and had been so since Antiquity. Not only was it a basic component of the diet, but it also had an essential liturgical use, linked to the Catholic Church. Hence, religious orders, charged with preaching the gospel within the new territories conquered, demanded its presence.

Colonisation, therefore, inescapably implied the presence of wine, either imported or grown in these new territories by transforming their farmlands. The Canary Islands were no exception and indeed it was here that such a transformation was at its most intense.

The first key moment in the process of implementing the cultivation of grapes came in the mid-14th century. In Telde (Gran Canaria), the seat of the Bishopric of the Fortunate Islands (created in 1351), friars from Mallorca planted the first vines on this Atlantic archipelago, possibly Fogoneu vine stocks, a variety of red grape indigenous to Mallorca[1]. However, this early experiment in in growing grapevines, linked to the friars' evangelical mission, was not welcomed by the native population of the island and was ultimately short lived.

Historical sources indicate that the native population of the Canary Islands had no knowledge of wine whatsoever. **Giovanni Boccaccio** (1313-1375), **Domenico Silvestri** (1335-1411?) and **Alvise Cadamosto** (¿1432-1483) claimed that the indigenous people did not know and indeed rejected wine, as well as other basic foods for the European settlers, such as bread and meat. There is some discussion within the scientific community about the presence of cultivated vines among the native peoples of the Canaries prior to European colonisation, due to the discovery of *Vitis vinifera* seeds in archaeological sites on Tenerife, Gran Canaria and El Hierro[2], although this is not firm evidence that the native inhabitants practised viticulture.

However, other documents indicate that they did have fermented drinks, made from palm trees, *mocán* (*Visnea mocanera*) or *arbutus* (*Arbutus canariensis*), for example, as detailed by **Antonio Sedeño** (*ca*. 1535-1595), **Pedro Gómez Escudero** (¿-1603), **Abreu Galindo** (*ca*. 1558-1596) and **Marín de Cubas** (1643-1704).

—

As soon as they boarded the ship they began to eat figs and bread, which they found to be very good, since they had never eaten them before; they rejected the wine and only drank water. Before they had eaten wheat and barley by the fistful, cheese and meat, of which they possess a great deal and of good quality; they have no oxen, camels or donkeys, but they have many goats, sheep, and wild boar.

Giovanni Boccaccio, *De Canaria et insulis…*, 1341[3]

—

[Gran Canaria] They have no wine, no oxen, no donkeys, no camels, but they do have wild goats, wild boar and sheep.... Their food was wheat, figs and barley. However, once they tasted bread, they wanted it extraordinarily. They rejected the wine.

Domenico Silvestri, *De Insulis*, *ca*. 1406[4]

—

Its inhabitants survive on what is produced on the islands: barley bread, meat and milk in abundance, mainly goat, all of which is found in great quantity. They have no wine or wheat, unless they bring it in from elsewhere, and except for some fruit they do not produce any other delicacy.

Alvise Cadamosto, *Navigations*, 1507[5]

—

… and they rather drank good wines of which there was an abundance, and some *guanchos* licked their lips, saying that it was not comparable to that made from palm trees and *mocán* trees, which they called *cuche* and was made in goat wineskins.

Pedro Gómez Escudero, *Book two continuing with the Conquest of the Canary Islands…*, *ca*. 1550-1602[6]

—

They had pine nuts from the pines and *mocán* trees, which is a small berry like the myrtle, although larger and with more juice, and the stone is like a stick. From this they made wine and vinegar and the bush itself intoxicates, like the arbutus; they also had palm dates that still grow in abundance in the lands of Argineguin and Tirajana, they made wine, honey and vinegar from the palm trees, and matting from its leaves and bed mats to sleep and with blankets made from the skins of sheep and goats.

… They had no sweet cane juice, from which they made wine although not as good as from palm trees, and better honey and vinegar as well.

Antonio Sedeño, *Brief summary and very real history of the conquest of the Canary Islands…*, *ca*. 1644-1650[7]

—

The fruits they had for their sustenance were *mocán* trees and Canary bellflowers and cherries…; and with these fruits they used to make wine, although little, because their common drink was water, which they called *ahemon*.

Abreu Galindo, *History of the Conquest of the Seven Islands of Gran Canaria*, 1632[8]

—

… they made a beer or wine called *tacerquen* from palm water, from the juice of boiled *mocanes* they made honey, or wine syrup, and vinegar.

Tomás Arias Marín de Cubas, *History of the Seven Islands of Canaria,* 1687[9]

1.1. Wine, an essential ingredient in the conquest and colonisation of the Canary Islands

In the early 1400s, the islands of Fuerteventura, Lanzarote and El Hierro were conquered by the troops commanded by Jean de Béthencourt and Gadifer de la Salle, which marked the start of colonisation in the Canaries.

The main source of information about this historic moment is *Le Canarien*, one of the most important documents in the history of the Canary Islands. It recounts the expedition that set off from the port of La Rochelle in 1402 to conquer and evangelise the Canary Islands. This chronicle, written by two Franciscan friars —Jean Le Verrier and Pierre Boutier— transports us back to the early 15th century, when wine was a fundamental ingredient in the daily life of conquering troops. Its scarcity was a source of conflict, which could only be solved by the arrival of sporadic imports from abroad.

The document contains a wealth of references that show the importance of wine, which was more like a staple food in the supplies of members of this expedition. Both the settlers and the monks took with them vine stocks from their homelands, although the results were rather modest. The Enlightenment historian José de Viera y Clavijo mentions in this regard the *viña de Aníbal*, a vineyard named after the bastard son of the conquering Gadifer de la Salle: "*In Fuerteventura there is an Estate called Viña de Aníbal, monument no doubt to that famous Frenchman*."[10]



Le Canarien, papyrus Egerton 2709. © British Library Board. All rights reserved / Bridgeman Images.

—

Then the sailors said that they would bring the provisions onto land, except for those needed for the return, but from thirty-six pipes of wine on board the ship we only got three casks and one pipe.

***Le Canarien*, version G, ch. VII**[11]

—

… We have suffered great hardship and a shortage of food, since approximately Christmas of 1402 until the day of St. John the Baptist of 1403 we ate no bread and drank no wine, and we have lived on meat alone both when permitted and during Lent…

***Le Canarien*, version G, ch. VIII**[12]

—

They took the dinghy a fair way offshore and those who were outside the boat said: "*If any of Gadifer's men dares grab the boat, we shall most certainly kill him, because, no matter what, Bertin and all his people will board the ship before Gadifer and his people eat again.*" Some of Gadifer's men, fearing the death of their master, begged: "*Sirs, You know well that Gadifer has no bread, no wine, no flour, no fresh water and can only obtain them by means of the dinghy. Please allow us to use it to send him and his men some food, otherwise we might as well give them up for dead.*"

***Le Canarien*, version G, ch. XV**[13]

—

After the ship arrived at the above-mentioned port of Rubicón and delivered the food they had brought to us — namely, four pipes of wine and seven bags of flour — they set off, bound for the other islands to obtain loot.

***Le Canarien*, version G, ch. XXXVI**[14]

—

Accustomed to eating bread, we been without bread for a great deal of time, have had no choice but to feed on meat.

***Le Canarien*, version G, ch. LIX**[15]

—

[About the island of El Hierro] The country is high and flat, covered with large pine groves and laurels of prodigious thickness and height; the lands are good for cereals, vines and all crops.

***Le Canarien*, version G, ch. LXV**[16]

—

At the hour of Vespers Bertin arrived by land at Rubicon Castle in the company of thirty men of the crew of the Tranchemar and said: "*Take bread, wine, and whatever is there, and let he who forgives anything be hanged, for it cost me more than any of them, and cursed be the one who leaves there whatever he can take.*"

***Le Canarien*, version B, ch. XVII**[17]

—

Then lord Bethencourt went to see the King and begged him to grant him a vessel and men to help those of the islands, to which he agreed, furnishing a heavily armed ship with a crew of at least eighty men, he also gave him four casks of wine, seventeen sacks of flour and various things necessary for them, either artillery or other supplies.

***Le Canarien*, version B, ch. XXVII**[18]



Indigenous peoples of El Hierro. Leonardo Torriani. Published in *Descripción e historia del reino de las Islas Canarias*, 1588.

The colonisation of the gentry-controlled islands (Fuerteventura, Lanzarote, El Hierro and, later, La Gomera) did nothing to boost wine production. The economy of these islands was oriented towards the cultivation of cereals, cattle and harvesting (*Rochella canariensis* lichen), in order to obtain fruits and basic incomes with little risk.

The high burden of taxes collected by the nobility did not facilitate colonisation based on growing crops such as grapevines, so wine remained an imported commodity throughout the century, shipped over from the Iberian Peninsula, especially Andalusia. On the other hand, the conquest of the royally controlled islands —Gran Canaria (1483), La Palma (1493) and Tenerife (1496)— articulated a new model of settlement and agricultural development that radically transformed the territories of the Islands, steering them towards the exportation of a single crop: sugar. The Crown motivated its new settlers through tax advantages, trading freedoms, and land and water distribution. The land distribution records show that the most prosperous farmland was allocated to sugar cane, but not all estates could focus solely on this one crop. Local supply also had to be ensured and an internal market created, objectives in which wine growing played a strategic role.

Institutional intervention, therefore, was crucial in the agrarian transformation of the Archipelago and in the creation of its first colonial landscapes, although the various islands adopted different approaches to development. In Gran Canaria, the intensity and extent of the sugar plantations was greater than on the other islands controlled by the Crown, but before long vineyards were implemented, using a 'vine-garden-orchard' model based on fenced plots that soon acquired a high value.

In Tenerife and La Palma, a slightly different process took place, organised firstly through a similar system to the one used in Gran Canaria—vineyards, vegetable gardens and orchards. Later, the model shifted towards the *house and vineyard* model, whereby each settler had to erect on their property a house and dedicate their land to growing grapes, among other crops, which, according to their individual capacities, could be consumed by them or sent to market.

Most of these lands were rainfed and were located in the *medianías* or midlands, higher than the irrigated land along the coast, reserved for sugar plantations. At that time, Portuguese settlers became particularly important, bringing with them essential knowledge about vinegrowing imported from their experiences in Madeira. This laid the foundations for planning the territory within the islands and for the subsequent golden age enjoyed by this crop, which adapted perfectly to the climate, geographical, environmental, and soil conditions of the Canaries.

—

The vines, brought to these islands by the conquistadors and settlers, found the most opportune of climates and soil for their prosperity; because dry, light, stony, sandy soils mixed with clods of volcanic lava, which rise up in hills, colonies, hillocks, and slopes, ordinarily produce the best wines.

José de Viera y Clavijo, *Dictionary of the Natural History of the Canary Islands*, 1799[19]

—

Since the vines found hills that were for the most part light, stony, and loaded with salt and sulphur, they made such monstruous progress that they exceeded the very expectations of the vintners.

José de Viera y Clavijo, *News of the General History of the Canary Islands*, 1787[20]

—

[Lanzarote] is a land for planting vines and trees, unless they are not planted due to the numbers of livestock, which eat and destroy them.
... Gran Canaria is next, a large and very virtuous island, with many sugar plantations. It is a land of plentiful bread, wheat and barley, and wine and fig trees, and many date palms. It is a land of many plants. It has good vines and many rabbits.
... [Tenerife] is a land of plentiful bread, as it is said, and very suited to planting vines and gardens and all things necessary for human life.
... La Gomera is next, six leagues from Tenerife. It is a very virtuous land of bread and livestock and sugar; it is suited to planting vines and trees and all plants.

Andrés Bernáldez, *Memories of the Reign of the Catholic Monarchs, ca.* 1513[21]

—

The largest of all the islands is Gran Canaria, whose contour is around twenty leagues. It is a land of many forests and good freshwater rivers. There is plentiful wheat, barley, and other crops. It also has a great deal of sugar and very good wines, and its inhabitants live in abundance. [In Tenerife] there is water in abundance and salty, and it has many streams. This island produces all manner of victuals, in great quantities, that is to say wheat, sugar, and vines. La Gomera is a small and highly productive island, on it there is much wheat, barley, sugar, vines, and all manner of livestock.

Valentim Fernandes, *Africa and its Islands*, 1507[22]

—

Gran Canaria is twelve leagues in length and as many in latitudes, it is almost round; in the middle it rises up to a great height and is well populated; it is a land of plentiful livestock; there they harvest much sugar and honey and bread and wine; the people are good and it is the best of the Canary Islands.
... From Canaria to Tenerife there are six leagues. Tenerife is fourteen leagues in length, the land rises up into a very high peak. It is the largest of all the islands, and there is a great deal of livestock there and lots of mountains and where there is a lot of wood and good for vessels; there is much sugar and much bread and wine; it is well populated.
... La Gomera is a good island and it has a good port to the south but it is small; it yields much sugar and *orchilla* for dyeing and much honey, there is a great deal of livestock; they have little bread and little wine.

Fernández de Enciso, *Suma de Geographia*, 1519[23]

—

I say that although I have given it to others for vineyards, this shall be to no use other than a sugar factory, because it is more for the service of their majesties and more for the benefit of the island.

Alonso Fernández de Lugo, 4-V-1500[24]

—

And it was so ordered and commanded, that as they ordered and commanded that vines be planted at a certain time and in certain houses under threat of punishment, that they are obliged to erect fences and dig up the hawthorns.... Furthermore, they ordered and commanded that all the labourers who make pitch, whether they are paid or not, be obliged to make their houses and vineyards no more or less than the neighbours, under the penalties contained therein, and that they be obliged to make the houses from today and until the whole month of May first to come, and the vineyards to hedge and enclose the lands so that they may be put up for the coming winter, under the said penalty contained therein.

***Tenerife Council Agreements*, 6-IV-1500**[25]

—

I say that if I am to be a neighbour I have, for the sake of you, to give the said lands to you and you are to set up houses and vineyards.

Alonso Fernández de Lugo, 22-II-1501[26]

—

Bartolomé Martín leases Juan Álvarez a vineyard-orchard that his father-in-law purchased from Pedro de Arguello in Galdar. To irrigate and renew any missing vine. The annual income was 38 arrobas of wine placed in the town of Galdar. The lessor pledges to furnish 10 pitchers when the wine is ready.

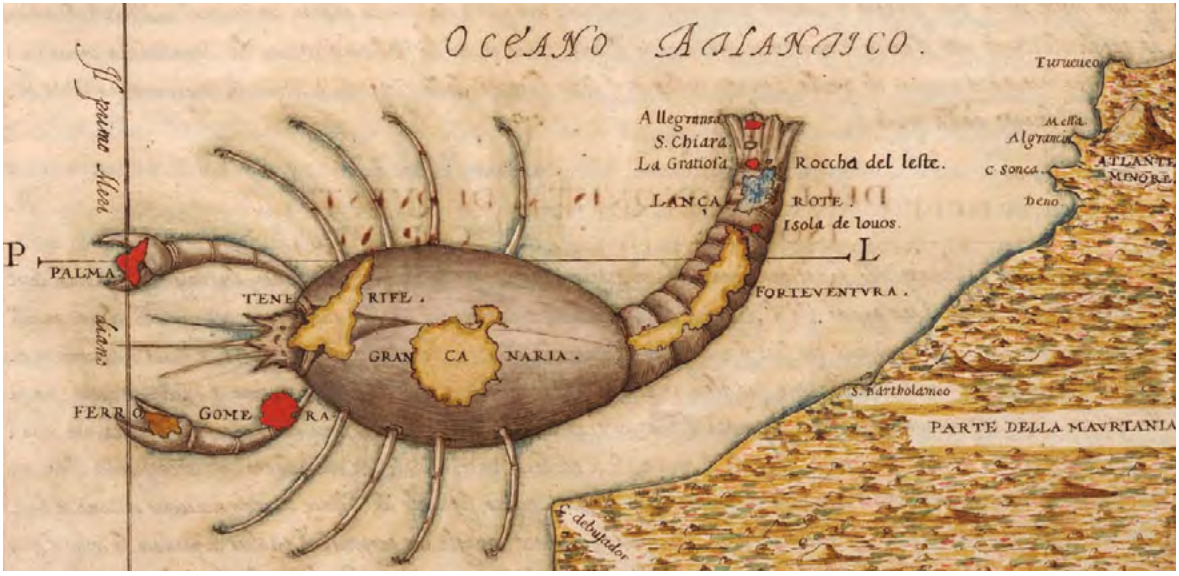
***Notarial Record*, 9-I-1510**[27]

During the early 1500s, local production could not keep up with demand. The usual solution was to import wines from Seville and Madeira; this situation changed when production increased, so that the sale of local wines could be prioritised over foreign ones, regulating and even prohibiting imports by means of council ordinances. In La Palma, this form of prohibition was documented for the first time in 1520. This measure assured domestic supply and allowed growers and merchants to export, thanks to the surplus wine produced. The right context had been created for the international expansion of Canary Wine from that moment onwards.

—

Pedro Sánchez (sailor, resident of Seville in the parish of Santa María in La Cesteria, Captain of the ship "San Pablo" anchored in the port of Las Muelas in the river Guadalquivir) charters from Johan de Castilia, (resident of Seville in the parish of San Salvador) and Diego Cabrejas (resident of the Island of Gran Canaria, present) said ship, to load onto it all the tonnes of wines, oils and other goods that can be loaded in the next twenty-one days; and the captain is required to go and load cloth in Cádiz, remaining there for one day, and to depart immediately for the Islands of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, to be there for eight days, and then go to Gran Canaria to the Port of Las Ysletas, and from there to the port of Sardina, which is in Gáldar.

Seville Protocol Archives, 26-II-1500[28]



Map of the Canary Islands, Leonardo Torriani. Published in *Descripción e historia del reino de las Islas Canarias*, 1588.

—

Let no man be so bold as to take wine from the island, that which is made on the island, or they shall be fined ten thousand maravedis to the islanders.

Tenerife Council Agreements, 29-IX-1501[29]

—

Likewise, by order of the Lord *Adelantado*, [he] proclaimed that all persons who bring wine from abroad to this island should sell it at whatever price they can, as this year is a barren year and no wine comes to this island; and that the wines that are taken and are to be taken from this island should be sold at the price established in the ordinance of this island.

Tenerife Council Agreements, 5-XII-1507[30]

—

Discussions were held about the favour that residents and settlers should be shown to encourage them to plant many vines, so that the island has no need of wines from elsewhere, since, praise be to God, this island is so fertile that many vines can be planted, as is known from experience, and for this reason it must be prohibited for a time that wine brought to this island from elsewhere be sold, so that residents first sell their own wines, because this is how it is done in Castile, because wines from this island are good and do not contain any filth or dregs, contrary to the wines from Castile, which until Christmas are turgid and contain dregs and filth, which is very harmful, therefore no person can sell to taverns either in wineskins or pitchers wine from anywhere else, except that made on the island, from the first harvest onward, but aged wines from elsewhere left from one year to the next may be sold, up until All Saints Day and not afterwards.

Tenerife Council Agreements, 22-XII-1516[31]

—

… every year, at the end of October, having harvested the wine, let the true quantity of wine harvested be brought before the council for tithing purposes, and that, having seen this in the council, let the period within which local wines are to be sold be proclaimed, without wines from elsewhere being sold, when there is wine available from the islands; and after this period has finished, wines from elsewhere may be sold, and if any wine from elsewhere remains, for ageing from one year to the next, the amounts dictated within the relevant ordinance should be stored. And it is stored as long as the wine on this island cannot supply the whole of the island. And having wines that abundantly supply the island, henceforth it is ordered that no other wine be brought from elsewhere.

Tenerife Council Agreements, 1-VI-1520[32]

—

La Coruña. Order to the governor or resident judge of La Palma to enforce the ordinance that prohibits the entry of wines onto the island, as long as the harvest of local residents has not yet been sold. Francisco de Mondoño, resident and governor of the island, reported that the council of Santa Cruz, for the best settlement of the island, issued an ordinance decreeing that many residents have ploughed the land and planted vines, which produce a great quantity of wine; however, now, the administrators of justice are issuing permits to merchants who introduce wines before the wine made by local residents has been sold.

Tenerife Council Agreements, 23-IV-1520[33]

Wine and the wine trade for Leonardo Torriani

Leonardo Torriani (ca. 1569-1628) was an engineer from Cremona (Italy) sent to the Canary Islands to undertake various tasks on the orders of Phillip II. After spending several years on the Islands, he accumulated a wealth of material for his *Descripción e Historia del reino de las islas Canarias* (*Description and History of the Kingdom of the Canary Islands*). In this volume, as well as describing and analysing the island's fortifications, he presents diverse information about each island, exploring historical and ethnographical aspects that provide a wealth of interesting information about this moment in history. Below are references to the fertility of the soil and the importance of wine and its booming trade.

Canary Islands

—

They produce a tremendous amount of excellent wine, in La Palma, and much more in Tenerife; and also on La Gomera and El Hierro; and each year countless ships are loaded up with wine headed for the Indies.

Gran Canaria

—

This island is immensely fertile and, without a great deal of labour and cultivation, as we shall see later, it produces wheat, barley, wine, sugar, and any other kind of fruit, and meat in abundance.... Even from the shores of the Gothic sea, the coasts of Denmark, Dacia, and Poland, over the Southern sea, vast ships come every year to load up with wine and sugar, before sailing around Hibernia and Scotland.

Tenerife

—

It is by far the richest of all in terms of sugar and excellent wines, which are transported to different parts of the world.

—

[Garachico] is not as mountainous, and is found beneath very high mountains, although no harm can come to it from there. Its commerce is substantial, since they load more wines there than in any other part of the islands.

La Palma

—

It has a great abundance of excellent wines and sugar, which are made in Tazacorte, Argual and Los Sauces; but the ones made in the part looking out to the Levante are sweeter and give a better result.... The city is not wealthy [Santa Cruz de La Palma], although it has a fair deal of trade, since close to 4000 pipes of wine are loaded onto ships there each year to transport to the Indies.

El Hierro

—

In recent years, the islanders have planted vines, which are now bearing plentiful fruit.

Leonardo Torriani, *Description of the Canary Islands*, 1590[34]

1.2. The expansion and specialisation of agricultural landscape from the 16th century onwards

From the mid-1500s onwards, *Canary Wine*, especially Malvasia, experienced its own "Golden Age". Wine growing expanded, taking over the territory, boosted by a dynamic international market and encouraged by a well provisioned internal network. This process was fostered by the collapse of sugar cane, which was substituted by grapevines in the irrigated plots along the coast, an area that was colonised by Malvasia grapes. This shift in orientation gained more and more ground over the next few decades as the agricultural landscape became highly specialised in wine production.

In the *medianías* or midlands, grape varieties used to make Vidonia wines were planted across new rainfed plots of land, alongside cereal, fruit, and legume crops, as well as livestock. This expansion occurred mainly, as noted by Antonio Macías, on the "coastal strip and the hills situated windward of Tenerife and La Palma... as well as the slopes on the edges of the meadowlands of Gran Canaria and the edges of the ravines in La Gomera, while in the rest of the island, grapevines occupied a small corner of cultivated plots."[35]



Attack launched by Pieter van der Does on the city of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1599. Produced in the workshops of Theodore de Bry (1528-1598). Published in *Collectiones Peregrinatorium in Indian Occidentalen* (1599).

There are numerous sources that introduce us to this complex period in history. Alongside notarial, official, and administrative documentation, we have various chronicles that provide fundamental information about the development of colonisation in the 16th and 17th centuries, such as those by **Alonso de Espinosa** (1543-1616), **Abreu Galindo** (*ca*. 1558-1596), **Gaspar Frutuoso** (1522-1591), **Marín de Cubas** (1643-1704) and **Núñez de la Peña** (1641-1721), along with a great many other authors.

During the first half of the 17th century, the tendency observed in the previous century gained an even stronger footing. In around 1640, the annual volume had reached fifty thousand pipes and ten thousand hectares of cultivated land[36] and *Canary Wine* had taken strong hold in foreign markets. However, as part of a fragile agricultural system, dependent on international markets, there were moments of crisis and declining production along the way, caused by a number of different circumstances: legislative restrictions, market situation, balance of payments, poor harvests, epidemics, droughts, pests, migration, etc.

In parallel, agricultural intensification had negative consequences such as a decline in product quality, falling prices, and the decrease in land used for cereal crops, which led to a restriction on the cultivation of new vine stocks.

—

There are a great many irrigated and rain-fed vineyards; in Buenavista, in Daute, in La Rambla, in La Orotava, and in Tegueste, that produce very smooth liquor, which is taken to Spain, France, Flanders, England, and the Indies.

Alonso de Espinosa, *History of Nuestra Señora de Candelaria*, 1594[37]

—

... they have all dispensed with their main farming business, which was sugar plantations, and they have planted their lands and waters with vines, which they have been harvesting for six years now, harvesting more than six thousand skins of wine.

Information from Ldo. Luis Melián de Betancort, 1564-1565 (Gran Canaria)[38]

—

But the Count says that Gomera is seventeen leagues around, where there is plentiful water and land for vines, where they make the best wine in Spain, and that simply by giving land and water to those who wish to plant vines they produce more than twelve thousand skins of wine a year.

Diego García Herrera, 1556[39]

—

Canaria is the main island, and its inhabitants are called *Canarios*. It is round and the best and well populated, it has plenty of cattle. Much bread and wine and honey are made there.... Tenerife is another of these islands, the largest of all, it is well populated, and they make plentiful bread and wine there.... La Gomera is a good island, it has a vast abundance of livestock and bread and wine and much sugar and *orchilla* to make dye.

Francisco Thamara, *Book on Customs from around the World*, 1556[40]

—

[La Palma] the place prospered, and with the fame garnered by its fertility, Flemish, Spanish, Catalans, Aragonese, Levantines, Portuguese, French, and English flocked there with their businesses, and it progressed so much with those who came that it became the largest port towards the Indies and towards all the other islands; vines were planted and seeing the great quantity of wine they produced, they filled the whole Island with vine stocks up to the summit itself, in the ravines, in the scrubland, in the mountains, in the so-called *buzcocheras*, in the rocky areas and in the so-called *breñas*, and such a quantity was made that vines covered the entire 18 leagues that stretch the full length of the island in the North, except for the lands planted with sugar cane in Los Sauces.

Gaspar Frutuoso, *Saudades da Terra*, 1586[41]

—

[Tenerife] It is fertile for all things, in particular wines that are made and many of which are shipped, it is the largest estate on the island; there is much bread, but wine is the main product, and practically from Santa Cruz it is all covered with vines to a good distance past Buenavista, which would be almost the entire length of the island.

***Synodals of de Cámara y Murga*, 1629**[42]

—

There is on this island [La Palma] a quantity of wines, extreme since they are rainfed, and more secure in pitchers for shipping than those from the other islands... [La Laguna] is fertile and abundant in bread and wine and many fruits; and a great quantity of wines are shipped from this island.

Abreu Galindo, *History of the Conquest of the Seven Islands of Gran Canaria*, 1632[43]

—

... Vidonia grapes, and fruit trees, flowers, fragrant herbs, domestic birds, which has all produced a great deal, and a good wine trade which has increased, and honours its dwellers with trade from the north, and it is thus throughout the island [Tenerife], well populated with people and well cultivated, and more widely planted than any other in the Canaries.

Tomás Arias Marín de Cubas, *History of the Seven Islands of Canaria*, 1687[44]



Sculpture of Gaspar Frutuoso in Ribeira Grande (Azores). Photograph: Adobe Stock.

—

[La Orotava] is entirely ring-fenced with Malvasia vines, which are the best fruit of the island.... The place of San Juan de la Rambla is a good league from Realejo, with many Malvasia vines.... The place of Icod could be a city, as it is so large, with people in its jurisdiction producing of all kinds of fruits, Malvasia wines.... The place of Guía [Gran Canaria] is a quarter of a league from Galdar, its Parish has a Benefice; in this place there are many vines and its wines are the best on the island.

Juan Núñez de la Peña, *Conquest and Antiquities of the Islands of Gran Canaria...*, 1676[45]

—

Also that any resident can sell the wine he gathers from his harvest at the price he wishes without penalty and without requesting a licence and he cannot retail it without a licence from the city or from the deputies under the threat of a penalty of six hundred *maravedis*. Also that whoever waters down wine or mixes one with another wine or sells one wine for another wine, in addition to the penalty that must be imposed by law, the wine that is sold in this way shall be forfeited and the penalty shall be six hundred *maravedis* for the first time, and double that penalty for the second time, and double that same penalty and one hundred lashes for the third time.

***Ordinances of the Council of Gran Canaria*, 1531**[46]

—

Firstly that no persons should dare to remove from this island anything of sustenance that was grown here, nor should they bring in any bread or wine or meat and fish and oil and cheese and honey and wax and tallow and dried or green fruits except oranges and limes and tinned food and jams under the threat that the person who removes it without a licence from the city shall lose whatever he has removed without said licence or its value.

***Ordinances of the Council of Gran Canaria*, 1531**[47]

1.3. Characteristics and classification of the first Canary Wines

During this period of splendour for wine production on the Islands, Canary wines became adapted to the varied circumstances of foreign markets. In general terms, Malvasia was the predominant grape variety, especially between 1550 and 1730; whereas Vidonia wine increased substantially from the 18th century onwards. Tenerife and La Palma were the main producers and exporters of these wines.

As for the other islands, we can garner information from the commentaries of Bethencourt Massieu: "*The wines from Gran Canaria were less full-bodied, so they were turned into spirits or exported in small quantities to Spanish America. On Gomera production is limited, obtaining low alcohol wines, fairly unsuited for loading on board ships, although its inhabitants achieved some excellent clarets and maximum crop yield*."[48] Other varieties were not suitable for export but were instead used in local consumption, in the creation of spirits, or to be eaten as fresh grapes or raisins.

1.3.1. Torrontés and romanías

During the early days of wine growing in the Canarias, Andalusia had an important influence, dictating the preference shown towards white and fortified wines. The grape chosen to make these was Torrontés, which rapidly spread all over the island of Tenerife, especially in the areas of Icod, Daute and La Rambla, together with other white varieties such as Listán and Vijariego, also popular in Andalusia. However, the characteristics of the islands themselves in terms of climate, soil, and the presence of irrigation created specific qualities

in these wines that made them different from their Iberian counterparts, especially in terms of their lower alcohol volume. During the 1600s, the importance of this variety began to decline as it was integrated into Vidonia wines or replaced by Malvasia. *Romanías* were a type of young wines, produced for a while in the north of Tenerife to satisfy the Flemish market, although production was significant in the first third of the 16th century.

1.3.2. Vidonia

Vidonia, also known as "all grapes" or "all vines", was a dry wine made using different grape varieties, preferably white, chosen in accordance with the vine stocks cultivated by each owner. This type of wine allowed wine makers to combine different varieties, excluding Malvasia. Vidonia grapes were mainly grown on *medianías* or midlands, on rainfed lands, creating a table wine consumed locally, but which was also shipped to the Indies and the English and Portuguese colonies.



Image of Torrontés grapes. Photograph: GMR Canarias.

1.3.3. Malvasia or Malmsey

Malvasia, a Mediterranean grape, flourished in the Canary Islands on account of their climate, their volcanic soils, and the knowledge of Portuguese wine growers and estate owners, which were useful in terms of irrigation. Its cultivation spread throughout the coastal areas, once sugar production had waned, and it accelerated in the first third of the 1500s. Due to its sweetness, it was used to make varietal wines.

Very soon it became the main type of wine shipped to foreign markets, especially England. As Steckley notes[49], there were three types of wine made using Malvasia: green, which was a dry wine; purple (obtained when the grape turned to raisins on the vine) and sweet white, which was historically the most important type and was served as an aperitif. The research agrees that this was the wine referred to as *Canary* in England and *Kanariensekt* in German-speaking territories, and also *Malmsey*, as opposed to *Vidonia*. There is also the popular English name *Canary sack*, which seems to allude to a sweet type of spirit wine (sack) made using similar wines, such as Canary Malvasia or wines from Jerez and Malaga, which is why we also see references to *Sherry sack* and *Malaga sack*. We will talk more about this in the next chapter.

The Enlightenment author **José de Viera y Clavijo** (1731-1813), in his *Diccionario,* provides us with an extensive description of this grape and the wines made from it.

—

[Malvasia] Name that we give to the vines and the sweet wine produced from its grapes, which is made on the islands of Tenerife and La Palma... there is no doubt that this liquor wine is called Greek wine; and that the vine stocks planted from the early 16th century onwards, especially in the north of Tenerife, finding not only hills with light, sandy soils impregnated with the salts deposited there by ancient volcanoes; but also a very similar climate to that of Greece, grew and prospered in a prodigious manner.

In truth those vines are a most agreeable sight, arranged in rows and raised up off the ground on high forks, whose shoots, tangled and interwoven, form long rails of vine shoots, a beautiful green on the inside, and a cottony white on the outside, from which clusters hang more than a foot long, although they are short in circumference, with thick oval grains, which take on the colour of wax when ripe.

We have a kind of Malvasia, the grapes are black and sweet in flavour, unctuous and akin to muscatel. When picked in this state, they are used to make a dry wine, known as green Malvasia, which, when it is fortified and of good quality, as sought in commerce, competes with the wines of Madeira and Jerez, it can be transported to distant regions without undermining its goodness. But the Malvasia that was always much more famed is the sweet, liqueur-like perfumed variety. To communicate



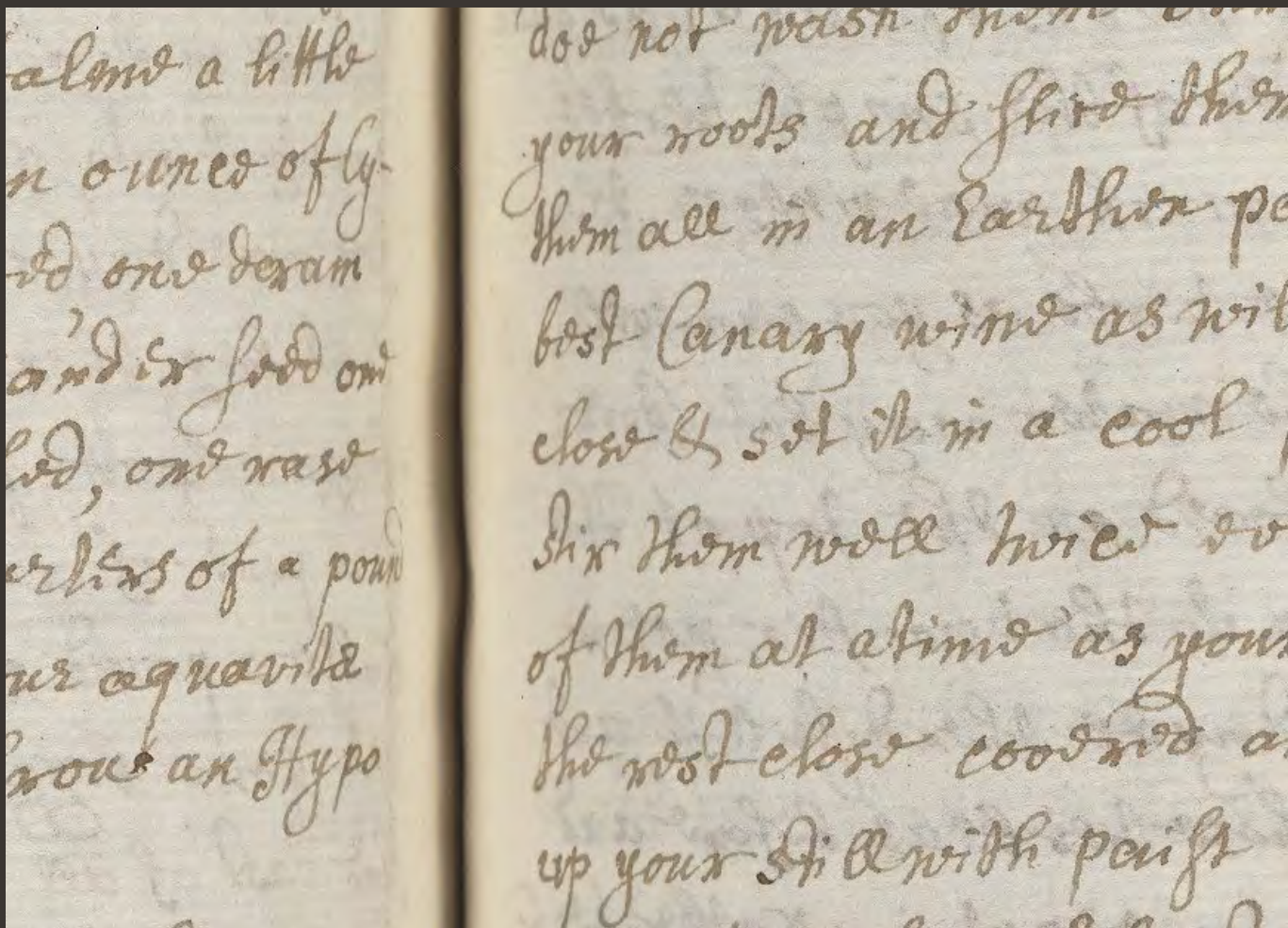
Aromatic Malvasia grapes. Photograph: GMR Canarias.

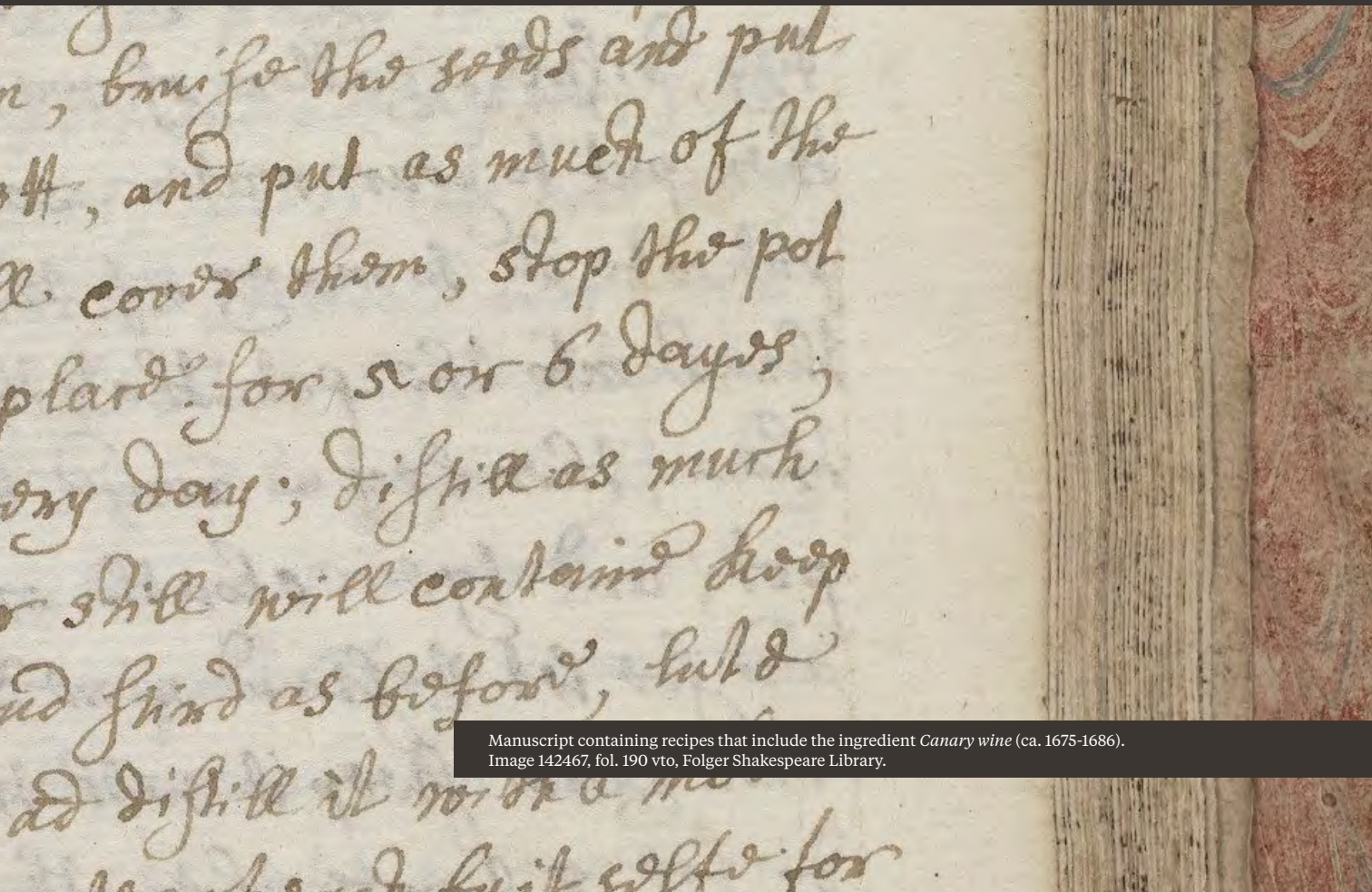
these charms, and to give it the right temperament between smooth and sharp, so that the sweetness of its sugar corrects the acrimony of its tartar, the bunches are left on the vines until they begin to wither, to become raisins, and covered in mould. So that, once the flowers have dried and fallen, a thick grape must is extracted, which, when lightly fermented, gives us that delicious liqueur that some authors have deemed to be nectar.

Viera y Clavijo, *Dictionary of the Natural History of the Canary Islands*, 1799[50]

Chapter 2

Canary Wine Conquers the World




n, bruise the seeds and put
ff, and put as much of the
x. cover them, stop the pot
plaid for 5 or 6 days,
ery day; distill as much
r still will contain sweet
ed stand as before, but
ad distill it more

Wine became the main export product of the Canary Islands for three centuries. This period of splendour and international prominence turned the Canaries in the "Wine Islands".

2.1.The commercial expansion of *Canary Wine* (1520-ca. 1650)

In a very short space of time, the Canary Islands went from being a virgin territory in terms of vines to being a powerful exporter of wines to the Indies, England, Flanders, and Portugal, including their colonies. From the start of the 1520s, there are documents recording the first exportations of wine from La Palma and Tenerife. Between then and 1550, production increased considerably, chiefly exporting to the Indies, bolstered by the prohibition on planting vines in the New World.

2.1.1 The Indies

The strategic position of the Archipelago "*en route to the Indies*", as noted by humanist Francisco López de Gómara, made the Islands an essential stopping point between continents. Ships docked at ports around the islands to transport wines and other goods from the Canaries to the New World to supply its inhabitants, significantly increasing the annual volume of shipments from between eight and ten thousand pipes in 1560 to fourteen thousand in 1611. The Crown issued several decrees permitting wine to be transported to the Indies from La Palma, Tenerife, and Gran Canaria.

However, this trade was subject to regulations imposed by Seville's *Casa de la Contratación*, which progressively limited this traffic, especially after 1564, establishing courts on the Islands, which it controlled, and reducing the number of tonnes permitted for shipment, among other regulations, which forced merchants on the Canary Islands to take matters to the courts or resort to smuggling. One of the reasons that led Seville to set up such controls was the fact that Canary wines were competing with wines from Andalusia, which seriously jeopardised Seville's monopoly.

As noted by the canarian historian Manuel Lobo Cabrera: "*The interests of the Canary Islands on the American continent clashed directly with those of Seville, hence the constant battle to elicit minor concessions from the different monarchs in terms of licences and tonnage*". Furthermore, this author continues: "*... they were aware of the breach opened up by the Islands in its monopoly, especially bearing in mind that the main products the Canary Islands could send to the Indies were its wines, fierce competitors with Andalusia's own wines.*"[1]

The situation spiralled in the following century, especially between 1613 and 1649, with limitations on exports and even attempts to ban trade, as in 1649, but the reaction triggered on the Islands forced the Government to back down, increasing the number of tonnes authorised. A contingent, renewable regime was put in place between 1668 and 1718, when the Regulations on Free Trade were passed.

The destination ports for goods and wines from the Canary Islands included New Spain, Yucatán, Campeche, Havana, Santiago de Cuba, Santo Domingo, Honduras, Jamaica, San Juan de Puerto Rico, Cartagena de Indias, Santa Marta, La Guaira, Río de Hacha, Río de la Plata, La Florida and the Windward Isles, intensifying in the 18th Century and adding Caracas, Santo Domingo, San Juan de Puerto Rico, Trinidad de la Guayana, Cumaná, Santa Marta, the Greater Antilles, and Louisiana.

—

[On Tenerife] much bread and wine and cheese and other sustenance, provisions, and other goods and things are made that can be sampled in the Indies, on the islands, and Terra Firme on the Ocean.

Municipal Archive of La Laguna, 1536[2]

—

On said island [Tenerife] a great quantity of wine is made, and since it is new land, more will be made every day because they were the great heirs to both irrigated and rain-fed vineyards and so that the workers are used to their full advantage because on the island these wines have little value and they are very good and they need our permission and authorisation so that those who wish to can come and buy said wines for the Indies and elsewhere and can take them out freely, paying the required duties, and that they themselves can load and ship them as was the case on the island of La Palma.

***Royal Decree,* reign of Charles V, 29-IV-1542**[3]



Philip II, King of Spain. Manuscript kept at the National Library of the Netherlands.

—

THE KING

President and official judges of the *Casa de la Contratación* of the city of Seville, Pedro de Escouar, resident and governor of the island of Canaria, and on its behalf he has reported to us that, due to the proviso that wines are not to be loaded onto ships on it [the island], nor any other fruits picked there for our Indies but rather that said ships have left in fleet formation, there has been a great decline on account of the cessation of said trade, and many residents of said island have left, and if the aforementioned were to go ahead it would be lost on account of picking little fruit there and not having an outlet and seeking provisions from overseas of the things that it needs at excessive prices as it was all recorded and appeared on certain statements presented to us begging that we concede permission so that each year the residents could load there, without fear, onto those floats one thousand five hundred pipes of wine to take them to the islands of Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico and the other windward islands that have need since ships no longer sail there from said island, and it is not inconvenient at all that said ships should go there without worrying about such fleets, or as our mercy was, and this having been seen by those of our Council along with the reports of conveniences or inconveniences that there might be in awarding such a licence, and how the needs of said Canary Islands, Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico might be remedied, we order you to, having seen this our decree, having called the prior and the consul and other persons who are aware of the aforementioned, you find out what is happening and provide us justly with your opinions, you send us an account of this to our Council so that in the requisite action be taken.

***Royal Decree,* reign of Philip II, 23-VI-1580**[4]

—

La Palma is small but beautiful and rich in sugar, wine, meat, and cheese, so the ships that sail from Spain to Peru and Brazil normally get supplies there.

Giovanni Botero, *Of the Universal Relations*, 1596[5]

—

Mr Juan de la Torre said that the only trade from this island is Malvasia and Vidonia wine, which is shipped in four directions: Malvasia for the Kingdom of England; Vidonia for Holland and other parts of the North, and another part in accordance with the permission granted by his Majesty to the island ships to the Indies; and the other part is consumed on said island.

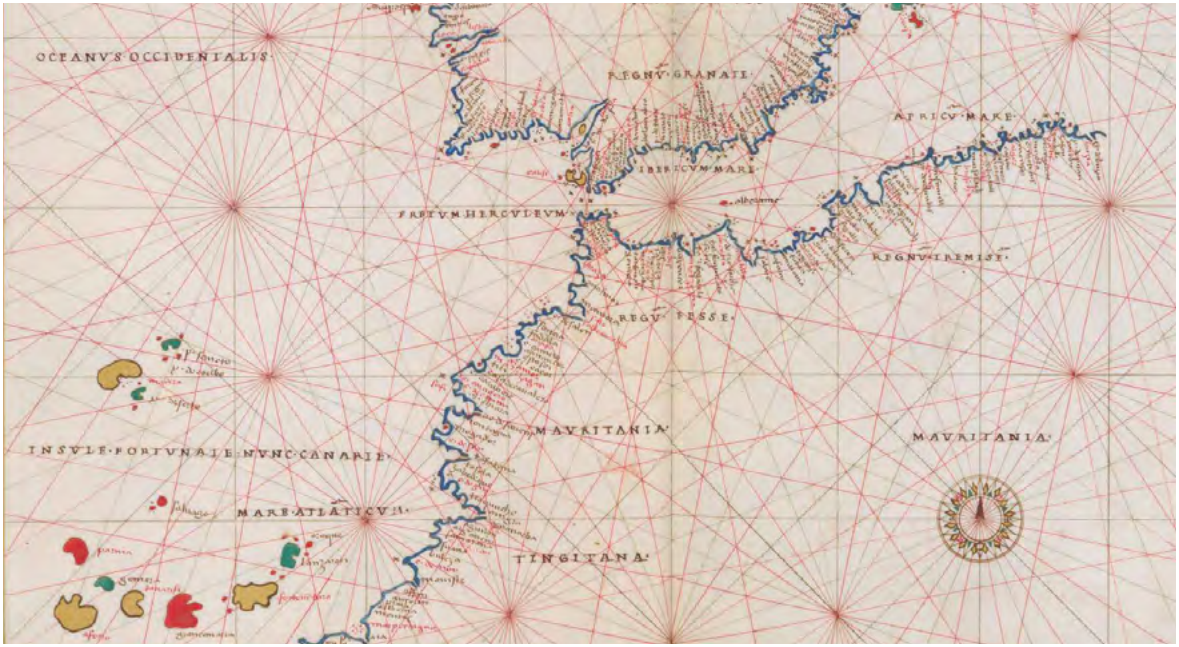
Statement by Governor Juan de la Torre, 27-I-1673[6]

—

The island of Tenerife is the largest and most populated of the Canaries, and much richer on account of the many vines and vineyards growing Malvasia and Vidonia wines, which is the main good, shipped from there to other kingdoms, and for it the owners receive so much in money and land.

… a pipe of Malvasia wine costs one hundred and sixty ducats, and of Vidonia between twenty and thirty ducats, and some forty; it is the island's main trade, which is shipped to the East Indies, West Indies, and to the North and elsewhere, which is what makes this island wealthy.

Juan Núñez de la Peña, *Conquest and Antiquities of the Islands of Gran Canaria…*, 1676[7]



Canaries and North Africa on the Portolan charts of Battista Agnese (1544). Image from Biblioteca Nacional de España.

2.1.2. Portugal and its colonial empire

As in the case of the Indies, the Canary Islands offered a strategic situation for commerce with Portuguese owned lands, derived not only from their location but also from the presence of favourable winds and currents. The port of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria was the main source of supplies for Portuguese ships, sailing towards Cabo Verde, the gulf of Guinea and Angola, as well as towards Brazil.

Gold and slaves were the main economic incentives for trade that increased with the incorporation of Portugal in the empire of Phillip II in 1580. However, Dutch occupation of Brazil and, above all, Portugal's Independence in 1640 were tragic events for the wine sector in the Canaries; firstly because of the obvious loss of this important market and, secondly, because England's support of Portugal benefitted wines produced in Portuguese territories.

Furthermore, the bond between the Canaries and Portugal had been very close ever since European settlement, particularly with the neighbouring Atlantic islands, so these episodes had a much more significant impact in the Canary Islands.

—

Enrique Enriquez, German merchant in Tenerife, said that it must be a month since Luis Caravallo, resident of Lisbon, commander and Captain of his caravel, Nuestra Señora de Nazaret, stopped for provisions in the port of Santa Cruz. He brought with him a credit and a document drawn up between the Captain and Damián Ramírez, resident of Lisbon so that he could receive in Tenerife 30 pipes of wine to take on his caravel to Brazil. And having seen this credit, since the letter of notice had not come nor did he have an order so as to give them to him, he was not furnished with said items. And Luis Caravallo has requested that this be recorded so that he may declare it for his receipt.

***Goods shipping contract to Brazil*, 15-V-1618**[8]

—

This business is the most serious and of the greatest importance on these islands because, with the uprising of Portugal, not only is the door closed to all relations, but this republic also lacks all it requires.

***Municipal Archive of La Laguna*, 1640**[9]

—

... it is very public and notorious the great collapse and poverty that has come to this island and the others with war, as well as the uprising of Portugal, with which it had a flourishing trade, as well as the parts of Brazil occupied by the Dutch. And this has reached such a wretched state that unless a remedy is found in all brevity and great [illegible], these islands shall be lost and become depopulated, because vines are their main point of value and sustenance.

Cristóbal de Salazar, 1645[10]



Detail from "Torre de Belem en el río Tajo, Portugal". Pieter van den Berge (1694-1737). Rijksmuseum.

—

... given the abject poverty, as well as the lack of relations and neighbourhood due to the long wars of France and the uprising of Portugal, which was the place where the goods were shipped, and where the goods that are produced on those islands are traded, which are wines and some sugars, of which at present they have no commercial outlet, and the vineyards are being lost, which is what their estates are made up of, because the wines are not sold and there is no one to cultivate them, and there are no coins there because the ones that are in circulation are those known as *tostones*, the few that remain from the time when the Kingdom of Portugal had its correspondence there...

Juan Núñez de la Peña, *Conquest and Antiquities of the Islands of Gran Canaria...*, 1676[11]

2.1.3. England and the Northern markets

The Canaries, particularly Tenerife, supplied wine to major ports in the north of Europe, including England, most notably, but also Flanders, Holland, France, north Germany, and parts of the Baltic. In the land of Shakespeare, there was a strong tradition of importing foreign wines, of which Malvasia was the favourite, brought in from the west Mediterranean. However, the instability derived from Ottoman imperialism meant that new sources of supply needed to be found, which included the Canaries and Madeira, together with wines from mainland Spain. Merchants in Bristol initiated trade relations in 1519.

As noted by historian Antonio Rumeu de Armas: "*over the course of the thirty-five-year period between 1550 and 1585, consumption of this delicious ambrosia must have been so intense in foggy Albion that it allowed an entire country to understand, from the pen of its greatest playwright, that "sack" or "canary" was a "marvellous searching wine, and it perfumes the blood*."[12]

According to Bethencourt Massieu,[13] almost 85% of production on the island of Tenerife ended up in England. Production and exports increased until the second half of the 17th Century, when *Canary Wine* experienced its first export crisis.

2.1.4. English possessions in the Americas

In the New World, along with the territories ruled by the Iberian Peninsula, British colonial enclaves located in the Antilles and North America also received wine from the Canaries, especially Vidonia, although trade was sporadic. At that time, this territory was known as *Barbadas*. These years of flourishing trade stretched until the 1660s, when various legal proclamations issued during the reign of Charles II of England restricted the presence of foreign ships in England's colonies, requiring all goods shipped there to have originated in an English port. Madeira and the Azores escaped this restriction, which benefitted Portuguese wines, but Canary wines as well in parallel, in spite of the theoretical restrictions, since many merchants saw the opportunity to introduce Canary Vidonia wines at a lower price than the Portuguese wines, and also benefit from the *tornaviaje* return trade route in Caribbean ports.

—

The people of the Canaries understood *Barbadas* to refer to all the colonies possessed by Great Britain in America. But Barbada, after which that trade is named, is an island settled by the English in 1629. No more than eight leagues in length and four in width, it reached a population of one hundred thousand souls and trade that occupied 400 ships. The year of 1666 was its period of great splendour. Tenerife had a flourishing wine trade with it.

José de Viera y Clavijo, *News of the General History of the Canary Islands*, 1787[14]

2.2. The first major crisis: the loss of markets and the *Derrame del vino* (1666)

Various factors brought about the first major crisis in the Canary Islands' wine trade from the mid-1600s onwards. The fragility inherent in their agricultural system, the poverty that affected the islands, and the dependency on foreign markets and external agents are some of the causes that help to explain the start of their decline.

In addition to these structural elements, a series of historic events had a decisive influence, closing the door for *Canary Wine* to previously flourishing ports. The most significant ones were: the loss of the Portuguese colonial market following its Independence from the Spanish Crown in 1640; the restrictions imposed by Seville on trade between the Canaries and the Americas; and the restructuring of the British colonial market through proclamations such as the *Navigation Act* (1651), the *Navigation Laws* (1660-1661) and the *Staple Act* (1663). These measures, which blocked direct trade with British territories overseas, were millstones around the neck of the Canary Islands' economy. Although wine production increased in the first half of the 17th Century, as did the price of wine, a balance of payments was generated that was unfavourable to British merchants, a situation that they sought to resolve through the creation of the London



Close-up of the map of Garachico, Leonardo Torriani. Published in *Descripción e historia del reino de las Islas Canarias*, 1588.

Merchants Trading for the Islands of Canaries or the *Canary Company*, in 1655.

The aim of this company was to oversee the monopoly of British trade on the Islands, including wine growing, which evidently had a negative outcome for wine producers and merchants from the Canaries. The *Canary Company* lowered the price of wine and increased the price of manufacturing to steer the balance of payments back in its favour. The result was social unrest, goods at a standstill, and conflict. An open council decreed the expulsion of five merchants from the Company and the council, together with a prohibition on shipping wine to England. The governor Pedro de Ponte de Llarena drafted an extensive report to the Queen Regent Mariana of Austria in a bid to find a diplomatic solution, as popular discontent continued to increase.

The most notable incidents were recorded in places that were most strongly affected, such as La Orotava and Garachico, until on the night of the 2nd to the 3rd of July, wineries were desecrated, barrels were destroyed, and wine was poured out onto the streets of Garachico in what became known as the *Derrame del Vino* ("spilling of wine"), *"one of the strangest floods one might read about in the annals of the world"*, in the words of Viera y Clavijo. The British King Charles II decided as a result to ban trade with the Islands. Tensions could only be alleviated by means of diplomacy, led by the Spanish ambassador, the Count of Molina, culminating with the signing of a treaty of peace and friendship between the two powers. This paved the way for the desired trade to recommence, although price caps were put in place, and the Canary Company was closed down.

—

The preservation of these islands and expansion of their trade, freely permitting them to ship their wines to the Indies and return with permitted fruits is the most important thing that can be offered to the Crown of Castile, because following the rebellion of Portugal, Spanish vessels coming from the Indies have nowhere else to go nowadays when they are infested with enemies or when they are plagued by storms or are lacking in supplies, and so they always go to the Canaries.

***Memorial de la isla de Tenerife de 1654*, addressed to the king of Spain, Philip IV**[15]

—

… we hereby give and grant to the said Governor and the London Merchants Trading for the Islands of Canaries and their successors, that they and their successors and no others may henceforth and forever use and enjoy the whole and entire sale and traffic and have full freedom and privilege to trade and traffic and use the trading in (English) goods to the Islands and from these seven Islands. For the buying and selling, share-out and bartering of the fruits, or in respect to the fruits, wines or properties, grown or produced in the said lands of the Islands, or any other goods that may be brought thereto.

Patent of Charles II for the foundation of the Canary Islands Company, 1665[16]

—

At night, gangs of three or four hundred masked men sally forth calling themselves clergymen. In Garachico, where the main stockpiles of Malvasia are held, they broke into the wineries on the first days of August; they smashed the barrels; that sweet liquor ran in rivulets… The Spilling of the Wine was a

time of great dissent in the Canaries, since powerful factions appeared on both sides. The Captains-General protected the trade monopoly of the English; the Court and the Cities defended the freedom of the growers.

José de Viera y Clavijo, *News of the General History of the Canary Islands*, 1787[17]



Sculpture paying tribute to the "Derrame del vino", Garachico (Tenerife).

—

My Lady, since the year [16]48, the English who have traded on those Islands have enjoyed such liberty in their trade, that all the materials and manufacturing from England have increased in price by more than a third... They therefore beg of Your Majesty that by any means necessary the aforementioned grievances be mended, and that His Serene Highness the King of Great Britain provides a remedy to restore the freedom of trade.

... The City of La Laguna, on the Island of Tenerife, one of the Canary Islands, says: That having had free trade between said Island and the others with the Islands of *Barbadas*, where the English took Vidonia, waste grape, and Malvasia wines, the only products of said Canary Islands; it appears that twenty five years ago, His Highness the King of Great Britain, predecessor to the present Queen, for the contemplation of the Queen his wife, prohibited the shipping of said wines to the islands of *Barbadas*, branding them as contraband, so that they be retired and wines from the Island of Madeira should be traded instead... and the contrary for the Canary Islands, obliterating their residents and leaving them poor, since they had no other trade, nor anywhere they could ship their wines: and subsequently, the Royal Revenues were markedly deteriorated, since there were no rights derived therefrom due to the lack of trade.

... beg of Your Majesty to send the Ambassador, who resides in the Court of England, to speak with His Majesty the King of Great Britain, to safeguard and enforce the Peace Agreements reached in this regard: and that he lift and remove the prohibition placed upon his subjects, so that they may ship their wines so that they have free trade from the Canary Islands to *Barbadas*, where they will receive mercy, while they await the Royal Justification of Your Majesty.

Pedro Ponte y Llarena, Lifetime Governor of Tenerife, *Memorial por la Isla de Tenerife,* 1666[18]



Portrait of Charles II of England (1653). By Philippe de Champaigne (1602-1674). The Cleveland Museum of Art.

—

... deeply aggrieved by these injuries caused to all our dearest subjects, and determined not to suffer the indignities inflicted on us, we have deemed it convenient to agree, with the consent of our Council, to declare... that no wines, nor other produce or goods obtained from the harvest and production of the Canary Islands... shall hereinafter enter this, our Kingdom, or any other of our Kingdoms, or Territories until our authorisation is subsequently declared.

***Proclamation of King Carlos II prohibiting the entry of all wines from the Canary Islands...*, 1666**[19]

—

... there shall be no Parliament with greater authority than that which has been called and it has never been more necessary that the King agree to its resolutions... [hoping] that, even before it is convened, the Canary Wine Company be dissolved, and that trade that was prohibited with said Islands may be permitted to flow once more, which will be of great use and consolation.

***Letter from the Count of Molina to Mariana of Austria, Queen Regent of Spain*, 18-VII-1667**[20]

—

... have and shall have entire and full freedom to traffic and trade with such Islands, as was the custom before such Charter was produced; with no embargo or restriction whatsoever, observing the customs and other provisions to be observed in conformity with the Law.

***Proclamation of King Charles II Revoking the Prohibition of Trade with the Canary Islands*, 1667**[21]

—

... an arrangement was reached with the English regarding the commerce and trade of wine. It contained six articles: 1. Growers cannot ask for more than 55 ducats per pipe of Malvasia nor less than 45. 2. This price shall remain in place for six years and, if deemed opportune, it may be renewed after this time. 3. English merchants shall provide the prices of their cloths and manufactures or shall also place them at a fixed value. 4. Individuals shall be free to exchange their wines for cloth or their cloth for wines. 5. Above all, the Canaries Company, founded in London, shall be dismantled. 6. Beg of the King, by means of D. Lorenzo Santos, to approve this agreement.

José de Viera y Clavijo, *News of the General History of the Canary Islands*, 1787[22]

However, the *Canary Wine* trade was never able to recover from this and other incidents mentioned previously. In the early 1670s, there were major limitations placed on its trade with the Americas, and it had lost Portuguese and English colonial ports. Meanwhile, relations with northern Europe, and especially with England, were deteriorating.

New preferences emerged in the market (such as sherry, highly prized among the British), quality wines were lost, and the local sector was not experiencing its finest moment. The cultivation of poor-quality crops had also produced equally poor wines, which led the council to prohibit the planting of new vines in 1675.

All of this ushered in the end of an historic period for *Canary Wine*, confirmed by the Spanish War of Succession and the Methuen Treaty in 1703 between England and Portugal, through which the British gave preference to Portuguese wines.

—

Or if he will examine, how much only two Commodities, wholly consum'd here, cost us yearly in Money, (I mean Canary Wine and Currants) more than we pay for with Goods Exported to the Canaries and Zant; besides the Over-ballance of Trade upon us in several other places, he will have little reason to say, he doth not conceive we bring home from any place more Goods than we now Export to it.

John Locke, *Some Considerations...*, 1692[23]



Portrait of John Locke. Etching by John Smith (1721). Rijksmuseum.

—

And that is how throughout the past year, seventy-two [1672], due to the wars between the Crowns of France, England, and the states of Holland, without trade on this island, and without the aforementioned fruits cannot be shipped, and more than one month has passed in this present year that no ships from the North have arrived to ship said fruits... all the residents of this island are facing notable conflict due to the lack of trade and almost without hope of their being any trade this present year and with all its fruits, some in their estates and wineries, and others that, although they have been handed over to merchants, are experiencing and finding that they are unable to pay because they have been bought on faith that ships would come in to take them away and with effects for their satisfaction. And there are currently on this island more than thirty thousand pipes of Malvasia and Vidonia wine, and not being able to ship this fruit but also finding that they will not reap any benefit from this year's anticipated harvest.

***Statement of governor Juan de la Torre*, 27-I-1673**[24]

Canary black grapes, the origin of American grapes



Vines in Pisco Elqui, Peru. Photograph: Raquel Mogado-Adobe Stock.

The Canary Islands, as a required stop on the crossing to the Indies, were the source of grapevines planted in American territories. The Franciscan missionaries were the first to demand that grapes be imported to make wine for their religious work. These "*mission grapes*", which spread around Peru, Argentina, Chile, and California, according to historical and genetic investigations, originated in the Listán prieto grape variety, still grown on the Islands today. Some sources from the 1600s, such as Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, confirm this historic connection.

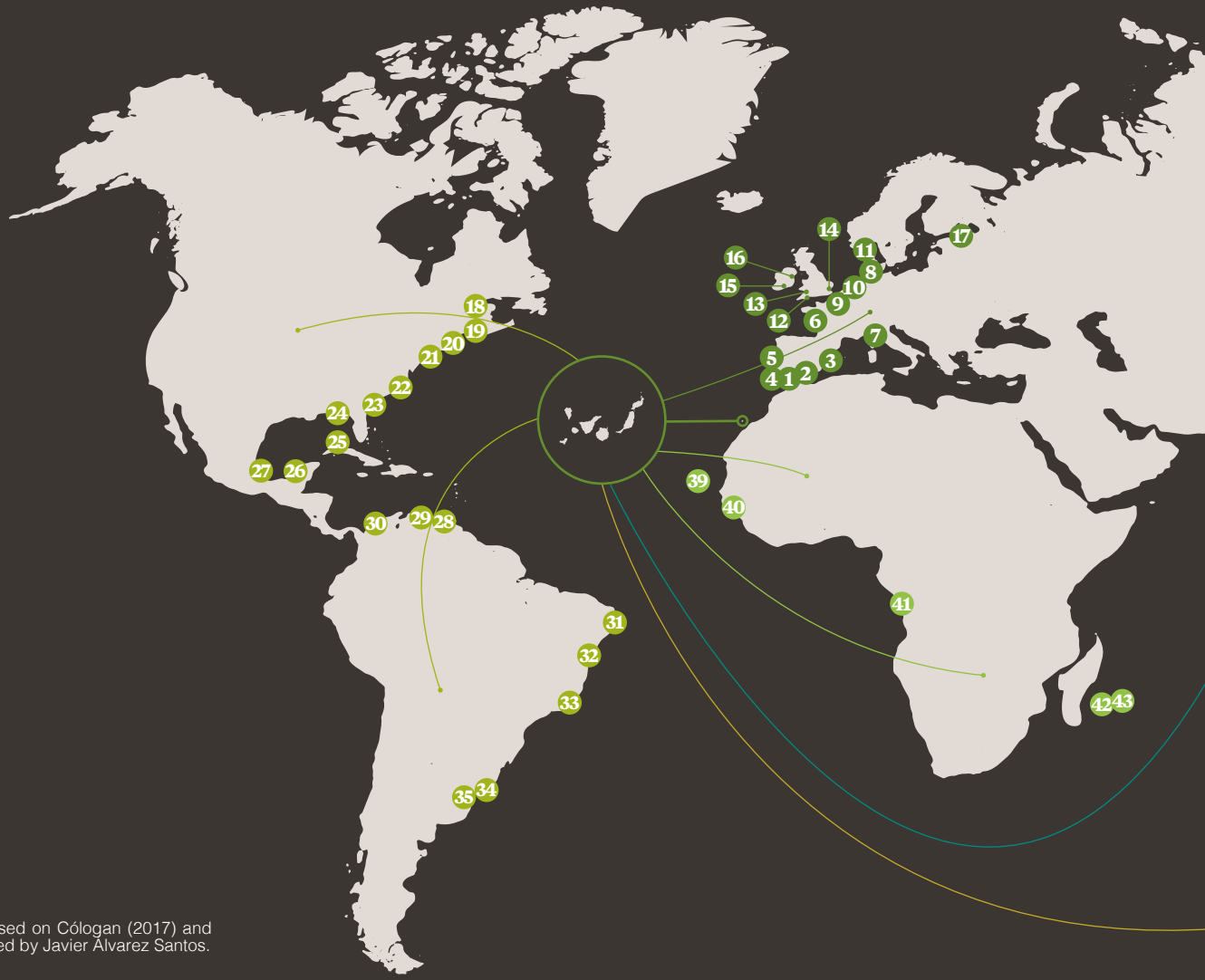
—

He who had the honor to be the first Importer of Noah's Plant was Francis de Caravantes, a Nobleman of Toledo, and one of the first Conquerors of Peru. This Gentleman, considering the Countrey to be in some tolerable state of quiet and repose, sent for Vines to the Canaries, as being the nearest place; from whence they brought the black sort of Grape, which produces a red Wine, but not of the deepest red, or Tent-colour; and though they have since planted several sorts of Vines, such as Muscatel, and others, yet there is none of a pale or whitish color. Bacchus was adored by the Gentiles, and worshipped for a God in reward of a lesser piece of service than this Gentleman had done for the *Indians*; for though Wine be now plentiful in Peru, yet the Natives thereof have so ungentle a palate, that they know not how to relish it, contenting themselves with their ancient Beverage made of *Cara* and Water.

Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Royal Commentaries of Peru*, 1609[25]

The Historic Expansion of Canary Wine

Main destination ports of *Canary Wine* (16th-18th centuries)



Map based on Cólogan (2017) and expanded by Javier Álvarez Santos.



Europe

1. Cadiz, Spain
2. Malaga, Spain
3. Valencia, Spain
4. Seville, Spain
5. Lisbon, Portugal
6. Nantes, France
7. Genoa, Italy
8. Hamburg, Germany
9. Ostend, Belgium
10. Rotterdam, The Netherlands
11. Copenhague, Denmark
12. Plymouth, United Kingdom
13. Bristol, United Kingdom
14. London, United Kingdom
15. Waterford, Ireland
16. Dublin, Ireland
17. St. Petersburg, Russia

America

18. Quebec, Canada
19. Boston, USA
20. New York, USA
21. Philadelphia, USA
22. Charlotte, USA
23. Newberry, USA
24. New Orleans, USA
25. La Habana, Cuba
26. Campeche, Mexico
27. Veracruz, Mexico
28. La Guaira, Venezuela
29. Caracas, Venezuela
30. Cartagena de Indias, Colombia
31. Olinda, Brazil
32. Salvador de Bahía, Brazil
33. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
34. Montevideo, Uruguay
35. Buenos Aires, Argentina

Asia

36. Mumbai (Bombay), India
37. Chennai (Madras), India
38. Calcuta, India

Africa

39. Praia, Cabo Verde
40. Cacheu, Guinea-Bisáu
41. Luanda, Angola
42. Saint-Denis, Reunión
43. Port Louis, Mauricio

Oceania

44. Sidney, Australia

2.3. *Canary Wine* wins the hearts of English writers

The arrival of *Canary Wine* in the ports and taverns of England was celebrated in elegies, poems, and songs created by the most illustrious writers from the island of Albion. It soon won over hearts and minds in one of the most important and flourishing periods in the history of English literature: the Renaissance. This Golden Age began more or less when Elizabeth I ascended to the throne (1558) and lasted until the restoration of the monarchy with Charles II (1660), imbuing a boom in literary genres such as theatre and poetry through eminent figures such as William Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Christopher Marlow.

The confluence of these two phenomena, the literary and the commercial, which brought ships loaded with wine from the Canary Islands, has bequeathed to us a very significant corpus of literary references to *Canary Wine*. Many of them have not been identified, or at least included in previous publications. Before exploring these references in greater depth, we need to examine the vocabulary present in these texts. On the one hand, they refer to *Canary Wine* using the term *Canary*. It is particularly striking that this word was also used to refer to the bird and to the native dance of the Canary Islands, in this latter case either as *Canary*, *Canaries* and *Canario*.[26] On the other hand, we also find the word *Sack*. The debate about what specific type of drink this was has run over several centuries, without reaching a consensus. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines it as: "*A general name for a class of white wines formerly imported from Spain and the Canaries*."[27]



Chess players, Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. Oil painting by C. de Heyman (1913). Image 28926, Folger Shakespeare Library.

Hence, depending on the contexts and authors, it alluded to a characteristic type of wine made using wines from different parts of mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, which would explain the existence of more specific names such as *Canary Sack, Sherry Sack, Palm Sack* and *Malaga Sack*.

As noted previously, English authors themselves debated this definition. Once example would be the English physician and author **Tobias Venner** (1577-1660), in his work *Via recta ad vitam longam* (1638). Another interesting reference is provided by **James Howell** (1594-1666), which we will return to later on, noting that the wine sometimes sold in taverns as *Canary* was in reality mixed with other Spanish wines, and when *Sack* and the *Canaries* started to arrive, they were drunk in spirit glasses and were much more alcoholic.

—

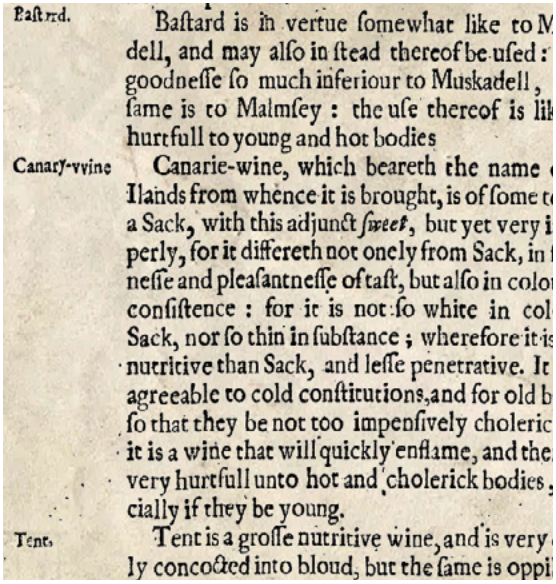
Canarie-wine, which beareth the name of the Ilands from whence it is brought, is of some termed a Sack, with this adjunct *sweet*, but yet very improperly, for it differeth not onely from Sack, in sweetnesse and pleasantnesse or tast, but also in colour and consistence: for it is not so white in colour as Sack, nor so thin in substance; wherefore it is more nutritive than Sack, and lesse penetrative. It is best agreeable to cold constitutions, and for old bodies, so that they be not too impensively cholerick: for it is a wine that will quickly enflame, and therefore very hurtfull unto hot and cholerick bodies, especially if they be young.

Tobias Venner, *Via recta ad vitam longam*, 1638[28]

—

I think also there is a hundred times more drunk under the name of Canary Wine than there is brought in; for *Sherries* and *Malagas* well mingled pass for *Canaries* in most Taverns, more often than *Canary* itself; else I do not see how' twere possible for the Vintner to save by it, or to live by his Calling, unless he were permitted sometimes to be a Brewer. When *Sacks* and *Canaries* were brought in first among us, there were us'd to be drank in *Aqua vitae*[29] measures, and 'twas held fit only for those to drink of them who were us'd to carry their *legs in their hands, their eyes upon their noses, and an Almanack in their bones*[30]: But now they go down every one's throat, both young and old, like milk.

James Howell, *The Familiar Letters of James Howell*, 1634[31]


Baſtard.

Baſtard is in vertue ſomewhat like to M
dell, and may alſo in ſtead thereof be uſed:
goodneſſe ſo much inferiour to Muskadell,
ſame is to Malmſey: the uſe thereof is lik
hurtfull to young and hot bodies

Canary-wine

Canarie-wine, which beareth the name
Ilands from whence it is brought, is of ſome t
a Sack, with this adjunct *ſweet*, but yet very i
perly, for it differeth not onely from Sack, in
neſſe and pleaſantneſſe of taſt, but alſo in colo
conſiſtence: for it is not ſo white in col
Sack, nor ſo thin in ſubſtance; wherefore it is
nutritive than Sack, and leſſe penetrative. It
agreeable to cold conſtitutions, and for old b
ſo that they be not too impenſively choleric
it is a wine that will quickly enflame, and the
very hurtfull unto hot and cholerick bodies,
cially if they be young.

Tent.

Tent is a groſſe nutritive wine, and is very
ly concocted into bloud, but the ſame is oppi

Fragment of *Via recta ad vitam longam* which mentions *Canary wine* (in the margin) and *Canarie-wine* (in the text).

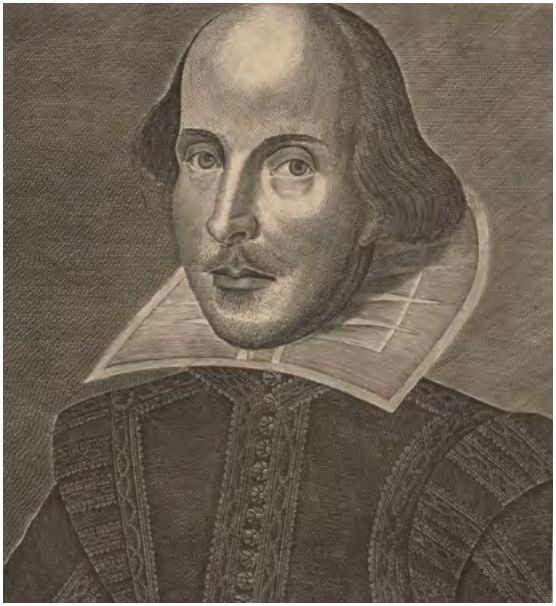


Portrait of James Howell (ca. 1640). Welsh National Library.

2.3.1. Shakespeare and *Canary Wine*

Undoubtedly, **William Shakespeare** (1564-1616) is the most important ambassador of *Canary Wine* in world literature. Numerous references have been made to Shakespearian quotes in literary works, essays, and academic writings that have dealt with the presence of *Canary Wine* in the history of literature.

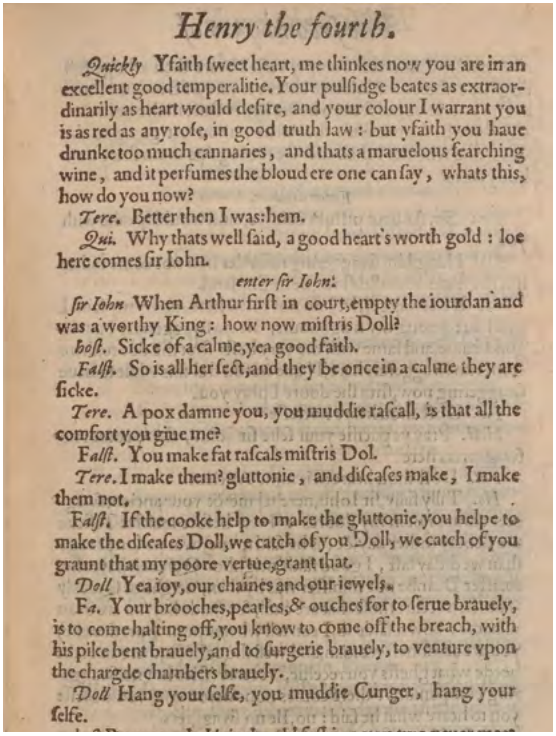
Shakespeare used the term *Canary* to refer to *Canary Wine* on four occasions, including the variant spelling *Canaries*, in *Henry IV* (1600), *Twelfth Night* (1602) and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1602). The most famous quote is in *Henry IV,* when Mistress Quickly describes *Canary* as a "*marvellous searching wine, and it perfumes the blood*." In The Merry Wives of Windsor, several characters mention their desire to drink *Canary* together with John Falstaff, a stock Shakespearian character, while in *Twelfth Night*, Sir Toby suggests to Sir Andrew that he needs a cup of *Canary*.



Etching of William Shakespeare. By Martin Droeshout. Published on the front cover of *First Folio*, the first publication of the collection of this author's works, in 1623.

The presence of wine in the writings of William Shakespeare is a constant feature that turns it into a character in its own right in plays such as *Henry IV, The Tempest, Anthony and Cleopatra, Macbeth, Hamlet and The Merry Wives of Windsor*, among others. Barreras Gómez,[32] based on an analysis of these plays, concludes that wine has various meanings: it is curative; it bolsters courage and gives characters strength; it helps them to forget; it is a fundamental ingredient at festivities and banquets; it is linked to the upper classes (in contrast to beer, which is associated with the lower classes); and it can also be harmful or even poisonous, which places it centre stage in dramatic plots. As Barreras Gómez points out: "*wine in Shakespeare's dramas gives a sense of realism, since it responds to a social custom. It can be the object of jokes and laughter, or it can be an essential element in a terrible crime. Its use contextualises the action or underscores the crux of the play.*"[33]

Luis Astrana Marín, historic translator of Shakespeare's works in Spain, identified *sack* with *Canary Wine* in the majority of his translations (24 out of 29), although in the other five he translated it as "Jerez" (sherry).[34] Following this interpretation, Leal[35] argues that the use of the word *sack* in this author's work is a clear reference to Canary Malvasia, highlighting its



Henry the fourth.

Quickly Yfaith sweet heart, me thinkes now you are in an excellent good temperalitie. Your pulsidge beates as extraordinarily as heart would desire, and your colour I warrant you is as red as any rose, in good truth law: but yfaith you haue drunke too much canaries, and thats a marueilous searching wine, and it perfumes the blood ere one can say, whats this, how do you now?

Tere. Better then I was: hem.

Qui. Why thats well said, a good heart's worth gold: loe here comes sir Iohn.

enter sir Iohn:

sir Iohn When Arthur first in court, empty the iourdan and was a worthy King: how now mistris Doll?

host. Sicke of a calme, yea good faith.

Falst. So is all her sect, and they be once in a calme they are sicke.

Tere. A pox damne you, you muddie rascall, is that all the comfort you giue me?

Falst. You make fat rascals mistris Dol.

Tere. I make them? gluttonie, and diseases make, I make them not.

Falst. If the cooke help to make the gluttonie, you helpe to make the diseases Doll, we catch of you Doll, we catch of you graunt that my poore vertue, grant that.

Doll Yea ioy, our chaines and our iewels.

Fa. Your brooches, pearles, & ouches for to serue brauely, is to come halting off, you know to come off the breach, with his pike bent brauely, and to surgerie brauely, to venture vpon the chargde chambers brauely.

Doll Hang your selfe, you muddie Cunger, hang your selfe.

A page from *Henry IV* that mentions *Canary wine*, spelled *cannaries* (line 5), edition from 1600. Folger Shakespeare Library.

sweetness, while Campillo Arnáiz,[36] in a study on the meaning of *sack*, maintains that the term was generally used to refer to *sherry*, also known as sherries.

This is an important consideration, since the corpus of literary references to *sack* is vast, and we are unclear (unless the context of the text itself makes it clear) as to whether it is referencing wine from the Canaries or elsewhere. This circumstance not only affects Shakespeare's texts but the whole of world literature.



Etching of Falstaff and Mrs. Quickly in the scene from *Henry IV* which mentions *Canary*. By Abraham Raimbach (1776-1843). Folger Shakespeare Library.

—

Mrs. Quickly.— But, i' faith, you have drunk too much canaries, and that's a marvellous searching wine, and it perfumes the blood ere one can say "What's this?" How do you now?

***Henry IV*, part II, act II, scene 4, 1600**[37]

—

Host.— Farewell, my hearts. I will to my honest knight Falstaff, and drink canary with him *[Exit]*.
Ford.— *[Aside]*. I think I shall drink in pipewine first with him; I'll make him dance.— Will you go, gentles?

***The Merry Wives of Windsor*, act III, scene 2, 1602**[38]

—

Sir Tobias.— O knight, thou lack'st a cup of canary! When did I see thee so put down?
Sir Andrew.— Never in your life, I think, unless you see canary put me down.

***Twelfth Night*, act I, scene 3, 1602**[39]

Sack in Shakespeare, ¿is he referring to *Canary Wine*?

Some Spanish translations of Shakespeare, such as those of Astrana Marín, identify *Sack* with *Canary*, translating it as *Canarias*.

—

Falstaff.— Go fetch me a quart of sack: put a toast in't.

***The Merry Wives of Windsor*, act III, scene 5**

—

Evans.— And given to fornications, and to taverns, and sack, and wine, and metheglins, and to drinkings, and swearings, and starings, pribbles and prabbles?

***The Merry Wives of Windsor*, act V, scene 5**

—

Prince.— Thou art so fat-witted with drinking of old sack, and unbuttoning thee after supper, and sleeping upon benches after noon, that thou hast forgotten to demand that truly which thou wouldest truly know. What a devil hast thou to do with the time of the day? Unless hours were cups of sack, and minutes capons, and clocks the tongues of bawds.

***Henry IV*, part I, act I, scene 2**

—

Poins.— What says Sir John Sack and Sugar? Jack, how agrees the devil and thee about thy soul, that thou soldest him on Good Friday last for a cup of Madeira and a cold capon's leg?

***Henry IV*, part I, act I, scene 2**

—

Falstaff.— A plague of all cowards, I say, and a vengeance too! Marry and amen! Give me a cup of sack, boy. Ere I lead this life long, I'll sew netherstocks, and mend them and foot them too. A plague of all cowards! Give me a cup of sack, rogue. Is there no virtue extant? [*He drinks*].

***Henry IV*, part I, act II, scene 4**

—

Falstaff.— Your rogue, here's lime in this sack too! There is nothing but roguery to be found in villanous man; yet a coward is worse than a cup of sack with lime in it.

***Henry IV*, part I, act II, scene 4**

—

Falstaff.— Give me them that will face me. Give me a cup of sack; I am a rogue if I drunk today.

***Henry IV*, part I, act II, scene 4**

—

Prince.— O villain! Thou stolest a cup of sack eighteen years ago, and wert taken with the manner, and ever since thou hast blush'd extempore.

***Henry IV*, part I, act II, scene 4**

—

Falstaff.— Well, an the fire of grace be not quite out of thee, now shalt thou be moved. Give me a cup of sack to make my eyes look red, that it may be thought I have wept; for I must speak in passion, and I will do it in King Cambyses' vein.

***Henry IV*, part I, act II, scene 4**

—

Prince.— Let's see what they be: read them.
Peto.— *[Reads]*. Item, A capon 2s. 2d. Item, Sauce 4d. Item, Sack, two gallons 5s. 8d. Item, Anchovies and sack after supper 2s. 6d. Item, Bread ob.
Prince.— O monstrous! But one halfpenny-worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack!

***Henry IV*, part I, act II, scene 4**

—

Prince.—Why dost thou converse with that trunk of humours, that bolting-hutch of beastliness, that swoll'n parcel of dropsies, that huge bombard of sack, that stuff'd cloak-bag of guts, that roasted Manningtree ox with the pudding in his belly, that reverend Vice, that grey iniquity, that father Ruffian, that Vanity in years? Wherein is he good, but to taste sack and drink it?

***Henry IV*, part I, act II, scene 4**

—

Falstaff.— If sack and sugar be a fault, God help the wicked! If to be old and merry be a sin, then many an old host that I know is damn'd...

***Henry IV*, part I, act II, scene 4**

—

Falstaff.— ... but the sack that thou hast drunk me would have bought me lights as good cheap at the dearest chandler's in Europe.

***Henry IV*, part I, act III, scene 3**

—

Falstaff.— Bardolph, get thee before to Coventry; fill me a bottle of sack. Our soldiers shall march through; we'll to Sutton Co'fil' tonight.

***Henry IV*, part I, act IV, scene 2**

—

Falstaff.— For I'll purge, and leave sack, and live cleanly, as a nobleman should do.

***Henry IV*, part I, act V, scene 4**

—

Falstaff. — ... not in ashes and sackcloth, but in new silk and old sack.

***Henry IV*, part II, act I, scene 2**



Wine bottle, made from glazed ceramic, with the inscription "Sack". ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

—

Falstaff.— Welcome, Ancient Pistol. Here, Pistol, I charge you with a cup of sack.

Henry IV, part II, act I, scene 4

—

Pistol.— Then feed and be fat, my fair Calipolis. Come, give some sack. «*Si fortune me tormente sperato me contento.*» Fear we broadsides? No, let the fiend give fire. Give me some sack; and, sweetheart, lie thou there.

Henry IV, part II, act I, scene 4

—

Falstaff.— Some sack, Francis.

Henry IV, part II, act II, scene 4

—

Nym.— They say he cried out of sack.
Hostess.— Ay, tha't a did.
Bardolf.— And of women.
Hostess.—Nay, that'a did not.
Boy.— Yes, that' a did; and said they were devils incarnate.

Henry V, act II, scene 3[40]



Scene from *Henry IV* (part I, act II, scene 2), published in *The works of Shakespear : in six volumes*. Folger Shakespeare Library.

2.3.2. Ben Jonson: the literary influence of a devotee of *Canary Wine*

Ben Jonson (1572-1637), one of the most important poets of the English Renaissance, gave *Canary Wine* pride of place in several of his literary compositions. His literature, which was strongly influenced by the classical tradition, praises the divine filiation of the wine and the poetic inspiration it releases, since it has the power to turn a man into a poet.

This subject matter features prominently in his epigram *Inviting a Friend to Supper* (1616), where he depicts a fraternal supper in which they delight in each other's good company and enjoy the finest delicacies, including *Canary*, which he considers superior to the nectar of the gods.

For Jonson, his Muse brings inspiration to the poet through *Canary*. According to Goulding, "*That the muse, too, is taken with the prospect of a cup of Canary wine is one more deft and witty reminder that literature and life share prominence in this poem*."[41] This association between the Muse, *Canary*, and poetry is also reflected in *An Epigram to the House-Hold* (1630).

The divine nature of *Canary* is also present in other texts by Ben Jonson, for example, in his plays *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599), *The Alchemist* (1610), *Bartholmew Fayre* (1614), *The Divell is an Asse* (1616) and *Staple of News* (1625).

In the first of these works, Jonson continues to associate *Canary Wine* with classical deities, calling it the elixir and spirit of wine, adding that the poets deemed it to be "*Castalian liquor*", thereby linking it to Castalian Spring, dedicated in Antiquity to Apollo, the god of poetry. Elsewhere in his writings, one of his characters reproaches another for having the gall to have drunk nothing less than *Canary sack*.



Portrait of Ben Jonson. Etching by George Vertue. Image from the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

—

… Shall read a piece of Virgil, Tacitus,
Livy, or of some better book to us.
Of which we'll speak our minds, amidst our meat;
And I'll profess no verses to repeat.
To this, if ought appear which I not know of,
That will the pastry, not my paper, show of.

Digestive cheese and fruit there sure will be;
But that which most doth take my Muse and me,
Is a pure cup of rich *Canary wine*,
Which is the Mermaid's now, but shall be mine;
Of which had Horace, or Anacreon tasted,
Their lives, as so their lines, till now had lasted.

Tobacco, nectar, or the Thespian[42] spring,
Are all but Luther's beer to this I sing.
Of this we will sup free, but moderately,
And we will have no Pooley, or Parrot[43] by,
Nor shall our cups make any guilty men;

But, at our parting we will be as when
We innocently met. No simple word
That shall be uttered at our mirthful board,
Shall make us sad next morning or affright
The liberty that we'll enjoy tonight.

Ben Jonson, *Inviting a Friend to Supper*, 1616[44]

—

… And rather wish, in their expence of Sack,
So, the allowance from the King to use,
As the old Bard, should no Canary lack,
'T were better spare a Butt, then spill his *Muse*.
For in the *Genius* of a *Poet's* Verse,
The Kings fame lives. Go now, denie his *Teirce*.

***Ben Jonson, An Epigram, to the House-hold,* 1630**[45]

—

Carlo.— O, art thou come? Well said; give me, boy;
fill so! Here's a cup of wine sparkles like a diamond.
Gentlewomen (I am sworn to put them in first) and
gentlemen, around, in place of a bad prologue, I drink
this good draught to your health here, Canary, the very
elixir and spirit of wine. [*Drinks*].
This is that our poet calls Castalian liquor, when he
comes abroad now and then, once in a fortnight, and
makes a good meal among players, where he has
'caninum appetitum'; marry, at home he keeps a good
philosophical diet, beans and butter-milk; an honest
pure rogue, he will take you off three, four, five of these,
one after another, and look villainously when he has
done, like a one-headed Cerberus.

Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*,
prologue, 1599[46]

—

Shift.— Yes, as soon, sir; he shall receive the first,
second, and third whiffe, if it please him, and, upon the
receipt, take his horse, drink his three cups of canary,
and expose one at Hounslow, a second at Stains, and a
third at Bagshot.

Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*,
act III, scene 1, 1599[47]

—

… The best attendance, the best drink, sometimes
Two glasses of Canary and pay nothing;
The purest linen and the sharpest knife,
The partridge next his trencher: and, somewhere,
The dainty bed, in private, with the dainty.

Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist*, act III, scene 2, 1610[48]

—

... A poxe o'these pretenders, to wit! your *Three Cranes*, *Miter*, and *Mermaid* men! Not a corne of true salt, nor a graine of right mustard amongst them all. They may stand for places or so, againe the net *Wit* fall, and pay two pence in a quart more for their *Canary*, then other men.

Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fayre*, act I, scene 1, 1614[49]

—

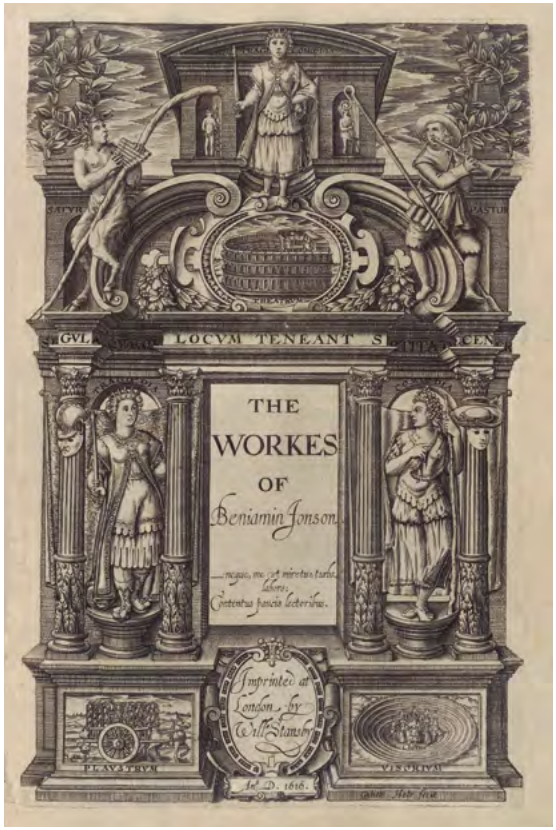
Meer-Craft.— ... O' making wine of raisins: this is in hand, now, *[Hee drawes out another]*. Raisines.
Ingine.— ¿Is not that strange, Sir to make wine of raisins?
Meer-Craft.— Yes, and as true a wine, as th' wines of *France*, Or *Spaine*, Or *Italy*, looke of what grape.
My raisin is, that wine I'll render perfect, as of the *muscatell* grape, I'll render *muscatell*; of the *Canary*, his; the *Claret*, his; so of all kinds: and bate you of the prices, of wine, throughout the kingdome, halfe in halfe.
Ingine.— But, how, Sir, if you raise the other Commodity, Raysins?

Ben Jonson, *The Divell is an Asse*, act II, scene I, 1616[50]

—

Peni-boy sen.—Where are the Prisoners?
Porter.— They are forth-coming, Sir, Or coming forth at least.
Peni-boy sen.— The Rogue is drunk, Since I committed them to his charge. Come hither, [*He smells him*].
Near me, yet nearer; breathe upon me. Wine!
Wine, o' my Worship! Sack! Canary Sack!
Could not your Badge ha' been drunk with fulsom Ale, or Beer, the Porter's Element? but Sack!
Porter.— I am not drunk; we had, Sir, but one Pint, an honest Carrier and my self.
Peni-boy sen.— Who paid for't?
Porter.— Sir, I did give it him.

Ben Jonson, *The Staple of News*, act V, scene IV, 1625[51]



Cover of *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson*, 1616.

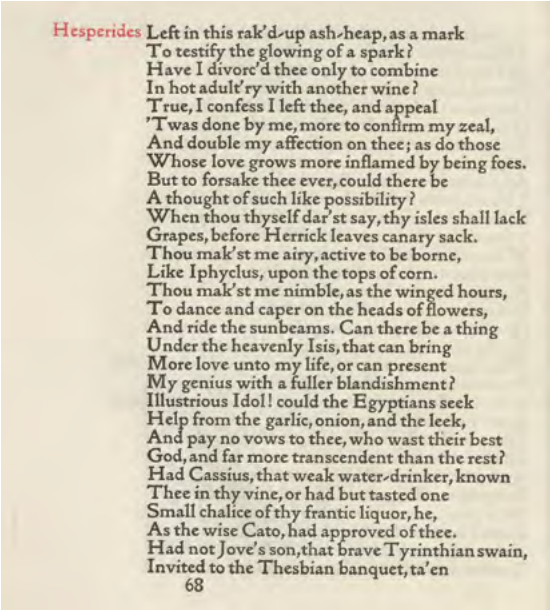
The verses and texts of Jonson had a tremendous influence on subsequent literature, giving an eternal place to *Canary Wine* in the Anglo-Saxon imagination. Poets, playwrights, and novelists from then on had a reference to express their yearning for the literary and creative delight represented by Jonson. *Canary* was not only a drink, but a symbol of pleasure, catharsis, and happiness inspired by and leading them back to the times of classical Antiquity and to the literary taverns. Among his works, it was the epigram mentioned previously, *Inviting a Friend to Supper*, which influenced later poets, particularly those who called themselves "*Sons of Ben*" and the "*Tribe of Ben*", disciplines and followers of Jonson who shared his passion for *Canary Wine*.

One such poet was **Robert Herrick** (1591-1674), who also expressed a classical devotion to wine, attributing a divine nature to it, as we can see in his piece *His Farewell to Sack*: "*O thou the drink of gods, and angels! wine*" In other of his poems, *Welcome to Sack,* he compares returning to this drink, after a period of abstinence, to the reunion of husband and wife, proclaiming that he cannot be without *Canary sack*. Included in his collection *Hesperides*, in some of his manuscripts, Herrick even includes other verses such as: "*Sack is my life, my leaven O thou the drink of gods, and angels! wine*."[52] As Monterrey pointed out: "*In Hesperides, 'sack', wine, and drink constitute a group of metaphors that, in pure cavalier poetry style, speak to us about the joy and hope of life, as well as the very creation of poetry itself.*"[53]

—

When thou thyself dar'st say thy isles shall lack
Grapes before Herrick leaves canary sack.
Thou mak'st me airy, active to be borne,
Like Iphiclus,[54] upon the tops of corn.
Thou mak'st me nimble, as the winged hours,
To dance and caper on the heads of flowers,
And ride the sunbeams. Can there be a thing
Under the heavenly Isis that can bring
More love unto my life, or can present
My genius with a fuller blandishment?

Robert Herrick, *The Welcome to Sack (Hesperides)*, 1648[55]


Hesperides Left in this rak'd-up ash-heap, as a mark
To testify the glowing of a spark?
Have I divorc'd thee only to combine
In hot adult'ry with another wine?
True, I confess I left thee, and appeal
'Twas done by me, more to confirm my zeal,
And double my affection on thee; as do those
Whose love grows more inflamed by being foes.
But to forsake thee ever, could there be
A thought of such like possibility?
When thou thyself dar'st say, thy isles shall lack
Grapes, before Herrick leaves canary sack.
Thou mak'st me airy, active to be borne,
Like Iphyclus, upon the tops of corn.
Thou mak'st me nimble, as the winged hours,
To dance and caper on the heads of flowers,
And ride the sunbeams. Can there be a thing
Under the heavenly Isis, that can bring
More love unto my life, or can present
My genius with a fuller blandishment?
Illustrious Idol! could the Egyptians seek
Help from the garlic, onion, and the leek,
And pay no vows to thee, who wast their best
God, and far more transcendent than the rest?
Had Cassius, that weak water-drinker, known
Thee in thy vine, or had but tasted one
Small chalice of thy frantic liquor, he,
As the wise Cato, had approved of thee.
Had not Jove's son, that brave Tyrinthian swain,
Invited to the Thesbian banquet, ta'en
68

Excerpt from Herrick's poem, *Hesperides*, from the 1896 edition.



Theatre scene, by Giovanni David (1743-1790).
The Cleveland Museum of Art.

The pleasure of savouring *Canary* in a tavern is also extolled by another "*son of Ben*", **Thomas Nabbes** (1605-1641). In his comedy *Covent Garden* (1638), he mentions it on two occasions, while in *The Merry Milkmaid of Islington* (1639), a later adaptation of *Tottenham Court Fair* (1633) by Thomas Nabbes, one of the characters enjoys a bottle of *Canary*. Another member of this group, **Richard Brome** (1590-1652), in *A Jovial Crew: or, The Merry Beggars* (1652) makes a brief reference to *Canary Wine*.

—

Iefferey.— Let's to the Taverne Sir, and drowne this passion in a cup of Canary.

Thomas Nabbes, *Covent Garden*, 1638[56]

—

Ralph.— They buy not their Ordinary for the Copie of a Prologue; nor insinuate themselves into the acquaintance of an admiring Ningle, who for his free comming in, is at the expence of a Taverne Supper, and rinses their bawling throats with Canarye.

Thomas Nabbes, *Covent Garden*, 1638[57]

—

But Sir, I will bring her to the Bar of your Presence, where she may answer for herself, whilst I convert your Bounty into wholesome Nourishment, from a Bottle of Canary; and have a bout with my own Turnep.

***The Merry Milkmaid of Islington*, *ca.* 1680**[58]

—

But.—This Gentleman speaks not. Or had you rather take a Drink of brown Ale with a Toast, or March Beer with Sugar and Nutmeg? or had you rather drink without Sugar?

Old.— Good Sir, a Cup of your Household-Beer. [*Exit*]

But.— I fear he will draw down to that at last. [*Enter Butler with a Silver Can of Sack*]. — Here, Gentlemen, is a Cup of my Masters small Beer: But it is good old Canary, I assure you. And here's to your welcome.

Richard Brome, *A Jovial Crew: or, The Merry Beggars*, 1661[59]

John Falstaff and his devotion to *Canary Sack*

In the writings of Shakespeare, we find a stock character who is inexorably associated with wine: John Falstaff. His presence is especially significant in *Henry IV* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. This character is rowdy, a liar, a womaniser, devil-may-care, vice-ridden, gluttonous, and addicted to wine, including *Canary*. These characteristics are often imbued with negative connotations, and he is dismissed as a bad influence, especially for Prince Hal.

However, on other occasions, Falstaff is associated with positive aspects achieved by imbibing this drink, such as bravery, agility, and courage. This character in some ways embodies the Dionysian spirit linked to wine, but in keeping with the times and a new cultural context. This universal quality of the character has provided inspiration in other art forms, including operas composed by Antonio Salieri and Giuseppe Verdi, literature, and, more recently, film and television.



Pistol announces the King's death to Falstaff. Scene from *Henry IV*. Oil painting by John Cawse (1779-1862). Image 16276. Folger Shakespeare Library.

2.3.3. *Canary Wine* in Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre

Among Shakespeare and Jonson's contemporaries, chronologically speaking, the first mention of *Canary* is found in the play *Campaspe* (1584), written by **John Lyly** (1553-1606). This was a very influential play in Elizabethan theatre, which tells the story of the woman after whom the play is named, a mistress of Alexander the Great. In one of the passages, the character of Granichus, a servant to the philosopher Plato, praises "fat Canary", meaning a full-bodied *Canary Wine*.

—

Granicus. O For a Bowle of fatt Canary,
Rich Palermo, sparkling Sherry,
Some Nectar else, from Iuno's Daiery,
O these draughts would make us merry.

Psyllus. O for a wench, (I deale in faces,
And in other danyntier things,)
Tickled am I with her Embraces,
Fine dancing in such Fairy Ringes.

Manes. O for a plump fat leg of Mutton,
Veale, Lambe, Capon, Pigge, & Conney,
None is happy but a Glutton,
None an Asse but who wants money.

Chorus. Wines (indeed) & Girles are good,
But braue victuals feast the bloud,
For wenches, wine, and Lusty cheere,
Ioue would leape down to surfet heere.

Jonh Lyly, *Campaspe*, act I, scene II[60]

In addition to his circle of followers and admirers, Ben Jonson also had literary enemies, such as **John Marston** (1576-1634). Marston's literary career crossed over between the two centuries, and in his play *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (ca.1600), *Canary Sacke* is named as a remedy for heartache.

Also in the 1610s, the singular play by **John Fletcher** (1579-1625), *The Chances* (1617), is strongly influenced by Spanish literature, as we can see in the presence of characteristic elements from Spain, including its wine. In one excerpt, the wizard Peter Vecchio recites an incantation that calls for *Canary*, whilst in another of his plays, *The Custom of the Country*, written with **Philip Massinger**, *Canary Wine* is a remedy for pain.

Another play that contains Spanish references is *The Spanish Gipsy* (1623), which introduces *Canary Wine* in the very first scene. It was written by **Thomas Middleton** (1580-1627) together with **William Rowley** (1585-1626). *Canary Wine* is also mentioned in a slightly earlier work, written by Middleton alone, *A Mad World, My Masters* (1608).

Around this same time was the first performance of *Fortune by Land and Sea: A Tragi-Comedy* (printed in 1655), written by **Thomas Heywood** (1574-1641) and **William Rowley.** In this play, one of the characters declares his preference for *Canary* over other types of *sack*.

Other fans of *Canary* included **Lording Barry** (ca. 1580-1629), in his comedy *Ram Alley*; **James Shirley** (1596-1666), in at least three of his plays; **Thomas Jordan** (ca. 1612-ca. 1685), poet and playwright, in

his musical play *Bacchu's Festival* (1660), in which the chorus sings: "*Tis good Canary onely makes men sing, And truly stand for Countrey, God and King*"; and finally the comedic actor **John Lacy** (1615-1681), in *Sr. Hercules Buffoon*.

—

Broach me a fresh Butt of Canary Sacke,
Lest sing, drink, sleep, for that's the best reliefe:
To drowne all care, and overwhelme all griefe.

John Marston, *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, act II[61]

—

O for a bowl of fat canary,
Rich Aristippus, sparkling sherry!
Some nectar else from Juno's dairy;
O these draughts would make us merry!

Thomas Middleton, *A Mad World, My Masters*, 1608[62]

—

Roderigo.— Yes, not so much with wine; it's as rare to see a Spaniard a drunkard, as a German sober; an Italian no whoremonger; an English man to pay his debts. I am no *borachio*, sack, maligo, nor canary breeds the calenture in my brains; mine eye mads me, not my cups.

Thomas Middleton y William Rowley, *The Spanish Gipsy*, 1623[63]

—

Welcome, poet, to our ging!
Make rhymes, we give thee reason,
Canary bees thy brains shall sting,
Mull-sack did ne'er spak treason;
Peter-see-me shall wash thy now!
And Malaga glasses fox thee;
If, poet, thou toss not bowl for bowl,
Thou shalt not Kiss a doxy.

Thomas Middleton y William Rowley, *The Spanish Gipsy*, 1623[64]

—

John.—Bring down the bottle of Canary wine.
Land.—Exceeding sick; Heav'n help me!

John Fletcher, *The Chances*, *ca*. 1617[65]

—

Song
... By old claret I enlarge thee,
By Canary thus I charge thee,
By Britain Metheglin, and Peeter,[66]
Appear, and answer me in metre.
Why when?
Why, Gill!
Why when?
Answer.— You'll tarry till I am ready.

John Fletcher*The Chances, ca*. 1617[67]

—

Rutilio.— I'll no more Whoring:
This fencing 'twixt a pair of Sheets more wears one
Than all the Exercise in the World besides.
To be drunk with good Canary, a meer Julip.

John Fletcher y Philip Massinger, *The Custom of the Country*, 1647[68]



Image of the current *Globe Theatre*, reconstructed near to the original theatre. Photograph: Nick Brundle-Adobe Stock.

—

Drawer.— Here Sir.
Rainsford.— Some Canary Sack and Tobacco.
Drawer.— You shall Sir, wilt please you stay supper?
Rainsford.— Yes marry will we Sir, lets have the best cheer the kitchin yeilds: the pipe sirrah.
Drawer.— Here Sir.
Rainsford.— Will Frank be here at supper?
Goodwin.— So Sir he promis'd, and presumes he will not fait his hour.
Rainsford.— Some Sack boy, I am all led within, ther's no mirth in me, nor was I wont to be so lumpish sad: reach me the glasse: what's this?
Drawer.— Good Sherry Sack Sir.
Rainsford.— I meant Canary Sir, what hast no brains?
Drawer.— Pox a your brains, are your fingers so light?
Rainsford.— Say, Sir?
Drawer.— You shall have Cannary presently.
Goodwin.— When was he wont to be in this sad strain, excepting some few sudden melancholies, there lives not one more free and sociable.
Foster.— I am too weel acquainted with his humour, to stir his blood in the least distemperature; Cose Ile be with you here.
[Enter Drawer.]
Rainsford.— Do, come to me; have you hit upon the right Cannary now, or could your Hogshead find a Spanish But? A health.
Goodwin.— Were it my height Ile pledge it.

Thomas Heywood y William Rowley, *Fortune by Land and Sea: A Tragi-Comedy*, 1655[69]

—

Canary Sack
Did go to wrack,
Some Marchants went to Malago,
Some drown'd in good old Charnico.

James Shirley, *Upon the Princes Birth*, 1646[70]

—

There is no discourse so becoming your gallants now, as a horse race, or Hyde-Park, —what ladies lips are softest, what fashion is most terse and courtly, what news abroad, which is the best vaultinghorse, where shall we taste canary and be drunk to night? Talk of morality!

James Shirley, *The Witty fair one*, 1633[71]

—

O yes, O yes my brains swim in canary, exceeding excellent sack; I thank you ladies, I know it is your pleasure I should not want the best blood of the grape, in hope there might be a stone in my cup to mar my drinking afterwards.

James Shirley, *The Witty fair one*, 1633[72]

—

They say that canary sack must dance again to the apothecaries, and be sold for physic in hum-glasses and thimbles; that the Spa-water must be transported hither, and be drunk instead of French wines: for my part, I am but one.

James Shirley, *The Wedding*, 1629[73]



Portrait of John Fletcher. Image from the Biblioteca Nacional de España.



Portrait of James Shirley. Etching by William H. Worthington. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

—

Is the coast clear?, are these combustions ceased,
And may we drinke Canary sack in peace?
Shall we have no attendance here you rogues,
Where be these rascals that skip up and down,
Faster than Virginal jacks? Drawers!

Lording Barry, *Ram-Alley: or, Merrie-Trickes*, 1611[74]

—

Frenchman.
Speaks.
By God Bacchus order I here you present
with a Cup of Apollo's own Nectar;
'Tis the drink of the gods, and I dare lay you odds
'Twill make you most bravely conjecture
What the Nation greedily longs for,
and to what its thoughts are thus bent;
That you would restore, and we may have once more,
our King and Parliament.

Chorus.
Here's the white or the red, take both as your due,
For our blood and our brains we must both owe to you.

Spaniard.
Stand by fond foolish Monsieur, let me come,
Who am the onely man in Christendome.
As for your Countrey-men, they're antick,
Their Wine's for nothing but to make men frantick.
But Sir, you may be sure this Gass contains
What will inspire you with Aetherial strains.

Chorus.
'Tis good Canary onely makes men sing,
And truly stand for Countrey, God and King.

Thomas Jordan, *Bacchu's Festival*, 1660[75]

—

Fly.— With all my heart, we shall not be mis-reckoned then, here's money for a pottle of Canary, the night is somewhat cold, and Sack is sprightly.
[Keep. Hugh, Hugh. Enter Drawer at the window].
Hugh.— What a Hugh and cry you make, I have stayed up there two nights, you are all mad I think, will you not go to bed to night.
Wilde.— Prethee honest Hugh (if thy name be so) fill us one pottle of Canary, let's have clean pipes and Tobacco.

Thomas Jordan, *Tricks of Youth…*, 1663[76]

—

Well Gentlemen we make bold to visit you, and (to be the better welcome) we have brought with us each man a bottle of Canary; who's that knocks?

Thomas Jordan, *Tricks of Youth …*, 1663[77]

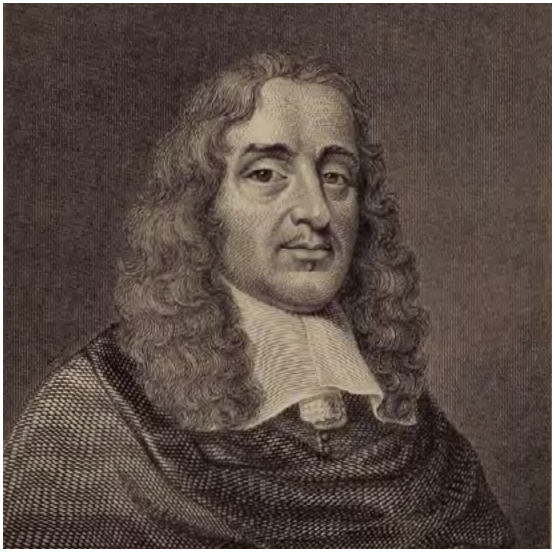
—

Silence! standall ready charged!
Thy dull and stupid blockhead must be washed,
And in thy Face Bumpers of Claret dashed.
Throw the wine in his Face.
Pour on his head the best Canary Sack,
And down his throat Burgundy and Pontack.
Pour wine
Wash all his Body with the choicest Wine,
That grows upon the fruitful River Rhine.

John Lacy, *Sir Hercules Buffoon*, 1684[78]

2.3.4. Alexander Brome and popular songs about *Canary Wine*

The divine nature of wine, and in particular *Canary Wine*, as well as its close associations with cultural references in the Graeco-Roman world, was still a recurrent theme among other English poets. One example of this is **Alexander Brome** (1620-1666), whose compositions are of great interest on account of the prominence of specific wines within them, and in particular *Canary*, to which he dedicates an entire poem, *On Canary*. Brome places its origins back in Ancient Greece, together with its deities and inspirational muses, considering it the element that nourishes joy, enriches the soul, and delights the heart.



Portrait of Alexander Brome (1664). Etching by David Loggan. National Portrait Gallery, London.

—

ON CLARET

Within this bottle's to be seen
A scarlet liquor, that has been
Born of the royal vine;
We but nick-name it when we call
It God's drink, who drink none at all,
No higher name than wine.
'Tis ladies' liquor: here one might
Feast both his eye and appetite
With beauty and with taste,
Cherries and roses, which you seek
Upon your mistress' lip and cheek,
Are here together placed.
Physicians may prescribe their whey,
And purge our veins and brains away,
And clarify the blood;
That cures one sickness with another,
This route by wholesale altogether,
And drowns them in a flood.
This poets makes, else how could I
Thus ramble into poetry,
Nay, and write sonnets too;
If there's such power in junior wines
To make one venture upon lines,
What could Canary do?
Then squeeze the vessel's bowels out,
And deal it faithfully about,
Cram each hand with a brimmer;
Since we're to pass through this red sea,
Our noses shall our pilots be,
And every soul a swimmer.

Alexander Brome, *On Claret*, 1664[79]

—

ON CANARY

Of all the rare juices
That *Bacchus* or *Ceres* produces,
There's none that I can, nor dare I
Compare with the princely Canary;
For this is the thing
That a fancy infuses;
This first got a King,
And next the Nine *Muses*
'Twas this made old *Poets* so sprightly to sing,
And fill all the world with the glory and fame on't,
They Helicon call'd it, and the *Thespian*-spring,
But this was the drink, though they knew not the name on't.

Our *Sider* and *Perry*,
May make a man mad but not merry;
It makes people windmill-pated,
And with *crackers sophisticated*;
And your *hops*, *yest*, and *malt*,
When they're mingled together,
Makes our fancies to halt,
Or reel any whither:
It stuffs up our brains with froth, and with yest,
That if one would write but a verse for a Bel-man
He must study till Christmas for an eight shilling-jest
These liquors won't raise, but drown, and o'rewhelm man.

Our drousie *Metheglin*
Was only ordain'd to enveigle in;
The *Novice* that knows not to drink yet,
But is fudled before he can think it;
And your *Claret* and *White*,
Have a *Gun-powder* fury,
They're of the French spright,
But they wont long endure you.
And your holiday *Muscadine*, *Allegant*, and *Tent*,
Have only this property and vertue that's fit in't:
They'l make a man sleep till a preachment be spent,
But we neither can warm our bloud nor our wit in't.

The *Bagrag* and *Rhenish*
You must with ingredients replenish;
'Tis a wine to please Ladies and toyes with,
But not for a man to rejoyce with:
But 'tis *Sack* makes the sport,
And who gains but that flavour,
Though an *Abbess* he court,
In his high shooes, he I have her.
'Tis this that advances the drinker and drawer,
Though the father came to Town in his hob-nails and leather,
He turns it to Velvet, and brings up an Heir,
In the Town in his hain, in the field with his feather.

Alexander Brome, *On Canary*, 1664[80]

—

THE RESOLVE

The glories of your ladies be
But metaphors of things,
And but resemble what we see
Each common object brings.
Roses out-red their lips and cheeks,
Lilies their whiteness stain;
What fool is he that shadows seeks
And may the substance gain?
Then if thou'lt have me love a lass,
Let it be one that's kind:
Else I'm a servant to the glass
That's with Canary lined.

Alexander Brome, *The Resolve*, 1664[81]

—

TO HIS FRIEND WHO HAD VOW'D SMALL BEER

Leave off fond *Hermite*, leave thy vow,
And fall again to drinking,
That Beauties that won't sack allow.
Is hardly worth thy thinking,
Dry love or small can never hold,
And without *Bacchus, Venus* soon grows cold:

Foest think by turning *Anchorite*;
Or a dull small Beer sinner,
Thy cold embraces can invite,
Or sprightless Courtship win her?
No' tis *Canary* that inspires,
'Tis Sack like Oyl, gives Flames to am'rous Fires.

Alexander Brome, *To his Friend who had vow'd small beer,* no date[82]

—

THE CHEERFUL HEART

¿What though these ill times to do go cross to our will?
And fortune still frowns upon us?
Our hearts are your own, and the shall to be so still;
A pin for the plagues they lay on us.
Let us take t'other cup,
To keep our hearts up,
And let it be purest Canary;
We'l ne'r shrink or care,
For the crosses we bear,
Let 'um plague us until they be wear.

Alexander Brome, *The Cheerful Heart*, 1668[83]

—

... And when at the last our bodies are weary,
We'l straight to the Taverns our strength to recruit;
Where, when we've refresh'd our hearts with Canary,
We shall be the fitter again to go to't.
We'll tipple and drink until we do stagger,
For then is the time for Soldiers to swagger.

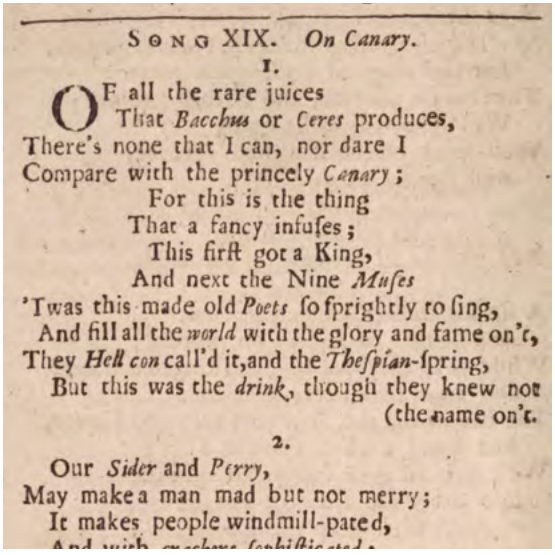
Alexander Brome, *No title*, 1643[84]

—

ON THE FALL OF THE PRICES OF WINE

Give's a rowsing beer-glass of Canary,
The half-pint and thimble's our foe;
We will be no more tributary
To the *Spaniards* pride,
Nor make Vinters ride.

Alexander Brome, *On the Fall of the Prices of Wine*, 1668[85]



SONG XIX. *On Canary.*

1.

OF all the rare juices
That *Bacchus* or *Ceres* produces,
There's none that I can, nor dare I
Compare with the princely *Canary*;
For this is the thing
That a fancy infuses;
This firſt got a King,
And next the Nine *Muſes*
'Twas this made old *Poets* ſo ſprightly to ſing,
And fill all the *world* with the glory and fame on't,
They *Hell con* call'd it, and the *Theſpian*-ſpring,
But this was the *drink*, though they knew not
(the name on't.

2.

Our *Sider* and *Perry*,
May make a man mad but not merry;
It makes people windmill-pated,

Excerpt from the poem *On Canary*, by Alexander Brome, 1668 editioN.

—

THE ANSWER

… He, he is an Ass
That doth throw down himself with a glass
Of Canary;
He that's quiet, will think
Much the better of drink,
'Cause the cups made the camp to miscarry:
….
'Tis Sack makes our bloods both the purer & warmer;
We need not your Priest or the feminine charmer,
For a bowl of Canary's a whole fruit of armour.

Alexander Brome, *The Answer*, 1668[86]

—

THE ROYALIST

… Drink off your bowl,
'Twill enrich both your head and your soul with
Canary:
For a Carbuncle'd face saves a tedious race,
And the *Indies* about us we carry:
No Helicon like to the juice of good wine is,
For Phoebus had never had wit that divine is,
Had his face not been bow-dy'd as thine is and mine is.

Alexander Brome, *The Royalist*, 1668[87]

—

THE MUSK-SONG

… Throw, throw down the glass,
He's an Ass
That *extracts* all his worth from Canary;
That valour will shrink
That's only good in drink,
'Twas the cup made the *camp* to miscarry.

Alexander Brome, *The Musk-Song*, 1668[88]

—

THE ANSWER

Thus wishing you much mirth and wit.
As the Lord Mayor doth speak and spit.
Wishing and praying till I'm weary,
That you may drink the best Canary:
And that you may have Clients many,
And talk and Guild hall wife is any;
Than the rich Londoners may fall out,
And go to Law till money's all out.

Alexander Brome, *The Answer*, 1668[89]

Canary Wine in English taverns

During this period, there was a significant increase in the consumption of alcoholic beverages compared to previous periods, largely because of its "democratisation" at all levels of society. In fact, wine was considered a beverage of the wealthier classes, in contrast to ale, which was reserved for the lower classes. Whereas ale was served in alehouses, taverns were places where people could sample more esteemed wines. Literati, lawyers, politicians, and businessmen would gather there to drink, sing, and discuss current affairs. Some of these taverns were very distinguished, such as the famous *Mermaid Tavern*.

Furthermore, as noted by Monterrey, these places "*had private rooms for more intimate gatherings. In these rooms, great writers (including Donne, Shakespeare, and Jonson) would attract scholars, artists, and enthusiasts to talk about classical and modern literature, and recite poetry, while the gathering was enlivened with good wine. Some of them even made a direct connection in their verses between 'sack' and poetic eloquence.*"[90]

—

Canary sack and Bristol sherry,
will make a sad man's heart to be merry.

Thomas Baskerville, 1684[91]



Jonson and Shakespeare at the Mermaid Tavern. Published in O. L. Hatcher, *A book for Shakespeare plays and pageants* (London, 1916).

Alexander Brome was a leading composer of "drinking songs" or "drinking ballads". These were songs that revolved around the consumption of alcohol, but they also contained political critiques, which were discussed regularly in taverns. In this regard, "*... tavern songs were important political agents that turned such gathering places into politically and religiously charged arenas*."[92] Against this backdrop, *Canary* featured in many taverns songs and poems. Many of these were popular compositions and were transmitted orally, so they have reached us today anonymously, and some of them are included in compilations such as *Merry Drollery* (1686) and *The Loyal Garland* (1686).

Within this genre, wine in general, and *Canary* or *Canary Sack* in particular, were constantly referenced and praised, with some poems even entitled *Canary's Coronation* and *A song in praise of Canary*. Other important authors in this regard were **Thomas d'Urfey** (1653-1723), who compiled a large number of poems, songs, and ballads, for example in *Wit and Mirth: or, Pills to Purge Melancholy* (1698-1720), in which *Canary* plays a major role. A similar task was carried out by **Bishop Thomas Percy** (1729-1811), who, during the 18th Century, put together a valuable compilation: *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765).

There is no precise chronology for these compositions since they were transmitted orally, but we should locate them in the context described, within the 17th Century.

—

THE CANARY'S CORONATION

... Let us never think of a noble drink,
But with notes advance on high:
Let's proclaim good *Canary's* name,
Heaven bless his Majesty!
He is a King in every thing,
Whose nature doth renounce all;
He'l make us skip and nimbly trip
From Céeling to the Groundsil,
Especially when Poets be
Lords of the privy-council.

But a Vintner he shall his Taster be,
There's no man shall him let;
And a Drawer, that have a good palat
Shall be made Squire of the Gimblet;
The Bar-boyes shall be pages all,
A Tavern well prepar'd,
In jovial sort shall be the Court
Where nothing shall be spar'd;
Wine-Porters shall with souldiers tall
Be Yeomen of the Guard.

But if a Cooper we with a red-nose see
In any part of the Town,
That Cooper shall, with Adds royal,
Be Keeper of the Crown,
Young Wits that wash away their Cash
In Wine and Recreation,

Who hate dull Beer are welcome here
To give their approbation:
So are all you that will allow
Canaries Coronation.

Anonymous, *The Canary's Coronation*[93]

—

A PRAISE IN A SONG OF CANARY

Listen, I pray, to the words I've to say,
In memory firm and certain;
Rich wine doth us raise to the honor of the bays,
Quod non facere desertim.

Of all the juice that the gods do produce,
Sack shall be preferred before 'um;
It's sack that shall create us all,
Mars, Bacchus, Apollo, Virorum.

We abandon ale, and beer that is stale,
Rosa solis, and damnable Hum;
But we weill crack, in the praise of sack,
Against Omne quod exit in um.

This is the wine, in former time,
Each wisest of the magi
Was wont to carouse, and frolickly bouze,
Recumbans sub tegmine fagi.

Let the hop be their bain, and the pox be their pain,
Let the gout and collick pine 'um,
That offer to shrink from taking this drink,
Seu Graecum, sive Latinum.

Let the glass go round, let the quart-port sound,
Let each man do as he's done to;
Avaunt you that hug the abominable Jugg,
'Mongst us, Hetaroclita sunto.

Sack's only divine, beer's draff for a swine,
There's no such mud as ale is,
In which they that wallow, a duce take their swallow,
Sunt talpa dama canalis.

There's no such disease, as he that doth please,
With ale and beer fot to shame us;
It's sacke makes us sing, hi-ding, a-ding, ding,
Musa Apollo majora canamus.

When I've sack my brain, I'm in a merry vain,
And this my only bliss is:
He that is most wise, I can him despise,
Mecum confertur Illyses.

How it clears the brain, how it warms the vein,
How against all crosses it arm us;
How it makes him that's poor couragious and roar,
Et mutatas dicere formas.

Give me, my boy, my delight, and my joy,
To the lad that never drinks ale;
By sack he that claps us into our Syntaxis,
Est verbum personale.

Art thou sick or lame, or are thy wits in blame ?
Call for sack, and thou shalt have it;
Then do not rise, but be very wise,
Cui una natura negabit.

We have merry-go-downs, we have jovial rounds,
Yet nothing comes at random;
When you come to pay, do you shrink away,
Id est commune notandum.

He that drinks still, and ne're has his fill,
Has a passage like a conduit;
He still doth aspire, his rapture's on fire,
Si aethera fundit.



Tavern scene (1658). Oil on canvas. David Teniers the younger (1610-1690). National Gallery of Art.



The wine connoisseurs. Oil on canvas. Jacob Duck (ca. 1640-1642). Rijksmuseum.

I have told you plain, and I tell you again,
Be he as mad as Orlando,
He is but an ass, and so let him pass,
Nisi bibit ostia stando.

Anonymous, *A Praise in a Song of Canary*[94]

—

THE DRUNKARD

The Spring is coming on, and our spirits begin
To return to their places merrily home,
And every man is bound to lay in a good
Brewing of bloud for the year to come.
They are Cowards that make it of clarified whay,
Or drink, with the swine, of the Juice of grains;
Let me have the raise Canary to play,
And the sparkling Rhenish to dance in my veins.

Anonymous, *The Drunkard*[95]

—

ON THE TAKING OF MARDIKE

When first Mardike was made a prey,
'Twas courage that carry'd the town away
Then do not loose your valorued prize
By gazing on your mistress eyes,
But put off your petticoat-parley:
Potting, and sotting,
And laughing, and quaffing canary,
Will make a good soldier miscarry,
And never travel for true renown:
Then turn to your martial mistress,
Fair Minerva the soldier's sister is;
Rallying and sallying,
With gashing and slashing of wounds, sir,
With turning and burning of towns, sir,
Is a high step to a states-man's throne.

Anonymous, *On the Take of Mardike*, 1686[96]

—

THE FROLICKSOME DUKE, OR THE CINKER'S GOOD FORTUNE

... While the tinker did dine, he had plenty of wine,
Rich canary with sherry and tent superfine.
Like a right honest soul, faith, he took off his bowl,
Till at last he began fot to tumble and roul
From his chair to the floor, where he sleeping did
snore,
Being seven times drunker than ever before.

Anonymous, *The Frolicksome Duke, Or the Cinker's Good Fortune*, 1624[97]

—

THE NEW DROLL

... As for water, we disclaim,
Mankind's adversary;
Once it caus'd the world's whole frame
In the deluge to miscarry;
And that enemy of joy
Which sought our freedom to destroy,
And murther good Canary.

Anonymous, *The New Droll*, 1686[98]

—

THE POLITITIAN

... If Sack were reform'd into twelve-pence a quart,
I'd study for money to Merchandize fort,
With a friend that is willing in mirth we would sport,
Not a word; but we'd pay it with thinking.
My petition shall be that Canary be cheaper,
Without either Custom, or cursed Excise,
That the Wits may have freedom to drink deeper
and deeper.

Anonymous, *The Polititian*[99]

—

SACK FOR MY MONEY

Canary sack makes firm the back;
Both Alligant and Sherry
Are proved good to clear the blood,
And make the senses merry.
A longing lass, whose custard face
her inward grief discloses,
With drinking wine, so sweet and fine,
will gain a pair of roses:
It doth revive dead folks alive,
and helps their former weaknes;
It is so pure that it doth cure
a maiden of her sickness.
This Renish wine, &c.
The drawer still the same shall fill
to elevate the heart, boys;
For Rhenish gay you now must pay
just twelve pence for a quart, boys.
Who would be ty'de to brewers side,
whose measures do so vary,
When we may fit, to raise our wit,
with drinking of Canary?
The purest wine, &c.

Anonymous, *Sack for my Money*[100]

A SONG

... Four and twenty Vintners all in a row,
And there was rare Claret and White, I ne'er drunk
Worse in my life, and excellent good Canary-drawn
off
The Lees of Sherry, if you do not like it.

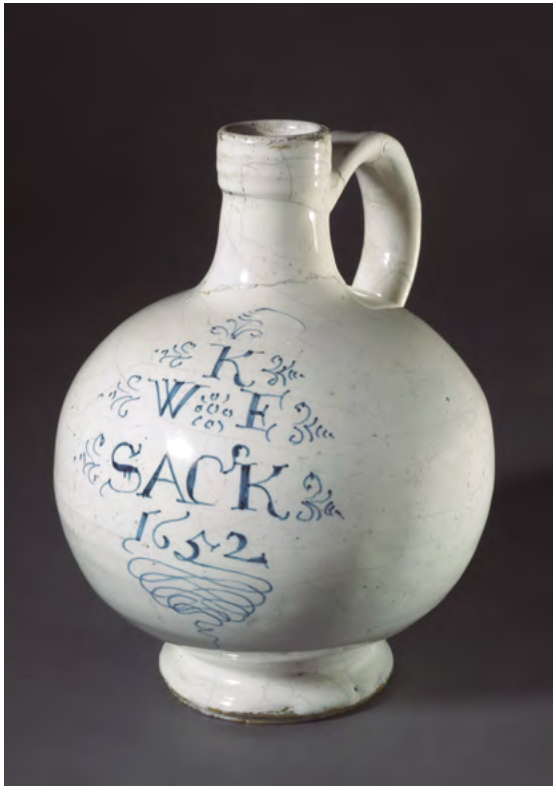
Anonymous, *A Song*[101]

—

IN PRAISE OF SACK

... Thus he shall be both frollick and free,
Who's kindly kill'd with Canary,
With red and white, or other delight,
If tippling makes him miscarry.

Anonymous, *In praise of Sack*, 1691[102]



Wine bottle, made from glazed ceramic, inscribed and dated 1652.
©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

—

CONTENTEMENT

What though the ill times do run cross to our will,
And Fortune still frown upon us,
Our hearts are our own, and shall be so still,
A fig for the plagues they lay on us;
Let us take t'other Cup to chear our hearts up,
And let it be Purest Canary;
We'll ne'er shrink nor care, at the Crosses we bear,
Let them plague us until they be weary.

Anonymous, ***Contentement***[103]

—

THE JOVIALL BROOME MAN

… And now I am safe returned backe,
Here's to you in a cup of Canary Sacke.
And now I am safe returned here,
Here's to you in a cup of English Beere.
And if my travels you desire to see,
Hey, jolly Broome-man,
You may buy't for a peny heere of mee,
And therefore make me roome, man.

Anonymous, ***The Joviall Broome Man***[104]

—

THE MERRY OLD WOMAN

He that would be a Scholler,
Must hate your drinks that is muddy:
But a cup of good Canary
Will make him the better to study.

Anonymous, ***The Merry Old Woman***[105]

—

THE OLD WOMAN'S WISH

… With Pigs, and with Poultry, with some Money in store,
To lend to my neighbour, and give to the Poor;
With a Bottle of *Canary*, to drink without Sin,
And to Comfort my Daughter when that she lies Inn.

Anonymous, ***The Old Woman's*** Wish[106]

—

A SONG

We drink up at night what we can beg or can
borrow,
And sleep without plotting for more the next morrow
Come Drawer, fill each man a pint of Canary,
This brimmer shall bid all our sences good night;
When old Aristotle was frolick and merry,
With the Juyce of the Grape he turn'd stagarite;
Copernicus once in a drunken fit found
By the course of his brains that the world went round.

Anonymous, ***A Song***[107]

—

THE JOVIAL LOYALLIST

… Drink off your Bowl,
'Twill enrich both your head and your soul
With Canary;
And the Indies above us we carry:
No, Helicon like to the juice of good wine is,
For Phoebus had never had wit that divine is,
Had his face not been bow-dy'd as thine is, & mine is.

Anonymous, ***The Jovial Loyallist***[108]

—

THE BOW-GOOSE

… I do bequeath my bodies trunk
Unto Good Fellows for the Rump,
Desiring that it may be drunk
In Claret and Canary.

Anonymous, ***The Bow-Goose***[109]

—

A LIGHT HEARTS A IWELL

… I care not much in company,
To spend what is allotted,
I'le drinke but for sufficiency,
I'le never bee besotted:
When I doe feele my spirits dull,
A cup of old Canary
Will fill my heart with courage full
And this is my vagary.

Anonymous, ***A Light Hearts a Jewell***[110]

—

GRINNING HONOUR

… I'll drink sack and obey, and let great ones bear sway
Who spend their whole time but in thinking;
I'll ne'er trouble my pate
With the secrets of State;
The news books I'll burn all:
And with the diurnall
Light Tobacco, and admit,
That they are so far fit
As to serve good company in drinking:
All the name I desire, is an honest good fellow,
Lets drink good Canary untill we grow mellow.

Anonymous, ***Grinning Honour***[111]

—

THE HECTORS AND THE VINTNER

… Your Canary has Lime in't, your Clarret has Stum,
Tell the Constable this, and then let him come,
Tell the Constable, &c.

Anonymous, ***The Hectors and the Vintner***[112]



Engraved wine bottle, ca. 1675-1685. "When wine enters, reason departs". Owned by Van Heemskerk. Rijksmuseum.

Canary Wine in *Antigüedades* by the poet Antonio de Viana

Antonio de Viana (1578-*ca*.1650), who was born in San Cristóbal de La Laguna and was a doctor by profession, wrote at the behest of Juan Lope de la Guerra the most important poem of the Renaissance in the Canary Islands. Entitled *Antigüedades de las Islas Afortunadas de la Gran Canaria. Conquista de Tenerife y aparescimiento de la ymagen de Candelaria* but also known simply as *Poema de Viana* or *Antigüedades canarias*, it was published in 1604. This epic poem, dedicated to the conquest of Tenerife, praised the island's wine.

The two Teguestes and Tegina
Tacoronte, Sauzal, Valle, Matanza
and Acentejo may be places where
one might imagine Bacchus dwelling,
Ceres the pilgrim labourer
and Diana may have given him
some confidence in their fruits,
which will be very sublime.
... It was almost mid-day on the dot;
they place the tables beneath the
branches of sapling trees, they
make up the buffets, chairs arrive,
and they take out the silver service;
they put out fresh bread, dry
cake, and fragrant wines as a gift
From Jerez and Cazalla,
although those from Tegueste,
or from La Rambla are now better.
... At last in early December,
a caravel arrived from Canaria,
with many provisions of bread and wine,
flour, cakes, and barley.
... They loaded thirty pipes of flour,
and sixty quintals of cake,
with a further twelve pipes of good wine...
... Tigayga, Icod el alto, and I bear
witness to that fertile, celebrated meadowland,
where another Icod stands a little further on,
offering breads, silk, and wines in abundance.

Antonio de Viana, *Antigüedades canarias*, 1604[113]



Bust of Antonio de Viana. Santa Cruz de Tenerife Museum of Fine Art. Photograph: Christian Koppchen.

2.3.5. More praise for *Canary Wine* in English poetry

In addition to the contributions of Alexander Brome and the vast corpus of poems, ballads, and popular songs discussed previously, there is another important set of references from poets writing in the 17th century. One of these, of unknown authorship, is *Pasquils Palinodia* (1619), which praises wine right from the front cover, citing a text by the Latin author Horace (*Ad Maecenaten*, I, 19, 2): "*No poetry could ever live long or delight us, that water-drinkers pen*." The versus contain constant references to sherry, *sack*, and "*delicate Canary*."

Another outstanding poet from the English Renaissance is **John Donne** (1572-1631), known for his love poems, a genre that lent itself to a variety of different forms, such as sonnets, songs, ballads, or elegies. In his elegy number XVIII, entitled *Love's Progress*, published posthumously in 1669, Donne travels to the Fortunate Islands to sample its divine wine.

Poet **Alexander Gill**, the younger (1597-1642), provided another highly original contribution. Gill was famed for his Latin verses, most of which are contained in *Parerga, Sive Poetici Conatus* (1632). In this tome, he included several verses dedicated to his friend and scholar Thomas Farnaby, which he had sent to him in 1624 "*along with a skin of Canary Wine*" or, as the poem says, *cum utre vini Canarii pleno*. The famous English poet John Milton considered these verses to be "truly grandiose."

In the first half of the 1600s, Canary Wine features in compositions by **John Cleveland** (1613-1658) and **Lawrence Price** (1625-1667). In the second half of the century, other writers similarly devoted to Canary Wine included the aforementioned Thomas Jordan and the poets **Tobias Browne** y **Hugh Crompton** (*ca*. 1600-*ca*. 1700), who dedicated various compositions to *Canary Wine*, praising its ability to revive the blood.



Bacchus, Ceres, and Venus. Oil on canvas, attributed to Cornelis Schut (1597-1655). Danish National Gallery-Statens Museum for Kunst.

Particular mention should also be made of **Andrew Marvell** (1621-1678), poet and politician, who dedicated verses to Robert Blake's attack of the port of Santa Cruz de Tenerife. Even though this poem does not mention *Canary Wine* explicitly, it does praise Canary grapes and their juice.

—

Ad Clarissium Doctissiumumque virum,
THO. FARNABY
Art. Mag. Kalend. IAN. 1624
Cum utre vini Canarii pleno.
En tibi fausta novi primordia nuntiat anni
Qui cupit ut multos possis feliciter annos
Ducere, solicitae qui sint oblivia vitae.
... Eiae age, sepositis studii post taedia curis,
Flagranti exhilarans *Iani* convivia *Baccho*
Vina novum fundas cyathis *Canaria* nectar
Ipse tibi interea generosi dona *Lyaei*
Quamvis amoveam; at lupulato roscida zyntho,
Quin & aromatico spumantia pocula succo
Pocula grata tenens, multam potabo salutem,
Et tormentatis gaudebo abstemius undis.

—

To the most High and Learned Gentleman,
Thomas Farnaby, January 1624,
To accompany a skin of Canary Wine.
Most dear Sir, he, whose warmest hope it is that thou mayest enjoy many happy carefree years to come... Come then, I beseech thee, lay aside awhile the cares of learning, that thou mayest celebrate with joy the coming of a New Year; and pour out a cup of this new nectar, Canary wine. Perchance I shall rob thee in the meantime of the gifts of the generous God of Wine, for in this same sparkling Canary shall I drink down a deep pledge to thy health. Yes, dispensing on this occasion with everyday beer, I shall rejoice with thee in wine.

Alexander Gill, *For Thomas Farnaby*, 1624[114]



Interior of a tavern with fireplace. Etching by Cornelis Visscher (1628-1658). Image from the Biblioteca Nacional de España-Spanish National Library.

—

… Strong hoop'd in bonds are here constrain'd to tarry
Two kinsmen neere allyde to *Sherry Sack*,
Sweet *Malligo*, and delicate *Canary*,
Which warme to the stomacks that digestion lacke:
They had a page whom, if I can make meeter,
Ile let you know, they call'd him *See mee Peter*,[115]
But being found, he did no great offence,
Paying his fees, he soon was drawne from thence.

***Pasquils Palinodia*, 1619**[116]

—

… The Nose, like to the first Meridian, runs
Not 'twixt an East and West, but 'twixt two suns;
It leaves a Check, a rosie Hemisphere
On either side, and then direct us where
Upon the Islands fortunate we fall,
Not faynte *Canaries*, but *Ambrosial*,
Her swelling lips; To which when we are come,
We anchor there, and think our selves at home.

John Donne, *Elegy XVIII, Love's Progress*, 1669[117]

—

… Hot waters are to me as death,
And soone the head o'erturneth,
And nectar hath so strong a breath;
Canary when it burneth,
It cures no paine, but breaks the braine,
And raps out oaths and curses,
And makes men part with heavy heart—
But light it makes their purses.
I cannot go home, &.

Lawrence Price, *Good Ale for my Money*, no date[118]

—

… Then crown the Bowl, let every Conduit run
Canary, till we lodge the reeling Sun.
Tap every Joy, let not a Pearl be spilt,
Till we have set the ringing World a Tilt.
A sacrifice *Arabia Foelix* in
One bone fire, one Incense Offering.

John Cleveland, *May Day*, 1687[119]

—

Now che think ch'av vetcht it up.
Zing a Little *Mary*:
We will gulge a merry zup,
Zhuggar and *Canary*.

Thomas Jordan, *The Cheaters Cheated, ca.* 1664[120]

—

… Drink like us
Never can be daunted:
Then, with Canary
Let every mans Goblet be crown'd;
In sack let our sorrows be drown'd,
It is the right way our foes to confound.

Thomas Jordan, *A Chirping Cup, ca.* 1664[121]

—

… Next to the Lady Mary
This beer-bowl of Canary.
I'll pledget a carouse were it ten;
When Charles his thoughts are eased,
And his great heart appeased,
Wel' drink the sun up again.

Thomas Jordan, *A Catch Royal*, 1641[122]

—

A MEDLEY OF THREE AIRS

1.

A qualm comes over me: Drawer bring
Up a quart of Canary.
We will drink till our eyes
Out-sparkle the skies,
And make the full Moon miscarry.
For since Canary will be a King,
This room shall be a Star-Chamber,
'Cause the glass, in the close,
At every man's nose
Reflects on his brow like Amber.
But where are the Moon and stars?
Alas! They have lost their light:
We'l drink them up.
T'other cup!

Canary can fix'em right.
Canary can conquer Mars,
And tumble his target down:
What he can do
Who doth know
'Till he gets in the Crown.

2.

Why should we heartless be,
But look up unto
Wine and the wonders Canary can do?
Lets us dance after chance
Like Fairy Elves
Drink down misfortune, and drink up our selves
....

3.

... Then let us tarry
Lest we miscarry,
If we but vary
Our Principle Canary.
Although they scant us,
This sall no daunt us;
Though they out-vaunt us,
They never shall out-rant us.

Thomas Jordan, ***A Medley of Three Airs, ca.*** **1664**[123]

—

Peace, against you, was the sole strength of Spain.
By that alone those islands she secures,
Peace made them hers, but war will make them yours.
There the indulgent soil that rich grape breeds,
Which of the gods the fancied drink exceeds.

Andrew Marvell, ***On the Victory Obtained by Blake...,*** **1657**[124]

—

We'll drink before we part;
Come, give us a bottle of wine...
And when they were full of Canary,
Their stomachs began to rise,
Then Thomas began to court Mary,
With hand upon one of her thighs.

Tobias Browne, ***A Fairing for Young Men and Maids, ca.*** **1685**[125]

—

THE VIRTUE OF SACK

Fetche me *Ben. Johnson's Skull*, and fill't with Sack,
Rich as t he same he drank, when the whole pack;
Of jolly Sisters pledg'd, and did agree,
It was no Sin be as Drunk as he:

If there be any weakness in the Wine,
There's virtue in the cup, to make't divine;
This muddy drench of Ale does taste too much
Of Earth, the Mault retains a scurvy touch

Of t he dull Hand that Sows it, and I fear
There's Heresie in Hops, give *Calvin* Beer:
And his precise Disciples, such as think
There's Powder Trealon in all *Spanish* drink;

Call Sack an Idol, nor will kiss the Cup,
For fear their *Conventicle* be blown up
With Superstition, give to the Bre-house Alms,
Whose best Mirth is Six Shillings Beer, and Psalms?

Let me rejoice in sprightly Sack, that can
Create a Brain, even in an empty Pan,
Canary! it's thou that dost inspire
And actuate the Soul with Heavenly fire;

That thou Sublim'st the Genius making Wit
Scorn Earth, and such as love or live by it;
Thou makest us Lord, of regions large and fair,
Whilst our conceits build Castles in the Air:

Since fire, Earth, Air, thus thy inferiors be,
Henceforth I'll know no Element but thee:
Thou precious *Elixir* of all Grapes!

Henry Edwards, *The Virtue of Sack*[126]

—

BACCHUS

Come, jolly good Bacchus, and open thy store,
Let the big belly'd grapes of their burden be eased;
Let thy liberality freely flow o'er,
For 'tis by thy bounty that we are appeased:
It is sack that we lack,
It is sack that we crave,
It is sack that we fight for, and sack that we'll have!
Let pining Heraclitus drink of this tear,



Wine bottle, made from glazed ceramic, bearing the inscription "Sack" and the year 1641. Philadelphia Museum of Art: Acquired through the *Annual Membership Fund*, 1921, 1921-29-7.

And snivelling Timon lie sick in his cell;
And let the coarse bumpkin preach law in his beer;
But 'tis wine makes our fame our glory to swell:
It is wine makes divine
All our wits, and renowns,
The peasant with scepters, the shepherd with crowns.
He that spends his money for honour, and climbs
In the trees of triumph, may sit there and pause;
All he gets for his praise is the error of times,
Nurst up by the Pandars of vulgar applause:
But the gold that is sold
For Canary, brings wit,
And there is no honour compared to it.
Some love to wear satin, and shine in their silk,
Yet quickly their fashion with alter and vary;
Sometime they'll eat mutton, sometime they'll drink
milk,
But I am for ever in tune for Canary.
It is sack that doth make.
All our wants to be nothing,
For we do esteem it both meat, drink and clothing.
A green goose serves Easter, with gooseberries drest;
And July affords us a dish of green peason;
A collar of brawn is New-year-tide's feast;
But sack is for ever and ever in season:
'Twill suffice all the wise
Both at all times and places,
It is a good friend to all tempers and cases.
Then farewell, metheglin, thou dreg of the hives,
And cider, thou bastardly darling of summer:
You dull the quick blood that Canary revives;
Then fill me a bottle of sack in a rummer;
For I'll drink till each chink
Be full and 'tis but reason;
For then I shall have no room to harbour treason.

Hugh Crompton, *Bacchus*, 1658[127]

—

THE DEGREES OF BACCHUS

... So, stay a little, and anon you'll see
Which is the strongest, or my wits, or thee
My brave Canary. No excess will grow
On either side. Cork-like, my wits they flow
Upon this liquor; and as that ascends,
So thrives my wit, and to the world extends.
... There do I smile to see our Zealots creep
In clods of earth, half 'wake, and half asleep,
Like crawling Tortoises; while I arise
Mounting aloft (like Eagles in the skies)
Then welcome Sack, the only wings that carry
A soul into *Elysium*, is Canary.

Hugh Crompton, *The Degrees of Bacchus*, 1657[128]

—

THE DRAWER TO HIS LADY

Apollo's Nectar is an Asse:
Nepenthe's nothing worth,
If match'd with our Canary-glasse,
When love doth set it forth,
Come then and with the Drawer joyne,
His love and liquor is divine.

Hugh Crompton, *The Drawer to his Lady*, 1657[129]

—

A BRAVE TEMPER

Each man is a Consull t'himself, and doth sit
Sole Judge in the Courts of Canary and wit.
We build not our hopes on the pardons of Popes.
Our hearts they are clear, and we will not imbrue um
With corruptible crimes, and errors of times,
We never fall out about *meum* and *tuum*.

Hugh Crompton, *A Brave Temper*, 1657[130]



Portrait of John Donne. Oil on canvas, anonymous (ca. 1595). National Portrait Gallery.



Portrait of John Cleveland. By Thomas Uwins. Catholic University of Leuven.



Portrait of Andrew Marvell. Rijksmuseum.



Portrait of Hugh Crompton. Austrian National Library.

Canary Wine and the poet laureates

Since Antiquity, the laurel wreath has crowned the heads of gods, governors, heroes, and eminent figures. During the 16th century, this reference was adopted in England for the figure of the poet laureate, an academic honour that, from 1616 onwards, during the reign of James I, was also assumed by the monarchy, with the title "court poet." The first recipient was Ben Jonson, the most famous poet in the land.

In the poem *A Session of the poets* (1637), **John Suckling** (1609-1642), depicts a competition between poets laureate, naming Ben Jonson, the first recipient of this title and devotee of *Canary Wine*.

—

The first that broke silence was good old Ben,
Prepared with Canary wine,
And he told them plainly he deserved the bays,
For his were called works, while others' were but plays.[131]

John Suckling, *The Session of the Poets*, 1646[132]

This honour was also remunerated. When Charles II came to the throne in 1630, he maintained the payment of one hundred pounds established by his predecessor, but he increased it by "a barrel of *Canary wine* from the king's cellar."[136] In other documents, it is described as "*A barrel of Spanish Canary a year.*"[133]

—

... in consideration of the good and acceptable service... and especially to encourage him to proceede in those services of his witt and penn, which we have joined vnto him, and which we expect from him, [we] are graciously pleased to augment and increase the said annuitie or pension of Ioo marks, vnto an annuitie of 100 pounds of lawful money of England for his life... And further know yee, that wee of our more especial grace... do give and graunt unto the said Benjamin Johnson, and his assigns, one terse of Canary Spanish wine yearly; to have, hold, perceive, receive, and take the said terse of Canary Spanish wine... out of our store of wines yearly.

Patent of King Charles II, 1630[134]



Portrait of John Dryden. Etching by George Vertue. Image from the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

In 1670, the monetary reward doubled, maintaining the gift of *Canary*, and **John Dryden** (1631-1700) was the first to receive this sum. He was also the first official poet laureate since previously it was merely an honorary title. In 1790, **Henry James Pye** (1745-1813) asked to exchange the traditional gift of wine for money, with a value of 26 pounds, a measure that did not please his successor, **Robert Southey** (1774-1843), since it was deducted from the remuneration he received.

—

... of the many good and acceptable services by John Dryden master of Arts and eldest sonne of Erasmus Dryden of Tichmarsh... [we] doe nominate constitute declare and appoint him... our Poett Laureatt and Historiographer Royall giveing and granting unto him... And for further & better encouragement of him the said John Dryden diligently to attend the said John Dryden one Annuity or yearely Pencon of two hundred pounds... from the Death of the said Sir William Davenant lately deceased... the first payment thereof to begin att the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next & immediately after the death of the said Sir William Davenant... know yee that wee... have given... the said John Dryden and his assignes one butt or Pype of the best Canary Wine... during our pleasure out of our Store of Wynes yearely.

Patent of King Charles II, 1670[135]

—

The butt of sack is now widely commuted to £26; which said sum, unlike the canary, is subject to income-tax, land-tax, and heaven knows what beside. The whole net income is little more or less tan £90.

Letter of Robert Southey[136]

The distinction of poet laureate still exists today and has been awarded over the centuries to great poets such as **William Wordsworth** (1770-1850), Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892) and **John Masefield** (1878-1967). The first woman recipient was **Carol Ann Duffy** (1955), appointed in 2022.



Portrait of William Davenant (1606-1668), named poet laureate following the death of Ben Jonson. Published in *The Works of Sir William Davenant* (London, 1673).

2.3.6. *Canary Wine* and English prose and narrative

Within the area of prose and narrative, there are substantially fewer references to *Canary Wine* than in the previously analysed genres. One singular contribution is that of the poet **John Taylor** (1578-1653), known popularly as the "*Water Poet*", although on this occasion *Canary Wine* is featured in the tale of one of the peculiar journeys he made to Scotland as a beggar, entitled *The Pennyles Pilgrimage* (1618).

Another interesting novel is *The Strange Voyage and Adventures of Domingo Gonsales, to the World in the Moon*, written by Bishop **Francis Godwin** (1562-1633) and published posthumously in 1638. Considered one of the first works of science fiction in modern literature, it tells the story of a Spaniard who, having made his fortune in the West Indies, returns home. After landing in Santa Elena and discovering a gigantic bird there, he invents a flying machine to harness that potential. As he embarks once more on his journey, when he reaches Tenerife, he is attacked by an English fleet, escaping with his ship, which takes him to the moon. On this fantastic journey, he twice mentions a bottle of *Canary wine* as one of his most prized possessionss.

The picaresque novel *The English Rogue* (1668), by Irish author **Richard Head** (1637-1686), was published a few decades later and mentions *Canary Wine* in several passages. The title of one of the chapters is even called: *The Character of a bottle of Canary*, personified as prodigious, among other complements. Elsewhere in the novel it is also referred to as an antidote to concern, sorrow, and frustration[137] and against anything that might disturb the heart.

Another original contribution is offered by James Howell, mentioned previously, a multi-faceted author who wrote literature, essays, history, and politics, known as one of the most important intellectuals in 17th-century England. His professional activity as the administrator of a factory allowed him to travel to several European countries, including Spain. His writings include *Epistolae Ho-Elianae* (1645), a collection of letters in which he exalts his passion for Canary Wine. One of these letters describes it as the "*richest, the most firm, the best bodied*" wine, which "*carrieth a man to heaven*."

We shall conclude this review of English literature with the memoires of **Anne Fanshawe** (1625-1680), who wrote a recipe book in which she praised products from Spain, including their wines: "*but there is not in the Christian world better wines than their midland wines are especially, besides Sherry and Canary.*"[138]

—

They advised me, that while I had Opportunity I should make my Provisions, telling me, that till the next Thursday they could help me to no more, at which Time they would find Means to carry me back, and set me safe in Spain, in any Place I would desire, provided I would become one of their Fraternity, and enter into such Covenants as they had made to their Captain and Master, whom they would not name: I answered civily, "I saw little Reason to rejoice in such an Offer, desiring them to be mindful of me as Occasion served;" so for that Time I was rid of them; having first, furnished my

Pockets with as much Victuals as I could thrust in, among which I would be sure to find a Place for a small Bottle of good Canary.

Francis Godwin, *The Strange Voyage and Adventures of Domingo Gonsales, to the World in the Moon*, 1638[139]



Illustration from *The man in the Moone*, 1638 edition, by Francis Godwin. Image 051171. Folger Shakespeare Library.

—

Amongst our viands that we had there, I must not forget the Sole and Goose (sic), a most delicate fowl, which breeds in great abundance in a little rock called the Bass, which stands two miles into the sea. It is very good flesh, but it is eaten in the form as we eat oysters, standing at a side-board, a little before dinner, unsanctified without grace; and after it is eaten, it must be well liquored with two or three good rouses of Sherry or Canary sack.

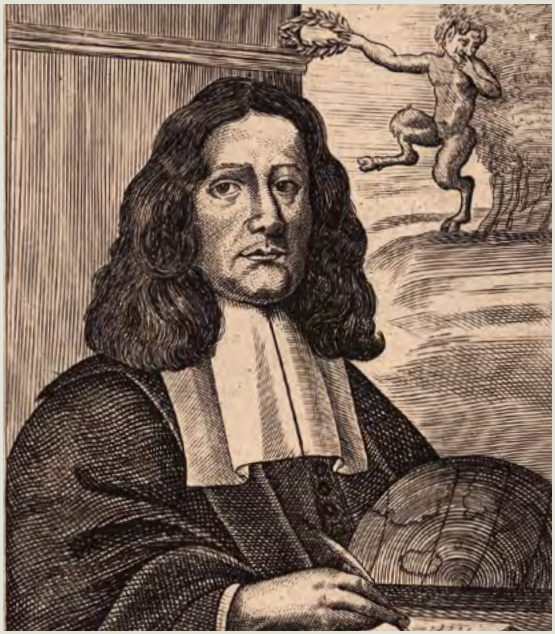
John Taylor, *The Pennyles Pilgrimage*, 1618[140]

—

From Bachrag the first stock of Vines, which grow now in the Grand Canary Island, were brought, which, with the heat of the Sun and the Soil, is grown now to that height of perfection, that the Wine which they afford is accounted the richest, the most firm, the best bodied and lastingest Wine, and the most defecated from all earthly grossness, of any other whatsoever; it hath little or no sulphur at all in't, and leaves less dregs behind, tho' one drink it to excess. French Wines may be said to pickle meat in the stomach; but this is the Wine that digests, and doth not only breed good blood, but it nutrifieth also, being a glutinous substantial liquor. Of this Wine, if of any other, may be verified that merry induction, That good Wine makes good Blood, good Blood caused good Humours, good Humours cause good Thoughts, good Thoughts bring forth good Works, good Works carry a Man to Heaven; *ergo* good Wine carrieth a Man to Heaven. If this be true, surely more English go to Heaven this way than any other, for I think there's more Canary brought into England than to all the World besides.

James Howell, *The Familiar Letters of James Howell*, 1645[141]

Richard Head and the character of *Canary Wine*



Portrait of Richard Head. Published in the first edition of *The English Rogue*.

—

After we had drank very smartly, I came home, transgressing but a little beyond my time. My Mistress was very well pleased, telling me, *I should have leave another time, since I was so punctual*. Those Bottles of Sack we drank, ran perpetually in my minde; for it was the very flower of Wine. In the commemoration of my Friends courtesie, and the goodness of that Liquor, I gave my contemplative fancy leave to characterize a Bottle of Canary, thus.

THE CHARACTER OF A BOTTLE OF CANARY

He is a Gentleman I assure you well extracted, which once lived like a Salamander in the midst of the flames, and had he not been burnt, he have never proved sound. He seems a Prodigy: For that which we live by, decays him; hating Air, as *Bacchus* hates small Beer. He will lie still if you smother him, and is never so well, as when his breath is stopt. Bury him, and you make him quicker. As for his habit, it is ever plain, yet neat: Though Nobly born, he scorns not to wear a Green Coat, with a badge on it; and you cannot injure him worse than to pick a hole in his Coat. Though he wears for the most part one sort of Garb, yet he is never out of fashion, acceptable to the best of company, not regarding his outward dress, but valuing his inward worth: However, his Suit is made of admirable Stuff, for his outside never grows barer, and his Linings are the fresher for wearing. So choice he is in his Cloathing, that he rather chuseth to have his brains knockt out, then to have a rent in his Garment. He wears an *a la mode* Hat, as light (and almost as little) as a Shittle-cock, which he puts off to none; but like the Quaker when brought before a Magistrate, hath it taken off for him.

As for his Pedegree, I know not how to derive it; for he hath had in him, the best and purest of the *French* Blood but will now acknowledge his race onely from the *Spaniard*, whom he imitates, being stately, and standing always upright; treads for the most part on Carpets, and never stirs abroad but when he is carried; yet full of activity. If he runs fast and long, the more

wind he gets. If he chance to fall, which is seldom, for many looks to him; he will be extreamly moved, yet (contrary to all men) the fuller his belly is, the less hurt he receives: his credit is large, never paying for what he wears, running on the score perpetually; his conditions are a riddle; there is in him pure vertue, and notorious vice; the quintessence of love, and the venome of hatred. He is the beginning and the end of a thousand quarrels in a year, yet a very Coward; for he suffers any to take him by the ear, and never broke any ones pate, but when company was by. He is very facetious in society, and will spend himself freely to the last drop, if a Ladies soft and warm hand will raise him.

He is a brisk Spark, and therefore Courtiers adore him; he is smooth in his expression, and therefore Ladies delights in him; he is filled with nimble fancies, therefore the Wits frequent him, exhausting his radical moisture to distil it into Poetical Raptures; for conceits never run faster from the Limbick of their brains, then when this Gentleman adds fuel to the Furnace. He whets wit, yet dulls it; creates new Fancies, and stupifies. Gives the Orator a fluent tongue, and mutes him speechless: gives a Poet feet till he cannot go. And as he helps Ministers to Preach, so he likewise silenceth more than the Bishops. He hath a great many tricks in him: He will make a Faulkner fly high within doors: Make a Huntsman catch a Fox by the fire side. Whatever he holds, is made good; and unless you mind him well, much good matter that falls from him, may be lost: for he is often fluent beyond measure.

All Tongues Court him, and those that look narrowly unto him, shall find him no dry Fellow. The truth is, he is too profound for shallow brains to meddle with him: He will pour out quaint expressions and hard words so thick, that the best Scholars are glad at last to give him something to stop his mouth: yet hold him up fairly, and you may get all he hath out of him.

He is excessively beloved, and relishes all Company, being pleasant, and full of admirable humours. He is inwardly acquainted with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and incorporateth with their Wives daily. His kisses are so sweet, that they lick their lips after him; and though his breath be strong, yet 'tis not offensive. He is a true *Good–fellow*, drinking till he hath no eyes to see with: Good Liquor is his Life and Soul, and he is never musty but for want of it. He will drink till he be filled up to the very throat, and gape whilst others put it in. He will bear as much Sack as any man in *England* of his bulk, yet he will be soon drunk in Company: but if you will give him leave to vomit, he will take his Liquor, and drink fresh, till all the Company be forced to leave him. Drinking is his hourly exercise, seldom lying out of a Tavern. He is the main Upholder of Club–meetings, without fear of being broke. He picks mens Pockets, yet is never made more reckoning of then by such persons.

As for his Estate, I can onely say this, That all he hath he carries about him; yet generally he is reputed rich: What he hath, he holds upon courtesie; but what he gives others, it is held *in Capite*. What he possesseth, is commonly upon Sale; yet more for plenty, then for want; and if you can purchase him, you purchase all.

Richard Head, *The English Rogue*, 1668[142]

2.4. The world discovers the land of *Canary Wine*

The conquest and colonisation of the Archipelago, together with the position and strategic function of the Islands in the new trade routes, attracted merchants, sailors, pirates, intellectuals, and missionaries to their shores, etc. This gradually increased knowledge about the history, nature, and characteristics of the Archipelago, which includes the description of its vineyards and praise for its wines, which became increasingly renowned.

The accounts provided by English travellers are the oldest in this context, resulting from burgeoning trade interest in the Islands. The accounts of three merchants are particularly interesting in this regard: **Thomas Nichols** (1532-?), **Edmund Scory** and **Marmaduke Rawdon** (1610-1646). Thomas Nichols lived on the Canary Islands for seven years, including two as a representative of London businessmen, and the remainder in the Inquisition prison, having been tried in 1560, accused of religious crimes. He was sent to Tenerife in around 1556, where he set up a shop to sell English fabric and cloth, making several commercial trips to the islands of La Palma and Gran Canaria. His occupation, as he relates himself, was selling sugar and honey to the markets in England, Flanders, and Spain.

A Pleasant Description of the Fortunate Ilandes was published in 1583, and later included in a compilation by Richard Hakluyt in 1599, which assured this work an extensive readership among English speakers. As the first monographic work published about the Canary Islands in English, this tome explores historical, legendary, and ethnographic aspects of the Archipelago, paying particular attention to the wines and the situation of wine growing at the time on the different islands.

However, we have less information about the life of Edmund Scory himself. He must have resided in Tenerife between the 16th and 17th centuries, and his observations were published in 1626, in a compilation edited by Samuel Purchas. In his account, Scory makes several observations about the nature, ancient inhabitants, and agriculture of the island, including wine growing.

Finally, the figure of Marmaduke Rawdom of Yorke is equally significant. His story reaches us through an anonymously penned biography about this English merchant who lived in Tenerife for more than two decades (1631-1655) and which provides an account of the day-to-day life of a foreign merchant during the peak of the Malvasia wine trade and exports to Europe. Together with these authors who lived in the Canaries, there are others who discovered its wine whilst staying there in person or as 'armchair travellers' through their research. These include, among others, works about the privateers **Edward Glemham** (1525-1573) and **John Hawkins** (1532-1595), the explorer **Robert Harcourt** (1574-1631), the merchants **Girolamo Benzoni** (1519-1570) and **Jan Huygen van Linschoten** (*ca*. 1563-1611); the explorers **Johann von Leubelfing** (1578-1648) and **Jacques Lemaire** (1585-1616), the theologist **Peter Heylin** (1599-1662) and the Dutch physician and geographe **Olfert Dapper** (1636-1689), which highlighted the celebrity enjoyed by *Canary Wine*.

From this set of sources, we should single out two. On the one hand, we have the diary of **Edward Barlow** (1642-1706), who describes his two stays on the island of Tenerife (1668 and 1676) on board ships that sailed there to collect wines. During these stays, he had the opportunity to sample the famous Canary Wine, saying that it was one of the best wines in the whole of Europe. The other account is *A Trip to Normandie* (*Voyage de Normandie: Lettre à Artèmis,* 1689), by **Jean-François Regnard** (1655-1709), writer of comedies, poems, and travel accounts. In his travels through this region of France, he samples numerous wines, including *Canary Wine*, which he praises in a poem.

—

The ile of Palma standeth 12 leagues distaunt from the ile Gomera Norwestward. This iland is fruitfull of wine and sugar. It hath a proper citie, called the citie of *Palma*, where is great contraction for wines; which are laden from the West India and other places... Their best wines grow in a soile called the Brenia, where yeerely is gathered '12 thousand buts of wine like unto maulmsies. ... This iland [Gran Canaria] hath singular good wine, especially in the towne of Telde.... [Tenerife produces] verie good wines in abundance, with great store of sugar and fire woode. Out of ihis iland is lacten greate quantitie of wines for the West India and other countries. The best groweth on a hill side called the *Ramble*.... [El Hierro] There is no wine in all that iland, but onely one vineard that an English man of Taunton in the West countrie planted among rockes, his name was John Hill.... Both Fortaventura and Lanzerot have very little wine of the growth of those ilands.

Thomas Nichols, *Description of the Fortunate Ilandes,* 1583[143]

—

The Vineyards of account are in Buena Vista, in Daute, in Orotaua, in Tigueste, and in the Ramble which place yeeldeth the most excellent Wine of all other. Threre are two sorts of Wines in this Iland Vidonia and Malvesia. Vidonia is drawne out of a long Grape, and yeeldeth a dull Wine. The Malvesia out of a great round Grape, and this is the only Wine wich passeth all the Seas of the World over, and both the Poles without sowring or decaying; whereas all other wines turne to Vineger, or freeze into Ice as they approch the Southerne or Northerne Pole.

Edmund Scory, *Extracts...*, 1626[144]

—

That eavninge Mr. Rawdon had ordered his blacamore boy that he should drinke noe wine for feare he should be drunke, but, goinge to bed, the boy came to him sayinge, "Sir, may nott I drinke a



Portrait of John Hawkins. Rijksmuseum.

small sorte of wine which is like watter?" by which he perceived the boy had bene drinkinge of French wine, which, in comparison of Canary sacke, he thought was like water; but his maister told him that small wine would make him drunke as well as Canary wine, and that he was only to drinke small English beere, which afterwards he observed.

Anonymous, *The Life of Marmaduke Rawdon of York*[145]

—

To speake somewhat of these Ilands, being called in olde time *Insulae fortunatae*, by the meanes of the flourishing thereof, the fruitfulnesse of them doeth surely exceede farre all other that I have heard of: for they make wine better then any in Spaine, they have grapes of such bignesse, that they may bee compared to damsons, and in taste inferiour to none...

John Sparke, *Voyage made by M. John Hawkins...*, 1564[146]

—

[La] Palma is abundantly productive, especially in wine; so that it supplies not only the neighbouring islands, but they also send ships laden with it to India, to Flanders, and to England.

Girolamo Benzoni, *History of the New World*, 1565[147]

—

The Ilandes of Canaria are very fruitful, and plentiful of all thinges, both victuailes and other necessaries. They have of all kinds of corne, specially excellent good Wine, which from thence is caried into all places.... is the common staple for the shippes that sayle out of Spayne into the West Indies, and refreshe themselves there...

Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *The voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, 1598[148]

—

First you must lade in the said ship certaine Hampshire and Devonshire karsies: for the which you must let her depart from London in October, and to touch in the Canaries, and there to make sale of the saide karsies, and with the proceed thereof to lade fifteene tunnes of wines that be perfect and good.

John Whithall, *Letter to Richard Straper*, 1578[149]

—

The Generall, according to law of armes, ... sent Captaine Horecourt with a guarde of Musketteares, to heare the cause of his coming, who found none but three men sent from the Gouernor, with such viands dressed as was puruayed for his owne supper, and one But of Canary Wine, which the Generall thankfully accepted.... The next day... the Governor came againe to the Generall, accompaneid with a troope of Gentlemen, where they passed the time in banqueting, atending the coming of the carriages which brought the victauls, viz. Beefe, Kids, 30 Buts of Sack and Canary wines, Ruske, Meale, Flower, Salt, pumpions, and other provision...

Anonymous, *The Honorable Actions of that Most Famous and Valiant Englishman...*, 1591[150]

—

There are no vines in that country; but the soil being fertile and the climate hot, if there were planted there they would prosper, and yield good sacks and Canary wines; which we find to be very wholesome.

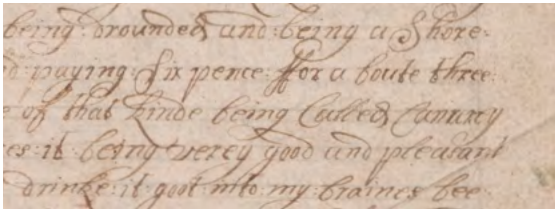
Robert Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage...*, 1613[151]

—

[Tenerife] is very fertile with vineyards, which make the wine that is so appreciated by the world, called Malvasia.

Martínez de la Puente, *Epitome of the chronicle of John II, 1678*





Illustrated manuscript by Edward Barlow. At the end of line 17 (close-up) it mentions "Canarye Sacke". © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.

—

And being ashore, we went to a Spanish house to drink some wine, paying sixpence for about three pints of it, it being counted the best wine in all Europe of that kind, being called "Canarey Sack". And drinking very heartily in two or three places, it being very good and pleasant to the palate, and I being not used to drink such good drink, it got into my brains before I was aware; yet it is of that goodness that it will make no man sick, let him drink as much as his belly will hold of it.

Edward Barlow, *Barlow's Journal*, 1668[152]

—

[La Palma] This is a very mountainous but fertile land where cereals, wine and sugar are grown.

Johann von Leubelfing, *A Very Amusing Travel Book*, **1612**[153]

—

The Canaries are in number seven. From these islands come our Canary wines, which fume into the head lesse, please the pallate more, and better helpe the naturall weakenesse of a cold stomach, then any other wines whatsoever.

Peter Heylin, *Mikrokosmos…*, 1621[154]

—

The Vines which afford those excellent Wines, grow all about the Island within a mile of the Sea, such as are planted farther up are nothing esteem'd, neither will they thrive in any of the other Islands.

Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal-Society*, 1667[155]

—

The land everywhere is very fertile but particularly famous for the Canarian wine.

Olfert Dapper, *Umständliche und eigentliche Beschreibung von Áfrika…*, 1670[156]



Close-up of the Canary Islands on the map by Jan Luyken, ca. 1680. Rijksmuseum.

—

I confess to you that I would never soothe myself if
I saw myself like this for my own enjoyment; and I
would have been even more upset that day, since M. de
Louvigni, a Navy Quartermaster, sent us in the evening
six bottles of a Canary wine which is so exquisite that,
should he had made it himself, I doubt he would have
made it better.

Proceed, my muse, I beg you,
Let us burn four grains of incense
To this illustrious Quartermaster,
For his Canary wine.
With this nectar, I believe
The province is well armed;
With this nectar, I believe
That we serve its king with dignity.

As you can see it is good to do us good: for five or six bottles of wine, a man is immortalised. After all, I don't know if the six best verses in the world are worth just one pint of such liquor. In any case, he was content with it, and we would have wished that all the hosts on the road had been just as reasonable.

Jean-François Regnard, *A Trip to Normandy*, 1689[157]

—

Malvasia wine is produced in such large quantities that France, Spain, Holland and other countries are supplied here every year. It is here [Tenerife] that the excellent Malvasia wine is produced, which is undoubtedly the best in the world. This liquor has only been known on these Islands since the Spanish conquered them, for it was they who first brought here the plants from Candia. Today this wine is preferred to that of the very place from which it originates, and a greater quantity comes from here than from Candia.

Jacques J. Lemaire, *Sir Lemaire's Travels to the Canary Islands…*, 1682[158]

Finally, atlases of all the world's islands, known in Spanish as *islarios*, are a fascinating literary and cartographical genre, very popular between the 14th and 18th centuries, describing island territories. José Manuel Montesdeoca conducted a study about these sources, including those written by André Thévet (1502-1592), royal cosmographer who visited different regions of Europe, Asia, and South America. This experience, together with his scholarship and expertise in the bibliography allowed him to create significant works, including *Universal Cosmography* (*Cosmographie Universelle,* 1575), his best-known work, *The New Found World, or Antarctike* (*Les singularitez de la France Antarctique*, 1558) and *The Great Islander* (*Le Grand Insulaire et Pilotage de André Thévet,* 1586), in which he praised the fine wines produced in Gran Canaria. More than a century later, **Vincenzo Coronelli** (1650-1718), in his *Isolario* (1696), describes the Canary Islands on the basis of the classical tradition of the Fortunate Isles, highlighting qualities such as their fertile soils, as a region that yielded all kinds of goods, including wine, praising its quality and reputation in Europe.

—

Of wheat, there is plenty on these Islands, also of very good wine, better than that of Candia, where Malvasia is found, just as we would declare with regard to the Islands of Madeira.

André Thévet, *The New Found World, or Antarctike*, **1558**[159]

—

This island is fertile, among other things, in good wines, whose goodness and delicacy are in no way inferior to Malvasia di Candia. The slaves work the vineyards and do almost all the other lowly jobs; in their majority they are African Moors taken from different places, I even saw Christians, Jews, and others, treated worse by the Spaniards than the slaves of the Turks and Arabs.

André Thévet, *The Great Atlas of Islands and Guide of the Navigator André Thévet,* **1586**[160]

—

Gran Canaria is twelve leagues in length and equal in latitude and is almost round. And in the midst of it there is a very high mountain, and is well populated. And sugar and wine are garnered in it, and there is hardly any wheat.... [Tenerife] is a good, fertile island. And in it are garnered force wheat and wine, beefs (or oxen), sugar, wax,... La Gomera is a small island, and good sugar, wine and wax are garnered there.

Jean Fonteneau, *Cosmography*, **1545**[161]

—

And they have planted vines that in few years have given a great abundance of wine, but the vines harvested are high on account of the great vice of the land and there are low ones as well.

Alonso de Santa Cruz, *General Atlas of all the Islands of the World,* **1541**[162]

—

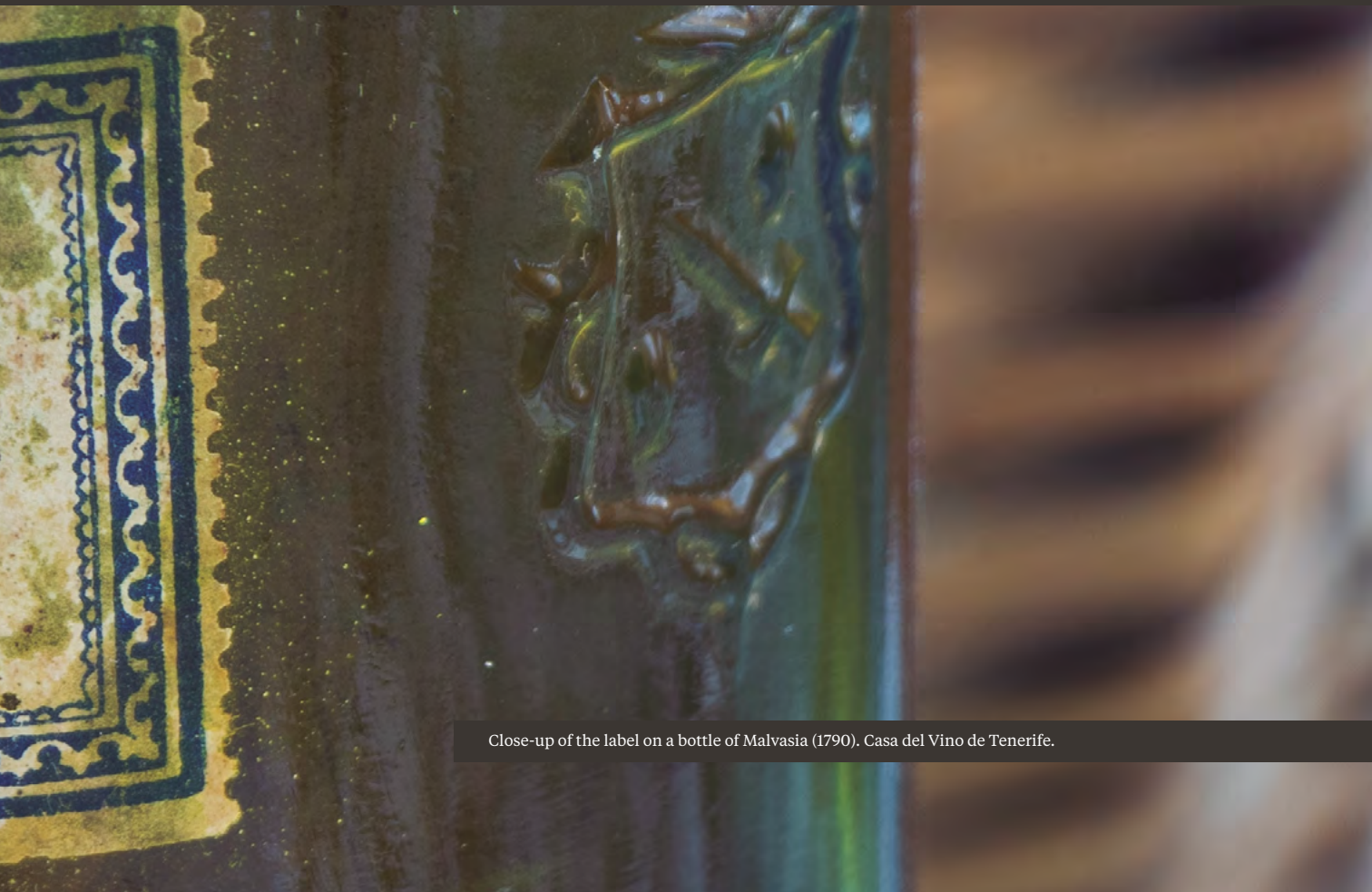
The soil of the Canary Islands produces a wine so exquisite that not only in the barren lands of the northern provinces but also in the most fertile lands of Europe itself they are pleased to serve it at the tables of their princes. This very smooth liquor is accompanied by an abundance of many other delicacies.... [La Palma] The fertility of its territory is such that it is not behind that of the most profitable, for the wine, sugar, fruit, herds, milk and cheese there are exquisite.

Vincenzo Coronelli, *Atlante Veneto, Isolario*, **1696**[163]

Chapter 3

Transformations in *Canary Wine* and the Search for New Ports





Close-up of the label on a bottle of Malvasia (1790). Casa del Vino de Tenerife.

Canary Wine *enters a period of survival. With its historic markets blockaded, it redefines its identity and changes its landscape to adapt to a complex reality, whilst it continues to stoke literary passions far and wid.*

The difficulties faced by agriculture in the Canary Islands and by the international wine trade in the last third of the 17th century did not ease with the new century. The Spanish War of Succession (1701-1713) brought further instability, as England took a stand against the Bourbon candidate to the throne, the future King of Spain, Philip V.

Meanwhile, in 1703, Portugal joined the alliance to support Charles VI, led by England, and both countries signed the Methuen Treaty (1703), known as the *Port Wine Treaty*, whereby the British acquired Portuguese wines in exchange for supplying textiles to the Portuguese empire. This was not good news for Canary wines, which lost one of their most prosperous markets, putting them in fierce competition with Madeira and Port wines. Malvasia was taxed excessively, and, as it increasingly became a luxury item, it had only a token presence in English territories after 1730.

Following the signing of the Utrecht (1713) and Rastatt (1714) treaties, the situation did not improve. Spain's new king was sensitive to the problem faced by the Canaries, initiating a series of ultimately unproductive negotiations with London, whilst wine growers and merchants looked for other solutions to the loss of the English market. However, successive conflicts between Britain and Spain during this century continued to affect the interests of the Canary Islands negatively, failing to reach an advantageous trade arrangement.

THE KING

By means of different proclamations issued by my Royal Predecessors and my own, the three Islands of Canaria, Tenerife, and La Palma have been permitted to trade their fruits to the Indies by the Ports alone, and for the times and the number of tonnes prescribed in said Proclamations until the final licence expired, and I ordered the suspension of this Trade... I grant to the aforementioned Islands of Canaria, Tenerife, and La Palma, for the time I stipulate, that they may continue benefitting from my permission to commerce their fruits to the Ports of the Indies (which shall be declared below) in the number of thousands of tonnes each year, distributed thus, one hundred and fifty to the Island of Canaria, two hundred and fifty to La Palma, and the remaining six hundred to Tenerife.

Regulation and Ordinance of 1718[1]

Faced with the closure of the English metropolitan market, the Thirteen Colonies in North America offered an alternative. In spite of the English Navigation Acts in place, which prohibited direct traffic with its ports, Portuguese wines were unable to meet the demand of such a large market, which favoured the entry of Canary wines sold as *false Madeira*, in other words, Vidonia wine topped up with red wine and spirits derived from wine to simulate Madeira wines.

This trade began to flourish from 1749 onwards, increasing during the second half of the century. The ports of Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and Boston, were the ultimate destination for Canary exports. The key to the profitability of this business, in addition to the complacency of Colonial civil servants and the strategies employed by the merchants, resided in the return leg of the journey, which they would use to transport mainly flour, which ended up in Cuba and Venezuela, since demand in the Canary Islands was incapable of absorbing the supply of North American products.

Furthermore, in relation to traffic with the Indies, the 1718 Regulations brought a breath of fresh air to the precarious situation, by allowing Canary ships to transport a thousand tonnes a year to the ports of Havana, Campeche, Caracas, Trinidad, Cumaná, Santo Domingo, and Puerto Rico. Vidonia wines and spirits derived from wine were the main goods shipped. However, spirits from the Islands were scarcely competitive in a territory blanketed in sugar cane, in spite of the prohibitions on making spirits, which remained in place until 1765.



View of Portsmouth (1760). By Jean-François Daumont. Image from the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

—

Our governors and growers are not reasonable, and they are not pleased by the continued staining of our wine, failing to comprehend the consequences that this brings for the wellbeing of the Island, since the English shall not take any pipe that has not been stained, which leads them normally to go through Madeira in the West, the Indies, and North America.

Letter from Juan Cologan, 1761[2]

—

... in the years 59 and 60, a new production of dry wines was achieved instead of the fortified wines that were formerly produced, and although a high sales value was not attained, at least a comfortable outlet was secured for those products that, remaining within the island, left their inhabitants in the least unhappiness.

Marqués de El Sauzal, 1760[3]

At the same time, imports of red wines and spirits from Catalonia and Mallorca, respectively, triggered conflict between the local estate owners and merchants. The former wanted to restrict or prohibit these imports, especially spirits, so that their own production would have a market. The latter defended these imports, since these spirits were necessary to make false Madeira wine and because they offered a business opportunity, especially with merchants from Mallorca.

In 1724, the Council prohibited their entry, a decision endorsed by the Council of the Indies two years later. However, this measure was largely ineffective, as was the Royal Decree of 1758 that restricted imports of these products unless there was a scarcity or prices were high. Representatives of the estate owners, such as the Marquis of Villanueva del Prado, called for a



Close-up of *View of the port of Philadelphia* (1869). Oil on canvas, By James Hamilton (1819-1878). Philadelphia Museum of Art: donated by the McNeil American Collection, 2009, 2009-16-6.

royal ban. As noted by historian Manuel Hernández: "*the open clash between the interests of the wine growers and merchants regarding the making of* false Madeira *was sharp*"[4] and these tensions grew alongside the volume of traffic with the Thirteen Colonies. Together with the critical state of trade at this time, the condition of the land used to grow grapevines similarly did not give cause for optimism. Estates that had once flourished were withering, crops were lost, and the poorest peasants were migrating to the Americas. Then, to make matters worse, there were several natural disasters: the destruction of the port in Garachico during the volcanic eruption of mount Trevejos (1706), volcanic episodes in La Palma and Lanzarote, the hurricane of 1720, a shortage of cereals, etc. From the mid-century onwards, the more illustrious echelons of society the Canaries, most of whom were members of the local elite of wine growers, presented to the Court numerous memoranda reporting this precarious reality and denouncing the commercial liberties conceded to other Spanish ports through the 1765 Decree, which eliminated the single port and increased competition.

As noted by Morales Padrón,[5] the Council of the Indies arrived at three conclusions after analysing the claims submitted from the Canary Islands: the calamitous situation on the Islands; the importance of conserving the Archipelago; and the need to prevent their ruin. A positive response came in 1772, when the free trade of wines, spirits, vinegars, and other products was authorised. A decision that foreshadowed the Free Trade Act of 1778, which flooded the market with supply and plunged products from the Canaries into a scenario of intense competition that did not benefit it in any way whatsoever.

—

When King Philip IV extended the permission granted to the Canaries up to the number of one thousand tonnes, trade from the North began to flow, towards which more than twelve thousand pipes of wine were shipped per year, at high prices and effective payments. This extraction has ceased entirely, since the English have withdrawn from it, and the famous Malvasia wines had no outlet whatsoever, and therefore the islanders have been reduced to the greatest destitution, since that fruit accounted for the majority of their harvest, and not being consumed in the ports of America, since the islands' permission is restricted in this regard, unless it is turned into wine-based spirits (which they cannot do without considerable loss) leaving the Malvasia wines useless and the owners unable to send them to England on their own account due to excessive taxation of 118 pesos, which the English … levy on each pipe when they are transported in Spanish vessels.

***Report by José van de Walle addressed to Charles III*, 1761**[6]

—

THE KING

I have determined to grant the aforementioned Canary Islands the relief they need for their reestablishment, to grant them as I grant the grace of free trade to the Windward Isles and Campeche (a circumstance that has been extended to that Port) in the same terms, form, and contribution of taxes that is granted to the natives of this Peninsula by Royal Decree issued on the eighth of November, seventeen hundred and sixty-five, understood as being precisely for the fruits of those same Islands, which are wine, wine-based spirits, vinegar, which spoil quickly,… produced from the same fruits of the country.

***Royal Provision issued by King Charles III*, 1772**[7]

—

Prior to the regulation of free trade, our wines and distilled spirits enjoyed a kind of monopoly in the parts of America to which we were permitted to take them, because although trade was prohibited to most ports on the Peninsula, and always limited to a certain number of tonnes, we hardly had anything to fear from concurrence; those were happy days for our trade, yearned for still by those who are employed therein.

But after the ports of America that we frequented became a market open to all provinces of Spain, they were inundated with an immense portion of wines and spirits that damaged our shipments so much more when the drawbacks of excessive abundance, which always leads goods to be sold cheaply, should fall mainly on ours, more expensive and laden with more costs than others, since they constitute the entirety of our expeditions. Nothing, hence, can contribute more to the reestablishment of our commerce than limiting the quantity of wines shipped from the provinces of Spain for the royal consumption of the Americas.

Alonso de Nava y Grimón, 1788[8]



Docks at Puerto de la Cruz, one of the main ports used to embark wines being shipped to the Americas. Photograph by Marcos Baeza (ca. 1905). Canaries Historical Photographic Archive, FEDAC-Cabildo de Gran Canaria.

In spite of this, the illustrious classes of the Canary Islands had no doubt that wine should continue to be the main source of wealth on the Archipelago.

—

We are all convinced that the vines of Tenerife are the mines and roots from which our conveniences have and continue to emerge, and on which we can build the projects of our hopes. In their labour, they occupy half of the individuals on the Island, the cost of their production borne by the landowning gentry or their sons, or by the growers and labourers themselves.

Marqués de Villafuerte de Garachico, 1779[9]

—

The wine harvest [1765] has been too short, since it has been half of what it is regularly.... The wine harvest [1776 harvest] has also been good in most places, and years ago it was very scarce so it appeared that the previous year's harvest would have to be sold at high prices; but it has not been so; since, on the one hand, Commander Gral has permitted the introduction of spirits distilled from wine, and on the other, because the English have not come for them on account of the suspension of trade with the Colonies in America, which wish to be freed from the yoke of the European capital, and they have declared themselves independent Provinces.... Since this is the main fruit that sustains the trade of our Islands, happiness or unhappiness commonly depends on them.

Lope Antonio de la Guerra y Peña, *Memorias*, *ca*. 1790-1791[10]

—

The grape is almost the only fruit in our country, but the most noble and capable of bringing us great joy, provided that, applying ourselves to its particular cultivation and to perfecting it with the art of winemaking, we then put it in the hands of commerce provided by its exchange with foreigners who need it, for the many other things of which we have need. The manner of achieving it is not difficult, we do not need foreign hands as previously, ours along are those that can carve our general happiness. [...] Let us work as they did, let us come together, let us form a friendly trade Company, let us make our trade active, and let us record of course some rules with which it would be convenience to establish it.

Francisco de Lugo y Viña, 1797[11]



Alonso de Nava y Grimón. VI Marquis of Villanueva del Prado. Sculpture in the Plaza de la Junta Suprema (La Laguna).

Wine as a symbol of peace

In the summer of 1797, British troops led by Commander Horatio Nelson attacked the military defences of Santa Cruz de Tenerife. There has been much debate about the intentions behind this military manoeuvre, almost undoubtedly motivated by the strategic location of the island in shipping routes towards America and Asia, together with trade relations between the Canaries and England. Whatever the case may be, local militia, led by Commander General Gutiérrez, were victorious over Nelson, who signed the surrender treaty on 25th July 1797. In the letters exchanged between Nelson and Gutiérrez, Nelson offered the gift of a barrel of beer and cheese, while Gutiérrez offered *"a couple of bottles of wine"*, thus sealing the peace treaty.



Portrait of Horatio Nelson (*ca*. 1798). By Lemuel F. Abbot. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Londres.

—

Don Antonio Gutiérrez, Commander General of the Canary Islands

My dearest and most esteemed Sir:

With great pleasure I have received the immense token of your generosity and thoughtfulness; since on my part I feel that a man who only acts in accordance with the dictates of humanity merits no praise, and this is all I have done to the wounded and the others who disembarked, whom I am bound to consider as brothers the moment combat concluded. If, in the state to which you have been driven by the always uncertain fate of war, I or any of the goods produced on this island could be of use or provide some relief, this would be a true pleasure for me, and I hope you will accept a pair of demi-johns of wine, which I do not believe to be the worst it produces. It will be a great satisfaction for me to deal personally, when circumstances allow, with a person of such patent and recommendable qualities as Your Honour manifests, and in the meantime I pray that God will keep you safe for many happy years to come.

Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 25 July 1797.

My dear lord; your most dependable and humble servant.

Dn. Antonio Gutiérrez P.S.

I received and greatly appreciate the beer and cheese with which you have favoured me. I commend to you My Lord the dispatch of the French, which Captain Troubridge will have presented to you on my behalf.

Lord Admiral D. Horatio Nelson.

Letter from Commander General Gutiérrez to Admiral Horatio Nelson, 25-VII-1797[12]

Between the late 18th century and the end of the Napoleonic wars (1814), the *Canary Wine* trade flourished, benefitting from the blockade of European ports during the conflict and achieving renewed albeit short-lived popularity on the old continent, especially in England. In parallel, the United States became the main market for these wines in the final few decades of the century, accounting for almost half of global exports, whilst also providing the timber used to make barrels.

However, peace was restored in Europe, returning to the previous situation, and both the export of goods and the volume of production continued to decline. *Canary Wine* was only accepted at ports in the United States. At the same time, competition from wines produced on the mainland was undeniable within the new liberal, centralist, institutional framework that promoted free exchange, derived from the Cadiz Parliament, which articulated a unified national territory.

In such circumstances, crisis was inevitable. Until the mid-19th century, *Canary Wine* experienced a decline, exacerbated by the terrible state of agriculture on the Islands, the independence gained by Spanish American countries, fiscal obstacles, and the development of new crops, such as cochineal. The mildew plague of 1852 marked a historic breaking point, the end of a cycle, and confirmation of the crisis foretold, which forced the Canaries to live from the memory of its wonderful wines for several generations.

—

Since cherries have been planted, so widespread on the island of La Palma, and black grapes in various districts of Tenerife, it is no longer necessary to bring red wine from elsewhere to give colour to our wines.... in recent years, the orders received from abroad for this trade and the shipments made are not for wines tinted as before, but of the natural colour as they emerge from the vine.

Diego Antonio de Mesa y Ponte, *Síndico Personero* of the Island of Tenerife, 1816[13]

—

That once important beverage in England, "sack", still retains its reputation, though under a different name. It is the sherry sack that is now approved, the consumption of canary sack having become greatly reduced.... The reputation of Canary wine has long since passed away, and the value of the possession has become proportionally impaired. The wine exportation, however, still constitutes the principal commerce of these islands.... It is highly probable that the exportation of Canary wines to England will entirely cease, in the event of the expected reductions taking places in the White wines of Xerez, Madeira, Lisbon, and Sicily; and Tenerife being admittedly an inferior article to any of those just mentioned, our sole consumption of it will be in our colonies.

T. M. Hughes, *Revelations of Spain in 1845*, 1845[14]

The birth of a new wine growing landscape: La Geria, Lanzarote

In September 1730, a series of major eruptions began in the area of Timanfaya in Lanzarote, lasting for several years and burying around twenty villages, which are named and listed by historian Viera y Clavijo. The layers of volcanic ash that settled provided a new landscape on which to develop agriculture, and very soon grapevines were planted in response. Various documents provide accounts of the conversion of this landscape and the first wines produced there afterwards.

A very similar process occurred in La Palma, following the volcanic eruptions of San Antonio (1677) and Fuente Santa (1712), which created, as Antonio Macías writes: *"a new scenario for our viticulture: the "malpaíses"* [badlands] *originating from recent and historic eruptions. This is true for the vines planted in Fuencaliente and Las Manchas (La Palma), Monte Lentiscal (Gran Canaria) and El Golfo (El Hierro)"*.[15]

—

There are no vines there, orchards, or anything fresh, which is considerable. They transport using camels and cheerfully eat this meat. I do not know if you will have heard at the time of writing, but a Volcano erupted on Lanzarote, beginning on the eleventh day of September 1732. It did a great deal of damage to the land, wherever it passed; but the lands immediately around it I heard that they had become more fertile, thick sand scattered by the Volcano acting as a kind of manure.

Mathías Pedro Sánchez Bernalt, *Semi-history of the Foundations of the Company of Jesus…*, 1740[16]

—

… these volcanoes have destroyed the most fertile lands on the island,… the natives have begun planting fruit trees and vines that are growing well.

Antonio de la Rivière, *Geographical Description of the Canary Islands*, 1740-1743[17]

—

Till within these last thirty years Lancerota produced no vines: at that time a volcano broke out, and covered many fields with small dust and pumice-stones, which have improved the soil to such a degree, that vines are now planted there, which thrive well and yield grapes, but the wine made from them is thin, poor, and so sharp that a stranger cannot distinguish it by the taste from vinegar; yet it is very wholesome.

George Glas, *The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands*, 1764[18]

—

… the many plantations of vines and other fruit trees made on this island because of the fertility of the terrain covered by the sand produced by the volcanoes that erupted there… these terrains do not yield any fruits other than the aforementioned, and the vines are so plentiful that often the growers become fatigued since they do not have anything with which to collect the grape must or a destination for it.

Notarial Record, 28-XI-1773[19]

—

... formed by the volcanos and were left untouched by their petrified eruption and useful badlands are accommodated to plantations of vines and fruit trees, and production is so lush and copious that were it not for the winds that are so strong and continuous on this island... wonders are to be seen, such is the fertility of the land that is made more fertile each year with the rain... The wines are not good quality it would appear, and this deficiency is attributed to the newness of the vine or the lack of skill of the growers or to both, the spirits distilled from wine produced here (if they wish to bring them out clean) are excellent. There is little difference found between the wines from different terrains.

Anonymous, *Compendium*, 1776[20]

—

The lava and volcanic sand have the property of conserving the moisture in the land they cover, because they protect it from the blazing sun. By breaking the first, they planted all kinds of trees that yield the most exquisite fruits... And digging holes in the second, many *listan* grapevines, whose grapes, despite being a good size and pleasant tasting, make bad wine, because it becomes sour very quickly because of this, that they are picked when they are not properly ripe so that they are not scorched by the terrible winds that usually blow in August and they blow for between two and four days. The feracity of the vines planted in these large holes made in the black sand was such that they constructed wineries, and the wines were distilled into spirits taken to Tenerife, and from there to the Americas.

José A. Álvarez Rixo, *History of the Port of Arrecife, ca.* 1846-1866[21]



Wine growing in La Geria today. Photograph: Tato Gonçalves.

3.1. Travellers, scholars, and scientists in the Canary Islands: descriptions of its wine growing

Throughout the 18th and the first half of the 19th century, the Canary Islands continued to be a strategic stop on routes to different parts of the world. This international expansion also entered a new phase, oriented towards knowledge of the geology, botany, fauna, and potential of other territories, but also a new commercial dimension mainly driven by the British and French empires. European countries funded scientific expeditions for several purposes, which found in the Canaries an ideal stopping point to secure provisions. Multiple scientific accounts and travel chronicles describe these crossings, taking interest in the nature of the Islands, their landscape, and their wines, which were still famous in the European imagination.

3.1.1. Technical descriptions: interest in cultivation methods

Scientific ambition, fuelled by the Enlightenment and by the advances made in academic disciplines, reconfigured the content of previous texts, which became more precise and interested in technical aspects of wine growing: vine training systems, irrigation, varieties, types of grape and wine, productivity, harvests, exploitation of the land, etc.

We begin our list with Jesuit **Mathías Sánchez Bernalt** (1697-1762). Born in Granada, he arrived in Tenerife in 1729 to occupy the post of Superior at the School of La Orotava. He wrote a volume entitled *Semi-History of the Foundations, Residences, or Colleges of the Company of Jesus on the Islands)* (*Semi-Historia de las Fundaciones, Residencias, o Colegios que tiene la Compañía de Jesús en las Islas*) in which, as well as exploring the history of wines on the Canary Islands, he also made specific remarks about irrigation and the system of vine training used in Malvasia grape cultivation.

Michel Adanson (1727-1806), during his brief stop in Tenerife in 1749, as part of his scientific expedition to Senegal, reflected on the quality of Canary wines, highlighting the importance not only of climate but also the orientation of the vines. Similar observations were made by the agronomist **Henri-Alexandre Tessier** (1741-1837) based on a report sent by the French Vice Consul in the Canary Islands.

Other interesting accounts date from the early part of the 19th Century, for example by French naturalist and explorer **André-Pierre Ledru** (1761-1825), who participated in Baudin's expedition to the Antilles. During his stay on the island of Tenerife, he provided detailed descriptions of the annual lifecycle of the grape vine, as did **Francis Coleman Mac-Gregor** (1783-1876), who wrote the first ever book about the Canary Islands in German. The systems of vine training and cultivation, as well as their influence on the characteristics of the wine produced were explored by **Juan Bautista Bandini** (1767-1817), a physician originally from Genoa and member of the Royal Economic Society of Friends of Tenerife; and the American biologist **Daniel J. Browne** (1804-1867), who wrote an interesting description of the Canary Islands.



Map of the Island of Tenerife, by Andrés Amat de Tortosa (1783), from the Cartography Collection of D. Ulrich Ahlers.
Museum of History and Anthropology of Tenerife, Organismo Autónomo de Museos y Centros. Excmo. Cabildo Insular de Tenerife.

But I was more amazed to see that, the vines being in many parts on a cliff with only three or four fingers of soil, they produce such a generous liquor, which is *Malvasia*, and in such abundance. I saw with my own eyes, at the joins, and even the cracks in the earth, that the roots went down to soil that they found at depths of three or four yards. Perhaps that *suco lapidifico*, which is communicated through the fibres of the vine to the liquor, makes a fair contribution to its generosity....

The vines are arranged in rows like arbours, one yard high, with the shoots spreading out long, as the tips stretch out to find one another. They tie these knots together with reed and prop them with forks driven into the ground. The clusters hang in the air, a very eye-catching sight; and from mid-May they remove some of the leaves so that they are bathed fully in the sun; but at the same time they cover them somewhat, so they do not burn. They do not harvest by cutting the clusters using a trawl net, as is the usual custom in Spain; but rather by removing the clusters, and half clusters that will be dried to make raisins: and these are the ones they take to the Winery. And so they have to comb through a vine four, five, or six times, as the grapes ripen. For this reason, the grape must, when pressed, resembles syrup; and the Vine, which might give 100 pipes of a different must, only gives 30. However, these painstaking labours are not seen in Vidonia vines: and so much more is made, and it is sold at a much lower price.

Mathías Pedro Sánchez Bernalt, ***Semi-history of the Foundations of the Company of Jesus...*, 1740**[22]

—

The quality of these wines is commonly attributed to the climate and the nature of the terroir; but I believe that the cultivation and the way in which vines are trained have at least as great a part to do with it. Here is what I have seen in practice in the surroundings of Santa Cruz. The hills which have an advantageous midday exposure are chosen, discarding all the others: the lowest part is cultivated, up to a height of two hundred feet maximum. On the whole of the ground destined for the vines, small walls are erected at a support height of four to five feet one above the other. These walls have several purposes: in the first place, by holding back the earth, they prevent the vines from being loosened; in the second place, they retain the rainwater, which otherwise would flow over the soil without penetrating it; and lastly, they increase considerably the reflection of the sun rays and provide the vines with greater warmth.

Michel Adanson, *Natural History of Senegal*, 1749[23]

—

Most of the producing vines [of Tenerife] are located in the South-West, near the Peak, along the coast. In many places, they are planted in an untidy fashion and are not well looked after; some of them are trained on trellises five to six feet high, and on espaliers.... Neither soil nor manure is added to the vines; they are pruned in March, the grapes are removed from the vines in August and September, and are then taken to the press as soon as they are harvested.... It should be pointed out that in Tenerife they know very well how to clarify wine and fortify it with eau de vie. In France, it should not be difficult to mimic this practice, which is undoubtedly known in many of our wine-producing countries.

Henri-Alexandre Tessier, *State of the Agriculture in the Canary Islands*, 1796[24]



Portrait of Michel Adanson. Leipzig University Library.



Portrait of Henri-Alexandre Tessier, by Julien L. Boilly (1811). Wellcome Collection.

—

Vineyards are the most fertile branch of Tenerife's products and prosperity. They are located for the most part in the North-West and South areas, from Tejina to Buenavista, and in the vicinity of Adeje and Güímar. This is the method of cultivation generally adopted. There are five tasks to be carried out every year: 1. In November and December, the soil is thoroughly ploughed to prepare it for the fertile January rains and to kill the weeds—the use of fertiliser is unknown. 2. In February they are pruned to fix the sap in the good vines; and this work is done in January when the South winds have prevailed, because they accelerate the development of the buds. 3. Right after this last operation, the vine is tied to trellises one and a half metres high, and the shoots that are to bear fruit are attached to them, in order to give them solid support against the winds. 4. In May, the vine is carefully weeded and removed from all the parasitic weeds that consume part of the juice, causing a disease known in France under the name of Tejina. 5. The final operation involves spacing out the rows, spreading out the fertile branches, and arranging them so that they can all benefit from the invigorating action of the sun. The harvest is usually carried out in July and August. The harvested grapes are taken to a press. These are built in much the same way as those in France. Here, they are crushed and when the first juice pours out, the winegrower surrounds the bunch with a rush rope; he covers it with planks strongly pressed by a screw in order to squeeze out of the lump all the liquor it contains.

André-Pierre Ledru, *A Trip to the Islands of Tenerife, Trinidad...*, 1810[25]

—

With the exception of Fuerteventura, vine-growing is considerable on all the islands, but above all on Tenerife. On this island, vineyards, which yield the most excellent wine, are located on the North-West coast, and stretch from Tejina to Buenavista, where they extend mostly along the midday side of the mountains on whose slopes they are planted.... Here the vines are either trained on sticks or spread out over arbours made of lath and cane; they are also trained along trellises or left to grow along the ground. They are usually planted in depressions dug out for this purpose, where lava and rock veins are found. Their pruning (cutting), which starts between the end of January and the beginning of March, is done by leaving two or three eyes on each of the cane, after having loosened the soil with a hoe. In April, the canes are cleaned and the emerged weeds are weeded out. In June or July, they are removed from the soil and tied up so that the tendrils do not burn on the ground that has been heated by the sun. The best way to do this is to create a clearing between the rows and to spread out the fruit-bearing vines so that they can benefit evenly from the sun's rays. Where circumstances allow, artificial irrigation may be used—however, the grapes that have not been irrigated produce the best and strongest wine. The grape harvest commences at the beginning of September and runs into October, depending on the local situation of the vineyards.

Francis C. Mac-Gregor, *The Canary Islands*, 1831[26]

—

[In Tenerife] the grapevines are either upright or trained in the so-called *latada* and *carrera* systems: the first is the most common method; the second is called thus because they are raised on forked props, trunks [*lata* in Spanish], and canes, with the vines growing over the top of them, with long pruning required on account of their position; and the final method, *carrera*, although not widely used, raises the vines on prop forks with a trunk crossing over them, not forming lanes or frames: both these methods are used almost exclusively with Malvasia grapevines.... The cultivation of grapevines is different from Canaria, in that most of those grown on Tenerife are not laid out on the ground as they are there, and consequently their pruning is longer. In the picking of the grapes, the pressing, making, and composition of the wines reveals much more care, curiosity, and intelligence; hence the wines are almost always of superior quality, and few are burned to distil into spirit.

Juan Bautista Bandini, *Elementary Lessons in Agriculture...*, 1816[27]

—

When it comes to grape cultivation, grapes require the most intensive care. The vines are planted in the crevices and loose fragments of soil untouched by lava, from which they derive their nourishment, and spread their tendrils over the surface of the rocks, receiving the whole influence of the heat from the perpendicular rays of the sun, as well as from the reflected heat from the Stones upon which they rest. In some instances, the vines are trained over lattice-work, forming delightful arbors, but their fruit is less delicious than when ripened the other way.

Daniel. J. Browne, *Letters from the Canary Islands*, 1834[28]

Other sources focus less on technical matters and become somewhat more literary in their approach, highlighting aspects such as the work of the labourers, the intensity of harvests and the pressing of the grapes, as well as descriptions of elements such as wineries and cellars. One such narrative was provided by **Louis Feuillée** (1660-1732), a naturalist who came to the Canary Islands for specific technical purposes, such as establishing the exact position of the islands of El Hierro and Tenerife, or establishing the height of Mount Teide. During his stay, he produced a volume of extremely valuable scientific observations about natural history, astronomy, history, etc., including various observations about wine growing.

An account of the harvest was provided by French author **Jean-Baptiste Taillandier** (1676-1713), a Jesuit priest who stopped off on the island of Tenerife in 1711 on his way to the missions in the Americas. Another interesting book, which takes the reader on a voyage around the world, is *Illustrated Journey around the Five Parts of the World* (*Viage ilustrado en las cinco partes del mundo*, 1852), by Spanish writer **Ildefonso Antonio Bermejo** (1820-1892), which describes the harvest in the north of Tenerife.

Finally, Englishman **Alfred Diston** (1793-1861), was one of the most influential figures of his time in the economic and cultural development of the Canary Islands. He left us with an important volume of written work, watercolours and drawings that depict canarian society of the time. He incorporates information about wine growing, as we will see later on.

—

It was also the time when the Malvasia grape was harvested: this grape is of a particular nature. The bunches are carefully picked, and only the perfectly ripe ones are taken to the press. When the wine is extracted, quicklime is added to it, so that it can be preserved when it is transported across the world's different climates. The island also produces red and white wine of a different kind.

Jean-Baptiste Taillandier, ***From Father Taillandier, Missionary of the Society of Jesus…,*** **1711**[29]

—

The countryside is quite pleasant, there are very beautiful vines planted among the stones and rocks, and several country houses where the inhabitants keep their barrels to store their wine during the harvest…. The labourers are hardened because of their work—they bear patiently the weight of the day and the excessive heat which is felt in these islands during almost every season of the year; they are robust and have a strong and vigorous temperament; although they live a miserable life, they are content with little food, most of them do not eat bread or meat, they drink water and very little wine.

Louis Feuillée, ***A Trip to the Canary Islands*****, 1724**[30]

—

… A chapel in what would be the mezzanine level, and beneath this a Cellar, divided into Malvasia and Vidonia.

Mathías Pedro Sánchez Bernalt, ***Semi-history of the Foundations of the Company of Jesus…*****, 1740**[31]



Vines in Icod de los Vinos, with Mount Teide, in the background. Etching by J.J. Williams. Published in *Histoire Naturelle des Îles Canaries* (1839), by Sabin Berthelot and Philip B. Webb.

—

[The winepress] consists of a square wooden container, badly shaped, measuring six feet long by two feet high, on which a very thick beam is fixed. When the winepress is almost full, about half a dozen young farmers are taken inside, who tread the grapes with their bare feet. Then, the pods and stalks are squeezed out completely with the aid of a lever. This is mixed with water and pressed again to produce a light, somewhat intoxicating drink known as *aguapie*, which is very appreciated among the farmers.

Francis C. Mac-Gregor, *The Canary Islands*, 1831[32]

—

Whosoever wish reference to the Canary Islands makes a song or a story about the "merry vintage time", the "jovial vintagers" and so forth, has either seen mighty little of the field labour of Tenerife at that period of the year, or disfigures the truth most lamentably; for in fact, the vintage, (embracing from the latter part of August to the end of October – and sometimes later) is, to those engaged in wine making, a time of constant toil, unvaried by any relaxation or festivity either during its progress, or at its termination.... men, women, and children carrying it in large heavy baskets on their backs or heads, often to a distance of a couple of miles; and when it is considered that wherever a patch or ledge of ground is found in even almost inaccessible positions it is taken advantage of for planting as many wine as is will contain, it may be believed that the gathering the grapes and bringing them in, is a work not only of severe toil, but also, in many instances, of danger, owing to the nature of the declivities to be passed.

Alfred Diston, *Costumes of the Canary Islands*, 1829[33]

—

The vintage occurs from the middle to the last of September, when the peasantry of both sexes are engaged in gathering the fruit and making wine. The extemporaneous song resounds throughout the valley, and the laborer keeps time to his tune, and all seems less like a scene of labor than a gay festival. The process of making wine is similar to that practised in Madeira, the Azores, or most of the countries of Europe. The grapes are first cut from the vines, and conveyed to the press, which consists of a large vat holding forty or fifty bushels. As soon as the vat is completely filled with the fruit, four or five of the laboring men enter it, bare-legged, and tread the grapes until they are quite broken. In the meantime, the principal part of the juice is expressed and conveyed into proper vessels, and afterwards to the wine-cellar, where it is put into large casks in order to undergo the process of fermentation. The remaining grapes are subjected to heavy pressure, which deprives them of the rest of their juice, which is conveyed away as the former. The wine in this state is very like new cider, but more insipid to the taste; but after being fermented and receiving a due portion of alcohol, it receives that flavour as when remitted to us.

Daniel J. Browne, *Letters from the Canary Islands*, 1834[34]

—

The countryside that stretched out before us was filled with villagers of both sexes, occupied in the harvest; but at the height where we were standing, the clusters were still far from ripening.... From that elevation, we discovered the port of Orotava, a village with poor anchorage, yet often frequented by the skippers of boats, who come there to load up with the most renowned wines from the island.

Ildefonso A. Bermejo, *Illustrated Journey in the Five Parts of the World*, 1852[35]



Portrait of Alexander von Humboldt (1806). By Friedrich Georg Weitsch (1758-1828). Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin.



Portrait of Alfred Diston. By Elizabeth Heaphy de Murray.



Portrait of J.B. Bory de Saint Vincent. By Ambroise Tardieu (1826). Wellcome Collection.



Portrait of Sabin Berthelot (1838).

These descriptions are rooted in profound admiration. The pages draw a landscape filled with spectacular beauty, in which vines play a central role. These observations come largely from the Orotava Valley, one of the most popular places visited by such figures.

Undoubtedly, this list should begin with Prussian humanist **Alexander von Humboldt** (1769-1859), who made a stop on the island of Tenerife during his scientific expedition to the Americas in 1799, making crucial scientific observations about the geology of Mount Teide, showing how plants within this territory are distributed into vegetation belts. Another author who explored this landscape was Frenchman **Sabin Berthelot** (1794-1880), French Consul on Tenerife and author of several monumental works about the natural history of the Canaries, such as *The Conquest of the Canary Islands* (*La Conquète des Canaries*, 1842), *Canarian Antiquities* (*Antiquités Canariennes*, 1879) and *Natural History of the Canary Islands* (*L'Histoire Naturelle des Îles Canaries,* 1835-1850), which he co-authored with biologist Philip B. Webb.

—

[Tenerife] exhibits five zones of plants, which we may distinguish by the names—region of vines, region of laurels, region of pines, region of the retama, and region of grasses. These zones are ranged in stages, one above another, and occupy, on the steep declivity of the Peak, a perpendicular height of 1750 toises.

Alexander von Humboldt, *Travels to the Equinoctial Regions…*, 1826[36]

—

It is the beautiful valley of Taoro—the heart of viticulture and everything that makes this happy island charming and pleasant.

Johann Christian Schedel, *New and Complete Handbook for Wine Merchants*, 1790[37]

—

This morning, at daybreak, I walked through the surroundings, and I cannot get tired of admiring the beauty of the landscape: What a sky! What a weather! A gentle heat invigorates the countryside; here well-grown vineyards are a testimony to the industry and wealth of the inhabitants.... nature has done everything for them; there is no more pleasant weather on the globe, no milder temperature. All of the houses, built in the shape of an amphitheatre on a sloping terrain, enjoy a charming perspective, and dominate a fertile plain covered with vineyards, vegetables and gardens.

André-Pierre Ledru, *A Trip to the Islands of Tenerife, Trinidad…*, 1810[38]

—

If, however, when leaving La Orotava, you prefer to take the mountain route, the valley, vast and beautiful, opens up before you with its lively countryside and its vineyard amphitheatres.

Sabin Berthelot, *Canarian Miscellany (Natural History of the Canary Islands)*, 1839[39]

—

La Rambla is a very peculiar place, very rural, very chilly, and it is a delightful retreat for spending the hot season... The land disappears under the flowers; the vines hang down their branches like festoons of an inordinate length, while the climbing plants, such as Bougainvillea and Bignonia, with mauve, red or bluish flowers, climb up to the top of the tallest trees...

Eugènne Pégot-Ogier, *The Fortunate Islands…*, 1869[40]

3.1.2. The wines of the Canary Islands: Malvasia, Vidonia, and *false Madeira*

In these sources, we must include the description and classification of Canary wines at a time of major change, both in the varieties cultivated and the resulting wines. The Vidonia/Malvasia duality remained, although Vidonia gradually gained ground over the Malvasia when the latter lost its market and foreign demand.

Malvasia vine stocks were replaced by Vidonia vines with a view to increasing the production of dry wines, especially as false Madeira, a process that evolved towards the cultivation of red varieties in the late 1800s. And so the Canary Islands were no longer famed for producing those generous, sweet, golden, heady wines made from Malvasia grapes, and instead produced largely dry wines in line with the changing tastes of demand. Distilled spirits, which were facing competition from products made on the mainland and in the Americas, were also common during this period.

This dichotomy between Vidonia and Malvasia wines is found in various sources. For example: naturalist **Jacques-Julien H. de Labillardière** (1755-1834), who wrote a travel journal when he made a stop in Tenerife in 1791 during an expedition; **Jean-Marie Fleuriot de Langle** (1749-1807), an "armchair traveller" who wrote on the basis of information provided by a relative who was on board the ship L'Astrolabe; and, especially, **Jean-Baptiste Bory de Saint-Vincent** (1780-1846), a naturalist who came to the Canary Islands as part of Baudin's crew and wrote a collection of essays about the natural history, mythology, and geography of the Canaries, which he entitled *Essays on the Fortunate Islands* (*Essais sur les Isles Fortunées*, 1803).



Grapevines in Orotava Valley. Etching by J.J. Williams. Published in *L'Histoire Naturelle des Îles Canaries* (1839), by Sabin Berthelot and Philip B. Webb.

—

The fruit which is taken by Foreigners in greater quantity is Malvasia wine, which is abundant on Tenerife, although a few years hence vines of this variety began to be planted in La Palma, where they are experimenting and trialling as they are in Tenerife. In Canaria, this has not been attempted, nor on the other Island. The one that is in greatest abundance there, and even more so in Tenerife, is another type of wine, which they call *Vidonia*. This is the one that is drunk ordinarily; because *Malvasia* is a very generous wine to be drunk ordinarily, and is only drunk after an extraordinary meal, like *rosoli* [a liqueur], and other similar liquors in Spain. Vidonia, and green Malvasia as they call it (a wine that, due to the poor quality of the soil, does not ripen) is burned in considerable quantities to be shipped to the Indies. Of this Malvasia, the best is shipped by the English for London, and that is why the best is known as London cargo. Previously they paid almost half the price they do now, and they loaded it onto their ships as grape must, for it would become wine at Sea. Because it has a quality such that, en route to the North, it improves in quality; but to the Indies and Spain it becomes inferior.... This Vidonia is consumed on the Islands; Malvasia is taken by the Nations. Vidonia is also used to make spirits, which are shipped to the Indies.

Mathías Pedro Sánchez Bernalt, *Semi-history of the Foundations of the Company of Jesus...*, 1740[41]

—

[Tenerife] Its main trade is fortified Malvasia wine, for northern parts, and Vidonia for America, making large quantities of spirits from them. [La Gomera] It has many vines and wine harvests from which they also produce large quantities of spirits, which are shipped to America.

Pedro A. del Castillo, *Historical and Geographical Description of the Canary Islands*, 1737[42]

—

... the vine, which was truly Tenerife's wealth, is Malvasia, brought from the island of Candia. Hence the sweet and dry wines of the Canaries owed their fame to this grape, a fame truly enjoyed around the world, when later operations are managed with greater intelligence, not only being worthy of esteem those of Tenerife and La Palma: but also some from Canaria and Lanzarote, reduced to spirits in this latter case, as is the case on the island of El Hierro, where the soil is so suited to vines that in the Golfo Valley a bushel of it gives nine or ten pipes of wine, whereas on Tenerife, the most populated with vines, it barely yields five.

José de Viera y Clavijo, *Dictionary of the Natural History of the Canary Islands*, 1799[43]



Grape harvest basket. Tenerife Museum of History and Anthropology. Organismo Autónomo de Museos y Centros del Excmo. Cabildo Insular de Tenerife.

—

[In Tenerife, apart from Malvasia] another type of wine is made with grapes grown in long bunches—this one is a dry and strong wine; all these types of wine can be preserved for a long time.... The other islands produce a similar amount, but their wines are of a much lower quality than those of Tenerife. Additionally, every year at least a thousand pipes of eau de vie are produced, which are loaded onto the ships that go to America or to the coasts of Guinea.

Louis Feuillée, *A Trip to the Canary Islands...*, 1724[44]

—

The mountains have been transformed into wine-growing areas, which have become well known for the excellent wines they produce, and which are known under the names of Canary wine and Malvasia wine. The first one is made from a big grape, which yields a strong and intoxicating wine—it is the ordinary wine. The other one is made from a small grape, whose berry is round and very sweet—the liquor that is drawn from it has a pleasant and sweeter taste, which gives it a great superiority over the first one.

Michel Adanson, *Natural History of Senegal*, 1749[45]

—

... the wine, like that of Madeira, is very intoxicating, very sweet & should be mistrusted. Ordinary wine is not excellent, but the wine drunk by rich people is delicious. There are two varieties: white and red, but white is the most common.

Jean-Marie Fleuriot de Langle, *Figaro' s Trip to Spain*, 1786[46]

—

... the hillsides [of Tenerife], planted with vines, give these excellent wines, which, under the name of Canary & Malvasia, have achieved the greatest popularity. The first one is made from a big grape, which yields a strong and intoxicating wine—this is, however, ordinary wine. The other one is made from a small grape, whose round and sweet berry produces a divine liquor, which deserves to be transported to all parts of the world.

Abbé Delaporte, *The French Traveller...*, 1772[47]

—

... two very distinct varieties can be found: namely, dry wine and the wine known as Malvasia, in whose preparation great attention is paid to highly concentrating the sweet part.

Jacques Julien Houtou de Labilardière, *An Account of a Voyage in Search of La Pérouse*, 1800[48]

—

In Tenerife, two types of wine are made: *Malvasia* and *Vidueño*. The former, originally from Malvasia,... is prepared with the grapes left on the vine after the time of ripening, which are then burnt and dried out by the sun. It is sweet, pleasant to drink and can be stored for a long time.... *Vidueño*, which is made from a big grape and yields a strong and intoxicating wine, is prepared following the method commonly used in Europe.

André-Pierre Ledru, *A Trip to the Islands of Tenerife, Trinidad...*, 1800[49]

—

In the Canary Islands, the wines that are produced are of two qualities: one is called Vidueño, dry and strong, which is the one obtained in greater quantities; the other, much more liquor-like, is called Malvasia, and is made from a grape variety native to Mo'orea.

J.B. Bory de Saint-Vincent, *Essays on the Fortunate Isles and Ancient Atlantis*, 1803[50]

The export crisis faced by classic Malvasia wine led wine makers to seek solutions that would allow them to adapt to new market demands. These included making a dry wine using this grape variety. The most important accounts of this are provided by George Glas and José de Viera y Clavijo, who distinguishes between sweet Malvasia and so-called *Malvasía verde* (Green Malvasia). This is the alternative proposed by the governor of Tenerife **José Antonio de Anchieta y Alarcón** (1705-1767) as a solution to the decline of the famous *Malmsey* in the English market.

So, there were fundamentally three types of wine being made: Vidonia, dry or "green" Malvasia, and sweet Malvasia, although the names vary according to the source. For example, the navigator, privateer, and writer **William Dampier** (1651-1715) refers to them as *Verdona* o *Green Wine, Canary wine* and *Malmsey*; the same classification established by **Antoine Prévost** (1697-1763), whereas other authors equated *Canary* with *Malmsey*.

—

We have a type of Malvasia, the grapes are black and sweet in flavour, unctuous and akin to muscatel. We harvest in this state, making from them a dry wine, called green Malvasia, which, being fortified and with good qualities, qualities sought in commerce, can compete with wines from Madeira and Jerez, and can be transported to distant regions without undermining its goodness. But the Malvasia that always enjoyed the greatest fame and celebrity is the sweet, liqueur-like, fragrant wine.

José de Viera y Clavijo, *Dictionary of the Natural History of the Canary Islands*, 1799[51]

—

This year of 1752, the island being very backwards, because there were years when English trade was dead, and only the odd English ship came, coming just for the grape harvests of the previous year, a voice was raised that the English were coming for wine and that it had to be green and not sweet, the greener the better; so everyone began to make green Malvasia wine… but they wanted green Vidonia rather than green Malvasia, of the sweet wine not even one pipe of sweet was required by the ships that reached Santa Cruz and others that arrived in Puerto.

José de Anchieta y Alarcón, *Diary,* 1752[52]

—

There was formerly a great quantity of Malvasia or Canary sack made here, but of late days there are not above fifty pipes made in a season; for they gather the grapes when green, and make a dry hard wine of them; which, when about two or three years old, can hardly be distinguished from Madeira wine, but after four years of age, it turns so mellow and sweet, that it resembles the wine of Malaga in Spain.

George Glas, *The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands,* 1764[53]

—

Canary wine is pleasant and very strong: it is transported to all parts of the world. […] This island produces three types of excellent wines, which are known as Canary, Malvasia and Verdona—the English confuse all three under the common name of "*Sack*".

Antoine Prévost, *General History of Voyages,* 1746-1761[54]



View of the port of Santa Cruz de La Palma. Watercolour by Alfred Diston. Yale Center for British Art.

—

The true *Malmesy* [sic] Wine grows in this Island; and this here is said to be the best of its kind in the World. Here is also *Canary-Wine*, and *Verdona*, or Green-Wine. The *Canary* grows chiefly on the Westside of the Island; and therefore is commonly sent to *Oratavia*; which being the chief Sea-port for Trade in the Island.... *Verdona* is green, strong bodied Wine, harsher and sharper than *Canary*. 'Tis not so much esteemed in Europe, but is exported to the West-Indies, and will keep best in hot Countries; for which Reason I touch'd here to take in some of it for my Voyage. This sort of Wine is made chiefly on the East-side of the Island, and shipt off at *Santa Cruz*.

William Dampier, *A Voyage to New-Holland*, 1703[55]

—

The main riches of the Canary Islands is the good production of wine. There is no more delicate or more delicious wine in the world.... There are two varieties: the first one is Malvasia, the second one is dry wine. Malvasia is classified into two types: the first and the second—the English do all their trade in the first, which is the most delicate and most pleasing to the taste. The Hamburgers and the Dutch trade in the second, which lacks the sweetness and delicacy of the first. The dry wines are the ones carried by those who make long voyages; these wines never spoil, whatever storm they encounter at sea. The wines of the Canary Islands and Madeira are the only ones that can travel around the world without any alteration.

Louis Feuillée, *A Trip to the Canary Islands*, 1724[56]

In the mid-1700s, *false Madeira* began to take hold abroad. As noted previously, this wine was destined for the market of the Thirteen Colonies and replicated the Portuguese wine, but at a much lower price and with similar quality. To make this wine, Vidonia wine was topped off with red wines and spirits made from wine.

Accounts of this come not only from travellers and chroniclers but also from merchants, such as **Juan Cologan Blanco** (1710-1771), members of the local landowning gentry, and officials from international fleets, such as **William Bligh** (1754-1817), and **James Cook** (1728-1779), who stocked up on wines from Tenerife during their stopovers on the way to their oceanic voyages.

Not long after, from the last third of the 18th century onwards, the cultivation of red grapes began to be encouraged, having previously represented only a token percentage of cultivation on the Canary Islands. The aim of this shift was not to depend on imports of foreign red wines. The Enlightenment intellectuals and wine growers alike encouraged this process, urging the implementation of techniques used to make Madeira wines, which had transformed wine-making processes at that time.

Furthermore, it was no longer necessary to continue making *false Madeira*, since their main market, the Thirteen Colonies, had achieved independence. Canary wines could be sold under their own "label", since they could be made using local red grapes. This marked the beginning of production for Canary red wines in certain parts of the Islands, where cultivation intensified.



Wine bottle (1739-1777). Philadelphia Museum of Art: Donated by Robert L. McNeil, Jr., 1966, 1966-29-1.



Wine bottle (ca. 1750). Philadelphia Museum of Art: Acquired through the *Joseph E. Temple Fund*, 1920, 1920-50-1.

—

... and at such a high price, the English have come to favour our Vidonias, which we attempt to give sufficient body and colour, so that this branch of trade increases.

Letter of Juan Cologan to Casaubon Behic & Co., 30-X-1753[57]

—

... thouse you call Canary, where of there is no such made here these seven or eight years, because the Vidonia sort came so much in vogue, as passed for Madeira abroad, that these ynhabitants has ynclined entirely to make this sort.

Letter of Juan Cologan, 1772[58]

—

A considerable quantity of wine, known by the name of the country, is made annually and exported; it is something like Madeira, but not quite so good, although I believe it sometimes passes for it.

Jemima Kindersley, *Letters from the Island of Teneriffe*, 1764[59]

—

Upon the whole, I found Teneriffe to be a more eligible place than Madeira for ships bound on long voyages to touch at; though the wine of the latter, according to my taste, is as much superior to that of the former, as strong beer is to small. To compensate for this, the difference of prices is considerable; for the best Teneriffe wine was now sold for twelve pounds a pipe; whereas a pipe of the best Madeira would have cost considerably more than double that sum.

James Cook, *The three Voyages of Captain James Cook*, 1776[60]

—

Very good wine was bought at ten pounds per pipe, the contract price; but the superior quality was fifteen pounds; and some of this was not much inferior to the best London Madeira....Their annual export of wine is twenty thousand pipes and of brandy half that quantity. Vessels are frequently here from St. Eustatius, and from thence a great quantity of Tenerife wine is carried to the different parts of the West Indies, under the name of Madeira.

William Bligh, *A Voyage to the South Sea*, 1792[61]

—

When the fermentation of these wines is well advanced, it is common practice to mix a lot of *eau de vie* with them so as to preserve them. They are also very intoxicating. ... a part of the earnings from wines that are sold abroad in place of Madeira wine, of which they are very little different, is used to purchase this essential foodstuff.

Jacques Julien H. de Labilardière, *An Account of a Voyage in Search of La Pérouse*, 1800[62]

—

The owners often mix with their wine a sufficient amount of eau de vie to clarify it, increase its strength, and preserve it for a long time; and sometimes red wine to colour it... The wine sold abroad often changes its name, and in America it is known as Madeira.

André-Pierre Ledru, *A Trip to the Islands of Tenerife, Trinidad...*, 1810[63]

At the start of the 19th century, although the old dichotomy between Malvasia and Vidonia continued, red grape varieties appeared on the scene. In the account given by Viera y Clavijo, several examples are named, such as negramoll: "*We have a great diversity of vines: listán, albillo, negramuelle* [Negramoll]*, verdello, moscatel, lairel, barbosos, torontés, agracera, quebranta, tinojas, almuñecas etc.*"[64] Mac-Gregor, Englishman **James Holman** (1786-1857) and Prussian **Julius von Minutoli** (1805-1860) also named these varieties in their writings. But perhaps the most important account is given by Alfred Diston, who offers a detailed account of all the varieties of grape cultivated at the time.

—

The following kinds of grapes are used to make wine: *Vidueña* grapes produce a dry wine, very similar to Madeira wine, which is known as Vidonia in England and whose superior quality is designated "London Particular". Malvasia grapes, native to Greece, produce either a fortified wine, similar to the previous one, and which is often mixed with it, or the so-called dry or sweet Malvasia, depending on whether the grape is picked when ripe or once it has begun to dry out. In addition, Listan grapes produce a very pleasant wine, similar to lower quality wines from the Rhine. Another type of grape, called *Negra Mollar* or *Tintilla*, produces a light wine, which is a pale red colour, similar to the wine produced in the south of France, and which in Germany is mixed with Bordeaux.

Francis C. Mac-Gregor, *The Canary Islands*, 1830[65]

—

Tenerife Wine is made from the juice of grapes of many different kinds and names; the principal varieties of which are the following:

White Vidueño, the most generally cultivated of all, is a swell flavoured, juicy, round grape, the bunched of which seldom exceed a pound and a half in weight.
Black Vidueño, similar to the white in all but colour, and in being rather sweeter, is grown almost exclusively in the Valley of Orotava; and even there, but rarely.
Negra Molle, a black Grape, of the same figure as the preceding, but of a rather darker colour, and softer in its taste.
Tintillo, a very black fruit scarcely larger than a pea, grows in small compact bunches, it is used in giving more colour and body to the Vidueño wine.
Pedro Ximénez, not dissimilar to the white Vidueño in colour and flavour; but of a long oval form, not unlike that of the Muscatel.
Forastero, very like white Vidueño, except in being smaller, and slightly tinged with brown.
Gual, is only grown between Sauzal and Victoria, and even there but scantily being a shy bearer. The bunches are small, white and compressed: the flavour rough and sweetish: wine made from this Grape alone is of a great strength and body but requires to be kept several years before it loses its natural harshness.
Baboso, yields small clusters of a Grape nearby equal to the white Vidueño; but being very unproductive in its little grown.
Marmajuelo, principally distinguished from white Vidueño by a blueish cast of colour on the fruit.
White Malvasia, a round grape growing in moderate sized bunches: it is a hash to the palate and rather

sweetish; but its juice is of much greater strength than the Vidueño wine, and the two sorts, are therefore (though pressed separately mixed together in certain proportions). The Malvasia does not thrive at a greater elevation than 1200 or 1300 fees.

Purple Malvasia, the same as the last, in all but the colour.

White Muscatel, is the well known large oval shaped Grape, of a very luscious flavour that grows in bunches sometimes weighing as much as 4 or 5 pounds.

Small White Muscatel, the same in shape, but the berries of much less size, and greater sweet ness than the large sort.

Black Muscatel, differs only in colour from the last named. All the Muscatels are dry, fleshly Grapes, yielding little juice, and therefore rarely grown in the vineyards.

Mollar negro: a large oval black Grape, the bunches of which no unfrequently weigh as much as 8 or 10 pounds, it ripens late in the year, and is very insipid.

Española, like the white Vidueño in appearance, but a peculiar sweetness.

Verdello de El Hierro, a long Grape of blueish green colour and harsh taste.

Vijariega, it looks like the large white Muscatel, but of a sharp acid flavour.

Alfred Diston, *Costumes of the Canary Islands*, 1829[66]



Some of the varieties mentioned by Diston: *Marmajuelo* and *Listán negro*. Photograph: GMR Canarias.

—

The volcanic nature of the soil of the Canary Islands renders it extremely favourable to the cultivation of the vine, which grows luxuriantly in Tenerife, where more than three-fourths of all the wines exported from the Canaries is produced. The Teneriffe wines are of the same description and varieties as the wines of Madeira, namely, Tinto, Verdelho, Gual, Listan, Malvasia, etc. [...] They are distinguished by what may be called the generic denominations of dry and sweet. The dry is well known by the name of Vidonia, and the sweet as Malvasia. The first quality of the former can only be obtained from the most respectable merchants, it being a very common process to convert it, by admixtures, into a counterfeit of Madeira, or sherry, and occasionally to drug it with port. The strongest quality of the celebrated wine, called sack, it is made in Teneriffe, Grand Canary, and Palma.

James Holman, *Travels in Madeira, Sierra Leone, Teneriffe...*, 1840[67]

—

... only on the West coast of Tenerife and the South-East coast of Gran Canaria can this variety of grape still be found. On Fuerteventura they can be found lying on the ground in dry soil. The other grape varieties also grow in dry soil; the best ones are on the Lentiscal mountain in Gran Canaria; in the Vega de los Mocanes, in Valsequillo and in Telde. The varieties known are *listan blanca*, *negro amor*, *negra muelle*, *albilla*, *verdillo*, etcetera. The varieties known as Cabezotas and Perrunas are used for making brandy. The Muscatel is just eaten—the Agraceras are grown into leafy roofs on country houses.

Julius von Minutoli, *The Canary Islands*, 1854[68]

3.1.3. Praise for Malvasia

As noted previously, the production and exportation of Malvasia wine went into crisis from 1730 onwards. However, although trade was declining, it became a luxury product, especially in Europe, continuing to fire the imaginations and writings of poets, playwrights, and travellers.

William Dampier considers it "*the best in its class in the world*", it is "*delicious*" according to Feuillée and Beeckman, "*excellent*" for Bernandin de Saint-Pierre, Alexander von Humboldt and Giovanni Borghesi; "*excellent Malvasia wine, which is without question the best in the world*" (Lemaire), and "*divine liquor*" (Delaporte and Prévost). *Malvasia* (*Malmsey*) and *Kanariensekt* are cited as luxury goods in trade with Africa (Ehrmann). It garners boundless praise.

—

The climate is temperate, and it is around 27 degrees from the equator. They grow watermelons and pumpkins in great quantities there all year round. The wine is unsurpassed, especially Malvasia, which becomes perfect when shipped overseas.

Giovanni Borghesi di Mondovì, *Report of the Voyage from Tenerife*, 1704[69]

—

... they produce that sweet delicious Wine which we call Canary, and which is vended so much all over Europe, that some relate to 15 or 16,000 Runs have been yearly transported into England only.

Daniel Beeckman, *A Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo in the East-Indies*, 1718[70]

—

Well into this century, all the wine made from these grapes [Malvasia] was of this kind, and the English and the Dutch came to buy it, taking every year more than sixteen thousand pipes and paying a good price, according to the order of the first, second, and third kind. Malvasia from the island of La Palma took on a distinguished credit at that time, and so foreign writers, copying one another, applauded it and even believed that it was made with the juice of Palm Trees. But in Europe, this liquor went out of fashion, a since it no longer enjoys the great dispatch it did previously, very little is now made. Nonetheless, we will always find it recommended in the pharmacopoeia for certain medicinal remedies often prescribed by physicians and look with respect to this masterly remedy. Indeed sweet Malvasia is an excellent cordial, and perhaps it might be worth more than all the other cordials together; it is also an expectorant and laxative unlike other wines.

Viera y Clavijo, *Dictionary of the Natural History of the Canary Islands*, 1799[71]

—

From Tegueste and Tacoronte to the village of San Juan de la Rambla, the coast is cultivated like a garden.

Alexander von Humboldt, *Travels to the Equinoctial Regions...*, 1826[72]

—

According to Juba, the Canary Islands were named after the size of the dogs that were bred there. The Spanish who own these islands produce excellent Malvasia.

Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *A Trip to The Canary Islands*, 1768[73]



Bottle of Malvasia wine from the north of Tenerife (1790). Casa del Vino de Tenerife.

—

It is on the Island of Tenerife that the true Malvasia grape is grown; in Europe its wine is called Canary wine, and is considered the best of its kind. The grape from which it is made is a round grape that produces a marvellous golden-coloured liqueur.... This exquisite wine is taken away by the English; it is the only trade that is done in the islands, and it is estimated that every year it contributes up to four hundred thousand piasters to Tenerife, thus supporting this island and the others, because this money is distributed there, and everyone benefits from it.

Louis Feuillée, *A Trip to the Canary Islands...*, 1724[74]

—

The rich sweet Wine, named Malmsey, (formerly called Canary Sack) is not made from the Muscatel grape, as many believe is to be. On the contrary, it is produced from the Malvasia, the bunches of which, when fully ripe, are twisted on their foot stalks, and allowed to remain on the vine till nearly converted into raisins, when they are gathered and pressed. In this state it requires as many Grapes as would yield five casks of the ordinary dry wine, to make one of the rich Malmsey.

Alfred Diston, *Costumes of the Canary Islands*, 1829[75]

—

It produces this excellent Malvasia wine, which is considered to be the best in the world and which attracts vessels from all over the world that get loaded with it and take it to France, England and Holland, where it is particularly popular.

Godefroy Loyer, *Report on The Journey to The Kingdom of Issiny*, 1701[76]

—

[Malvasia wine is obtained from] a round grain, which yields a divine liquor, & worthy of being transported to all parts of the world.

Antoine Prévost, *General History of Voyages*, 1746-1761[77]

—

The most appreciated things after these,... warm woollen goods, linen fabric, chintz fabric, all kinds of goods, wide and narrow twine ribbons, wide and narrow types of linen..., French brandy, Canary wine and Malmsey, black hats, white or red Italian taffeta, golden or silvery cloths, Dutch knives, muskets, gunpowder, large bracelets, damascene napkins... This kind of goods are used for trade all the way to the river Gabon.

Theophil Friedrich Ehrmann, *A Story of the Strangest Journeys*, 1794[78]



Measuring receptacle used to decant wine. Tenerife Museum of History and Anthropology. Organismo Autónomo de Museos y Centros del Excmo. Cabildo Insular de Tenerife.

Canary Wine in pharmacopoeia

The use of wine as a medicinal remedy is almost as ancient as the drink itself. Hippocrates used it to treat different ailments, and this tradition continued up until the age of modern medicine. In this context, *Canary Wine* was highly valued as a fundamental ingredient in pharmacopoeia, especially in England. It became popular in the 17th century. Physicians, surgeons, and medical societies, such as the College of Physicians, published treatises that used *Canary Wine* as a medical remedy. For example, **François Ranchin** (1564-1641) recommended "*vinum canarium*" in his *Opuscula Medica* of 1627 while **Thomas Sydenham** (1624-1689) used it in the preparation of *laudanum,* and to combat gout and diabetes. In these recipes, Malvasia was mixed with other alcoholic drinks, spices, and herbs. From then on, we find it in important volumes such as *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* (published in several editions from 1618 onwards), and it becomes a crucial item for navigation companies, mainly English and Dutch. Some documents reveal the use of *Canary* in exotic territories as far flung as the island of Ceylon.



Ceramic container bearing the inscription "S:CROCI", "syrupus croci", saffron syrup. Yale Center for British Art. This syrup was made using saffron, *Canary Wine*, and sugar. It was prescribed as an expectorant and to fight fevers.[80]

Furthermore, thanks to the intensity of trade with the Thirteen Colonies, dry Canary wines became popular and were also used for medicinal purposes. Following US Independence, this usage increased, as did trade. 1833 saw the publication of *The Dispensatory of the United States of America*, which says "*the wine of Tenerife, the official wine used by the U.S. Pharmacopeia, is a white wine, of a slightly acid taste, and when of good quality, of a fine aromatic flavour*"[79].

—

Win in its own body is Cordial, a comforter of the Heart, and an elevater of the Spirits. Taken moderately, it nourishes the body, cherishes the Natural heat, causes Digestion, and quickens the Circulation of the Blood. There are several sorts of Wine, the chiefest of which are, 1. *Canary*. 2. *Mallago*. 3. *Allicant* (a kind of Greek wine)...

***Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*, 1682**[81]

George Glas in the Canaries

The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands by **George Glas** (1725-1765), published in 1764, is one of the most important volumes dedicated to the Canary Islands written in the English language. As well as providing a free translation of Abreu Galindo's work, Glas also describes the geographical, economic, and social characteristics of each island, including the cultivation of grapevines, and the production and commerce of wine.

In the case of Lanzarote, it is particularly significant that Glas was one of the first people to observe the transformation and conversion of the landscape of this island following the eruption of Mount Timanfaya in 1730. Furthermore, the fact that he dedicates a specific section to each island allows us to understand the situation of wine growing on each island, providing interesting information about popular traditions relating to wine. For example, about the populations of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura he says.

—

The peasants value themselves much on account of their Goffio diet, and despite the bread-eaters of the other islands. Wine they seldom drink, or indeed any thing else than water.... The farmer, after supper, treated the whole company with a tumbler of wine each, which made them talk more than they were accustomed to; for the servants there are seldom indulged with a glass of wine.

Lanzarote

—

Till within these last thirty years Lancerota produced no vines: at that time a volcano broke out, and covered many fields with small dust and pumice-stones, which have improved the soil to such a degree, that vines are now planted there, which thrive well and yield grapes, but the wine made from them is thin, poor, and so sharp that a stranger cannot distinguish it by the taste from vinegar; yet it is very wholesome.

Fuerteventura

—

Fuertaventura produces a greater quantity of wine, which is of a quality something superior to that of Lancerota.

Gran Canaria

—

The wine of Canaria is good, but has not such a body as that of Tenerife, and therefore not so fit for exportation; yet many pipes of it are annually sent to the Spanish West Indies.

Tenerife

—

The produce of this island is much the fame as that of Canaria, only there is less corn-land here, and more vineyards. The wines are strong, good, and fit for exportation, especially to hot climates, which improve.

La Palma

—

The east side [of La Palma] produces good wines, of a different taste and flavour from those of Tenerife: the dry wine is small-bodied, and of a yellow colour. The Malvasia is not so luscious or strong as that of Tenerife, but when it is about three years old has the flavour of a rich and ripe pine-apple: but these wines are very difficult of preservation when exported, especially to cold climates, where they often turn sour.

La Gomera

—

The Gomeran wine in general is weak, poor, and sharp, therefore unfit for exportation; yet some of it, when two years old, excels the very best Madeira wine in taste and flavour, although it is in colour fair as water, and weak as small beer. I brought some dozens of this wine to London, where I shewed it to some people as a great curiosity; but they did not relish it, for the English esteem no weak wine, let its taste and flavour be ever so delicate. The wine-merchants in France, Spain, Portugal, and some other places, knowing this, take care to mix brandy even with the strongest wines which they send to England.

El Hierro

—

The wine of Hierro is poor, weak, and bad, insomuch that the natives are obliged to distil the greatest part of it into brandy.

George Glas, *The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands*, 1764[82]



Barrel for storing wine. Museo de Historia y Antropología de Tenerife, Organismo Autónomo de Museos y Centros del Excmo. Cabildo Insular de Tenerife.

3.2. *Canary Wine* in the courts and palaces

Once Malvasia wine became a luxury product and a delicacy in the 18th century, demand shot up in the courts of Europe, and it became popular among monarchs, diplomats, and aristocrats. We find it in the palaces of Aranjuez, Versailles, in the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg, and even in the court of the Chinese emperor, as we shall see later.

If we trace its journey to these destinations, the first stop would be in Aranjuez, seat of the royal palace of Charles III. The Spanish King was a great enthusiast of Malvasia wine, as we are told by his biographer **Carlos José Gutiérrez de los Ríos**, the sixth Count of Fernán Núñez (1742-1795), who performed military and diplomatic duties as the Spanish ambassador in Lisbon.

This intellectual figure wrote the *Life of Charles III* (*Vida de Carlos III)*, in which he gives details about the King's everyday habits, such as what he ate for lunch and dinner, including *Canary*. This wine is also mentioned in other Spanish sources of the time, specifically in the lists of supplies delivered to the Royal Kitchens[83].

As shown by Carlos Cólogan[84], the King's taste for *Canary Wine* comes from Tenerife-born **Cristóbal Joaquín de Franchi** (1700-1766), who held the post of lieutenant general of the royal armies. During his residence in Naples, he asked his brother Juan Bautista to send Malvasia wine to serve to the Spanish King.



Portrait of Charles III (1781). Image from the Biblioteca Nacional de España.



Portrait of José de Viera y Clavijo. Etching by José Joaquín Fabregat (1748-1807). Image from the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

—

Although he [Charles III] ate well, because it was necessary on account of the continual exercise he did, it was always healthy things and the same. He drank two glasses of tepid water, mixed with Burgundy wine, at each meal, and his custom was suchlike in everything, and I observed a thousand times that he drained the glass (which was large) in two gulps, and the first one always reached the bottom of the coat of arms engraved upon it. During dessert, he would dip pieces of toasted bread in Canary wine, and only at dinner, not at lunch, we would drink what remained in the glass.... The same dishes were invariably served at dinner: soup, roast meat, which was regularly veal, a fresh egg, salad, with water, sugar, and vinegar, and a cup of Canary wine, in which he would dip small pieces of toasted bread and drink the rest.

Conde de Fernán Núñez, *Life of Charles III*[85]

—

My dearest brother and friend.
I have received a letter from Bolta informing me that no wine has been received for me, and I have great need of it, since I am to send it to Naples without delay, where it has once again been requested for the King, I beg of you that in the first shipment you send to Cadiz a pipe of white, not the sweetest variety, divided into barrels, three to four kegs each, and these should be encased within ordinary planks of wood for the sole purpose that what they contain cannot be seen, and that they may not drill holes in the barrels, and the same for two barrels of red wine, three or four kegs each one, and on the box they should be marked with a large M, such as those of Malvasia [ripped] a P. an R. and a B. meaning Para el Rey *Blanco* [for the King, White].

Letter from Cristóbal Joaquín de Franchi to Juan Bautista de Franchi, 16-V-1740[86]

Once again, Viera y Clavijo offers an interesting testimony. It takes place during a visit to the Spanish ambassador in Paris, who served him an excellent Canary Malvasia. The presence of this and other Canary wines would not have been strange in Paris, and in the rest of France, since they were extremely popular with aristocratic and intellectual circles. During the 18th century, records reflect several shipments of Canary wines being sent to the court at Versailles, as well as to the Spanish embassy in London.[87]

One paradigmatic example is offered by the famous philosopher François-Marie Arouet, better known as **Voltaire** (1694-1778), who elevates *Canary Wine* to divine status. He does so in a letter addressed to Jean-François Melon, royal secretary, which includes a poem entitled *Defense of the Worldling or an Apology for Luxury* (*Défense du Mondain ou l'apologie du luxe*). In another epistle, in this case sent to the Count of Aranda, he praises *Canary Wine*, stating it comes from the promised laned.

The French and Spanish courts were also frequented by the Betancourt y Molina brothers, both of whom worked as civil engineers. **José de Betancourt y Molina** (1757-1816), as the eldest, took over management of the family estates and the wines they produced. These wines reached various European countries, chiefly England, but also the Russian empire, where his brother **Agustín de Betancourt y Molina** (1758-1824), was a marshal in the Imperial Army during the reign of Alexander.[88] His residence in St. Petersburg received sweet and dry wines from the Canaries, especially from the year 1815 onwards, when the number of shipments increased considerably. **Agustín de Monteverde y Betancourt** (1797-1875), their nephew, followed in the

footsteps of his uncle Agustín in Russia, as a general in the army. From his correspondence, we see his constant requests for *Canary Wine* from his family, who lived in the north of Tenerife.

In North America, **Pierre-Clément de Laussat** (1756-1835), governor of Louisiana, presented the transfer of the territory to the United States, raising a toast with various wines, including a wine from the Canary Islands. Furthermore, the Benedictine essayist **Benito Jerónimo Feijoo** (1676-1764) provides us with two interesting accounts in his *Cartas*. In the first, he tells an anecdote about the Spanish ambassador in London, while the other tells of how *Canary Wine* reached China (see p. 134). Spanish soldier and writer **José Cadalso** (1741-1782) also made reference to *Canary*.

—

We all ate at the house of our ambassador, the Count of Aranda, and in the midst of this abundant and delicate meal, I was served a sweet Malvasia wine from the Canaries, most excellent, which was shipped from Tenerife to Rouen and then brought along the Seine to Paris.

José de Viera y Clavijo, *Letter to Cavanilles*[89]

—

My Lord and highly esteemed Friend. A letter received from overseas holds for me such a peculiar pleasure, such as that I experienced when tasting Canary Malvasia wine in Paris in the house of our Ambassador, the Count of Aranda, and in his care.

José de Viera y Clavijo, *Itinerary Journal...*, 1777-1778[90]

—

I have received the pipe of Vidonia you sent me last year, which is of an excellent quality, and which would be more appreciable here if it were not tempered with so much spirit: there is no doubt that sailors and villagers like it to be a strong wine; but for tables, it is a fairly great defect, since all fear its effects, in spite of this, I repeat that it is very good, and I am very grateful to you for sending it to me.... The sweet wine brought to me by Agustín and which you sent me is the very finest; but here the preference is for less thick wine, so should the occasion arise that would allow you to send mem a little, it shall be what you would call of the second sort, which can be clarified with isinglass, since no matter how good it may be, no one can appreciate it if it is turgid. I am infinitely grateful, and every day when dessert is served, I say may God preserve whomever sent it.

Letter from Agustín de Betancourt y Molina to María del Carmen, his sister, 10-X-1821[91]

—

Here there is Madeira, said Perico. And? I said to Juan, is this food for carpenters? It's not that, he replied, it is an invitation with wine from the Canary Islands. God help us, even though it is from Spain, Perico went off the Mainland to fetch it!

José Cadalso, *Five-day Annals or Letter from one Friend to another*[92]

—

As he said these words, his thirsty throat
smelled a wine that was amber-coloured,
still scented the fragrant grape
which exposed the liquor to us.
A vibrant red illuminated his cast.
Then I said to him: –"For God, Your Holiness,



Portrait of Voltaire (*ca*. 1718). By Nicolas de Largillière. Carnavalet Museum, Paris.

What is this wine? Where does it come from, prithee?
Where did you obtain it?"
—It comes from the Canary Islands;
It is a nectar, a drink for the blessed ones:
God gives it to us, and God wants us to drink it.

Voltaire, *Defense of the Worldling or an Apology for Luxury*, 1738[93]

My Lord:
I deem your winemaking to be the best in Europe. We do not know which one to give preference to, Canary or Garnacha, Malvasia or Muscatel from Malaga. If this wine is from your lands, they must be very close to the promised land. We have taken the liberty of drinking to your health, as soon as they arrived. Judge what effect they must have had on people accustomed to Swiss wine.

Letter from Voltaire to the Count of Aranda[94]

—

When Charles II reigned over England, and the Royal London Company had resolved to send forth representatives to experiment with the weight of air on the Peak of Tenerife, two of its members were deputised to ask the Ambassador of Spain for a Letter of recommendation to the Governor of the Canaries. The Ambassador, judging that the deputation represented a Merchants' Guild, which wanted to make considerable use of the excellent liquor produced on those Islands, asked them, how much wine they wanted to buy? The Deputies answered that they were not thinking about that, but rather about the weight of air on the top of the Peak of Tenerife. What is that you say? responded the Ambassador. You wish to weigh the air? That is our intention, they replied. The good Sir did not hear them well, when he bade them to be ejected from the house as madmen; And he hurried to the Palace of Witheal [sic?] to tell the King and all the Courtiers that two madmen had gone to his house with the comical extravagance of saying that they wished to weigh the air, the Ambassador's tale was met with great peals of laughter.

Benito Jerónimo Feijoo y Montenegro, *Erudite and curious letters*, 1770[95]

The Chinese Court and Indian ports welcome *Canary Wine*

The strong reputation enjoyed by *Canary* internationally meant that it expanded rapidly through the trade points of the East Indies, especially from the early 17th century onwards, when two major trading companies merged: England and Holland. The two companies were largely responsible for the spread of *Canary Wine* around Asia from that point onwards. One of the earliest accounts we have in this regard is by **Johann Albrecht de Mandelslo** (1616-1644), who travelled around Persia and India, where he stated he was served "*the best Canary that ever I drunk*".[96]

Religious orders also played an important role in the popularisation of Canary Wine, which they used not only in liturgical ceremonies but also as a medicinal remedy. One of these missionaries, **Father Entrecolles** (1664-1741), wrote a letter in 1707 telling of another missionary, **Father Rhodes** (1591-1600) who advised the Chinese emperor **Kangxi** (1654-1722) to drink *Canary Wine* to alleviate certain ailments, the wine having been brought by the religious order from Manila. This anecdote was later retold by Benito Jerónimo Feijoo.[97]

Scottish traveller and scientist **John Bell** (1691-1780) calso went to China as part of an envoy sent by the Tzar **Peter the Great** (1672-1725) to the court of Emperor Kangxi, in 1720. There, he recounts that the Emperor served the ambassador a liqueur as sweet and pure as *Canary Wine*. Previously, the kingdom of Siam had been the destination of two expeditions (1685-1686 and 1686-1687) led by **Father Guy Tachard** (1651-1712) and funded by Louis XIV. A spiritual and scientific mission in which the Jesuit was gifted with tea and *Canary* during his stopover at the Cape of New Hope. Other epistolary sources speak of its efficacy in treating ailments that afflicted Europeans in those lands, such as malaria.[98]

Later, following the negative consequences of the 1765 Regulations, merchants from the Canaries turned their gaze to the East Indies. This trade was made through the British Company, which transported Canary Vidonia wines to Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, which then spread to their Asian enclaves, as they had done decades previously.

—

I must confess these gave us the best Canary that ever I drunk.

Johann Albrecht de Mandelslo, *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, 1669[99]

—

It was with Confection of Alkermes than he soon took of that violent Palpitation of the Heart, which spent him to a great Degree, and afterwards advised him to drink Canary. The missioners, who have it sent them every Year from Manila for their Masses, took care to supply him; in a short time his strength was restored and he enjoyed perfect health.

Letter of the Father Entrecolles, 1703[100]

—

Besides when we went on board we found Presents of Tea and Canary wine, which the Governour sent us, taking it kindly that we had left with him a Microscope and a small burning Glass.

A Relation of the Voyage to Siam Performed by Six Jesuits, 1686[101]

—

This conversation being finished, the Emperor gaeve the ambassador, with his own hand, a gold cup-full of warm *tarassun*, a sweet fermented liquor, made of various forts of grain, as pure and strong as Canary wine, of disagreeable smell, tho' not unpleasant to the taste.

John Bell, *Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia to diverse parts of Asia*, 1738[102]

—

Our wines, we say it without vanity, expect they will be introduced into several parts, where as has been liked by all hands that have seen them; as happened the Captain and Gentlemen, that came here last month in the East Yndia ship from London bound from Madras, on which we shipped upwards of pipes, the quality whereof they assured pleased them as much and even better that any Madeira they have ever drank; and that would recommend it accordingly at all places, declaring that as for their part they would make use of no other in future, and wrote all their friends at London on the subject, refering to their return from the East Yndia, for to convince them still more, being intended to carry some of the wine home to be shown there; which may induce the Company to send all their ships to his Ysland.

Letter from Juan Cologan to Samuel Hall, 24-IV-1766[103]



Fort St. George (Madras, India). (1754). By I. van Reyne. Rijksmuseum.

3.3. *Canary Wine*, craved by the Enlightened and the Romantics

In the 18th century came the Enlightenment, a European intellectual and cultural movement, which exalted the value of reason and knowledge to attain social progress in all its dimensions. In this context, France played a crucial role, exerting a major influence mainly over England, Germany, and Spain, reflected particularly in literature. This literature is characterised by Enlightened rationalism that generates critical, moralising works. The Greco-Latin past provided the benchmark in both neoclassical art and literature. Essays, historiographies, theatre, and poetry were among the most popular genres in the 1700s, a century that also saw the novel acquire a more defined identity, but with varied manifestations, including epistolary, autobiographical, sentimental, and travel accounts. During this period, Canary Wine was a literary reference throughout the world, becoming as global in literature as it was in commerce, spreading throughout the globe.

One of the most significant references comes from **Daniel Defoe** (*ca*. 1660-1731), famous for his novel *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). In another of his travel novels, *The Four Years Voyages of capt. George Roberts (*1726), he recounts the odyssey of this captain, who stops to stock up on *Canary Wine* on the Islands before being captured by the pirate Ned Low on his crossing to America. *Canary Wine* is also mentioned frequently in the hugely successful epistolary novel *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded* (1740), by **Samuel Richardson** (1689-1761), as one of the most frequently referenced drinks kept in the residence where the young Pamela and the housekeeper Mrs Jewkes are employed.

Another famous figure who knew of Canary Wine was **Giacomo Casanova** (1725-1798), as he tells in Histoire de ma vie (History of my Life, published in 1822), also known as *History of My Life* (*Histoire de ma vie,* published in 1822), also known as *The Memoires of Casanova*. This is an autobiographical account, written in French, about the man who turned his hand to many professions but acquired universal fame for his seductions.

In the theatre, the comedy *The Mistress of the Inn* (*La locandiera*, 1753) by **Carlo Goldoni**[104] (1707-1793), mentions *Canary Wine* alongside other great European wines. The literary reputation enjoyed by *Canary Wine* also reached as far as the theatre of Danish playwright **Ludvig Holberg** (1684-1754), in his plays *Jeppe on the Hill* (*Jeppe på bjerget*, 1722) and *Without head or tail* (*Uden Hoved og Hale*, 1725), así como en sus *Moral Thoughts* (*Moralske Tanker*, 1744).[105]

In poetry, French author **Antoine Bertin** (1752-1790), dedicated a few verses to exotic drinks and objects, including Canary Wine and Malvasia. Commerce with the Thirteen Colonies also made its way into universal letters. For example, the diaries of **Samuel Sewall** (1652-1730), theologist, printer, and judge in the colonial government, who participated in the Salem trials, or the letters penned by **James Logan** (1674-1751), a politician in the State of Pennsylvania. Finally we should highlight an author from the Canary Islands themselves, Lope Antonio de la Guerra y Peña, who, in his *Memorias*, included a poem that exalts the fertility of the Fortunate Islands and, of course, the quality of their wines.

—

Description of it, (only that on these islands is made the most generous Wine that is made, I think, in the Universe) and lest.... And likewise the Wine did not go off very well; for the inhabitants of this island as likewise all our islands in *West-Indies* being for the most part used to *Madera* Wine, they did not seem to like so well our *Canary Wine*; nay, most of them were afraid to buy it thinking it was no good, because different in Flavour from that of the Island *Madera*, their accustomed Wine, though the Wine which we bought, as it cost almost double the Price which Wine commonly cost in *Madera*, so it was of twice the Goodness of any Wine commonly brought under the Price of common *Madera* Wine.

Daniel Defoe, *The Four Years Voyages of capt. George Roberts*, 1726[106]

—

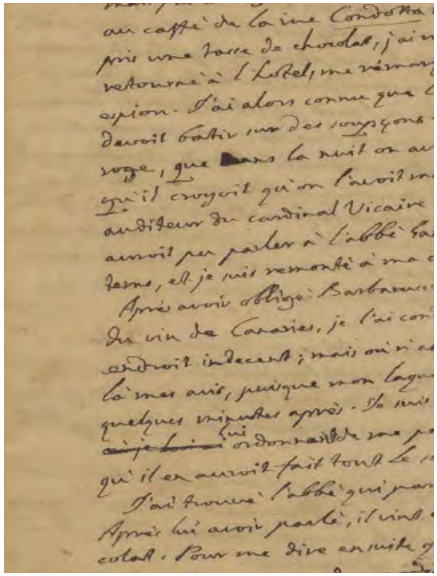
I was cautious not to recommend discretion to him; the slightest doubt in this respect would have offended his beautiful soul. During the eight days he spent with me, he ate nothing but soup, fruit, and Canary wine—it was I who did the eating for him, to his great satisfaction. Before we parted, we promised each other that we would remain the most tender friends.

Giacomo Casanova, *History of My Life*, 1822[107]

—

I began by making the poor girl eat a couple of biscuits soaked in Canary wine, and then I took her to the top of the house, to a not very decent place, but where no one would go, and I told her to wait for me there.

Giacomo Casanova, *History of My Life*, 1822[108]



Close-up of the manuscript of Histoire de ma vie by Giacomo Casanova, where he mentions "vin de Canaries" (line 13). Provenance: gallica.bnf.fr / French National Library.



Giacomo Casanova, painted by Anton Raphael Mengs (1760).

—

Mrs. Jewkes came in with the Canary, brought by Nan to the alcove, and some cakes on a silver salver. [...] They drank a glass of sack each, and Sir Simon made me do so too, saying. It will be a reflection, I think, upon all the ladies, if you do not do as they do. —No, Sir Simon, said I, that can't be, for the ladies' journey hither makes a glass of Canary a proper cordial for them.

Samuel Richardson, *Pamela, or, Virtue Rewarded*, 1740[109]

—

Servant.— The Count thanks Your Excellency and sends you this bottle of wine from the Canary Islands.
Marquis.— Oh, oh, shall he compare his Canary wine with my Cyprus wine? Let us see. Poor fool! It is filth, I can tell from the smell.

Carlo Goldoni, *The Innkeeper*, act II, scene 7, 1753[110]

—

Valet.— Here is some Canary sack [Kanari-Sek][111], if my lord wishes to taste it.
Jeppe.—That is good wine. Let's all drink together! (Every time he drinks the trumpets blow.) Hey! Watch out, fellows! One more glass of sack! Do you understand?

Ludvig Holberg, *Jeppe on the Hill*, 1722[112]

—

Listen, brother! If our priest told you that every Thursday afternoon it would rain Canary sack [Canari-Sek], would you be obliged to believe him?

Ludvig Holberg, *Without Head or Tail*, 1725[113]

—

The Lord pardon all my sin of omission and commission towards him, and help me to prepare to Dye. Accept of any little Labour of Love towards my dear Parents. I had just sent four pound of Raisins, which with the Canary were very refreshing to him.

Samuel Sewall, *Diary*, 1700[114]

—

I have sent him by William Clark's servant to J. Smith a bottle of the richest wine to comfort his heart, of which I would have him to have one small dram at once when he is weakly and no more at one time. 'Tis canary wine, a great comforter to sick hearts, for so I have found it.

James Logan, *Letter to the indian chief Allumapes*, 1-II-1730[115]

—

After an exquisite dinner
which your spirit embellished,
inhaling the liquor of Arabia
in saucers from Japan,
you soothe yourself with this sweet poison,
The vapours of Malvasia,
or of an old Canary wine [vin de Canarie].

Antoine Bertin, *To the Two brothers of Parny*, 1785[116]

—

O fortunatam, quae dicta Canaria, Sedem!
Ut valet hax Vinis, sic valet ingeniis.
Nimixum Tellus Parnasso est emula
Monti, Qui tibi, Baccho Parens, qui tibi, Phoebe, Sacer.

Oh Fortunate Islands! Oh Canaries,
Fertile, in Wines as in Sugar Mills!
Teide competes now with Parnassus, with
Bacchus as its Father and Phoebus as its God.

Lope Antonio de la Guerra y Peña, *Memorias*, *ca*. 1790-1791[117]

George Washington and *Canary Wine*

Canary Wine exports the Thirteen Colonies even reached the founding fathers of the United States of America. We have a letter from **George Washington** (1732-1799), dated 1757, when he held the post of military commander of Virginia, written to his friend Sarah Fairfax. At that time, the future President was suffering from an ailment, and one of the remedies was *Canary Wine*. The missive reads as follows:



Portrait of George Washington, *ca*. 1803-1805. By Gilbert Stuart. National Gallery of Art.

To Sarah Cary Fairfax
Mount Vernon 15th November 1757
Dear Madam:
I have lingered under an indisposition for more than three months; and finding no relief above, on the contrary, that I daily grew worse, I have followed my surgeon's advice to leave the place, and try what effects fresh air and water may have upon my disorder.
On Sunday last I arrived here, and on yesterday Mr. Green was so kind to favour me with a visit and prescrib'd to me. He forbids the use of meats, and substitutes Jelly's and such kind of Food for a constancy: now, as my Sister is from home and I have no Person that has been us'd to making these kind of things; and no directions; I find myself under a necessity of applying to you for your recipe Book for a little while, and indeed for such materials to make Jellys as you think I may not just at this time have, for I can't get Hartshorn Shavings anywhere. I must also beg the favour of you to lend me a Pound, or a smaller quantity if you can't spare that, of Hysop Tea. I am quite out and cannot get a supply anywhere in these parts. Please also to lend me a bottle or two of Mountain, or Canary Wine. Mr. Green directs me to drink a Glass or two of this every day mixed with water of Gum Arabic.
Pray make my compliments acceptable to the young ladies of your family, and believe me to be dear Madam, your Most Obedt Servt.

George Washington[118]

Romanticism was a European intellectual movement that gave us key figures in England, especially in its literature. Against Enlightenment rationalism and bourgeois reality, the Romantics explored the emotions and subjectivity, as well as escapes to the rural world, nature, and the past, especially towards elements that shaped national roots. It was at this time that the historic novel came to the fore in this regard, as did poetry, through figures such as **Lord Byron** (1788-1824), **Percy Byshe Shelley** (1792-1822) and **John Keats** (1795-1821).

Indeed, Keats writes from this nostalgic perspective about the Mermaid Tavern, yearning for those happy days when poets would enjoy a good cup of *Canary Wine* in an atmosphere that evoked the delights of the Elysian Fields, a subject that this author returned to frequently. Lord Byron includes a reference to *Canary Wine* in a letter dated 1813, written to his friend, the poet Thomas Moore.

Another fundamental exponent of English Romanticism was **Walter Scott** (1771-1832). He was known for his novels, a genre in which he shared the limelight with Jane Austen. Scott is considered the founding father of the historic novel, with titles that encapsulate his love for the past and his homeland of Scotland, as well as the legendary narratives that provided him with ample inspiration.

Given the frequency with which he names *Canary*, Walter Scott pwould seem to have been a connoisseur, since he names it in at least nine of his novels, including *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819), *Old Mortality* (1816), *Ivanhoe* (1819) and *Kenilworth* (1821). Walter Scott in turn influenced other authors who cultivated this genre, such as **William Harrison Ainsworth** (1805-1882), who refers to "*excellent Canary*"[119] in his novels *Jack Sheppard* (1839) and *St. James* (1844). Poet and novelist **Thomas Love Peacock** (1785-1866) also included references to *Canary* in *Maid Marian* (1822), a work of romantic fiction that revisits the story of Robin Hood, as did Scott in *Ivanhoe*. English poet **Charles Lamb** (1775-1834), also praised the quality of *Canary wines* in his verses.

The arrival of the 19th century saw the consolidation of a hugely successful genre: the Gothic novel. A type of literature that combined horror with romance and death, and the seduction of mystery. A series of sensations explored by the Romantic authors Mary Shelley, Edgar Allan Poe, and Henry James.

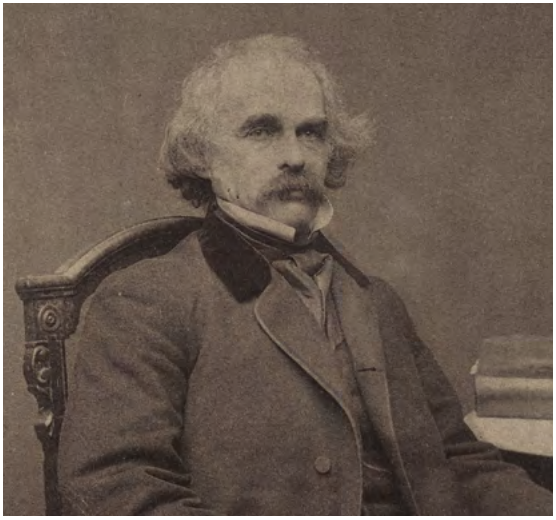
In American literature, leading authors in this genre included **Nathaniel Hawthorne** (1804-1864), author of *La Letra Escarlata,*who describes a coronel suspected of having drunk a little too much *Canary Wine* in *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851). Linked to this genre, this period in history saw the emergence of *penny dreadfuls*, cheap publications that were hugely popular among the working classes. A renowned author of such texts was **James Malcolm Rymer** (1814-1884), creator of *Sweeney Todd* and *Ada, the Betrayed* (1844), in which *Canary Wine* also features prominently.



Portrait of William Harrison Ainsworth. Published in The Windsor Castle based on a painting by Daniel Maclise.



Portrait of Charles Lamb. Rijksmuseum.



Photograph of Nathaniel Hawthorne. US Library of Congress.



Portrait of Lord Byron. Rijksmuseum.

—

LINES ON THE MERMAID TAVERN
Soul of Poets dead and gone,
What Elysium have ye known,
Happy field or mossy cavern,
Choicer than the Mermaid Tavern?
Have ye tippled drink more fine
Than mine host's Canary wine?
Or are fruits of Paradise
Sweeter than those dainty pies
Of venison? O generous food!
Dressed as though bold Robin Hood
Would, with his maid Marian,
Sup and bowse from horn and can.

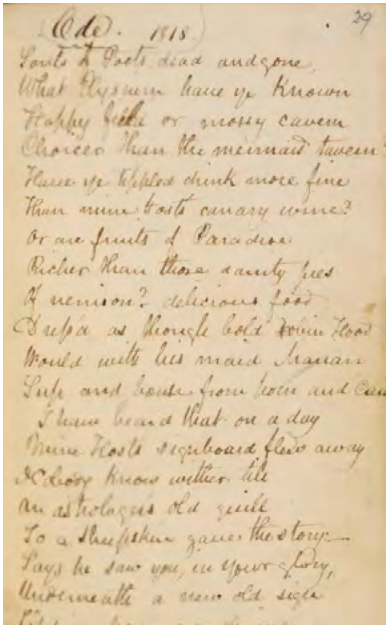
I have heard that on a day
Mine host's sign-board flew away,
Nobody new wither, till
An astrologer's old quill
To a sheepskin gave the story,
Said he saw you in your glory,
Underneath a new-old sign
Sipping beverage divine,
And pledging with contented smack
The Mermaid in the Zodiac.

Souls of Poets dead and gone,
What Elysium have ye known,
Happy field or mossy cavern,
Choicer than the Mermaid Tavern?

John Keats, *Lines on the Mermaid Tavern*, 1818[120]



Portrait of John Keats. Wellcome Collection.



Manuscript by John Keats with the poem *Lines on the Mermaid Tavern* (1820). Egerton MS 2780. © British Library Board. All rights reserved / Bridgeman Images.

—

"But wad ye please to drink some ale —or some brandy— or a cup of canary sack, or claret wine?" making a pause betw'een each offer as long as a stingy bidder at an auction, who is loth to advance his offer for a favourite lot.

Walter Scott, *Old Mortality*, 1816[121]

—

So saying, Mr. Oldbuck unlocked a drawer and took out a bundle of keys, then pulled aside a piece of the tapestry which concealed the door of a small closet, into which he descended by four stone steps, and, after some tinkling among bottles and cans, produced two long-stalked wine-glasses with bell mouths, such as are seen in Teniers's pieces, and a small bottle of what he called rich racy canary, with a little bit of diet-cake, on a small silver server of exquisite old workmanship.

Walter Scott, *The Antiquary*, 1816[122]

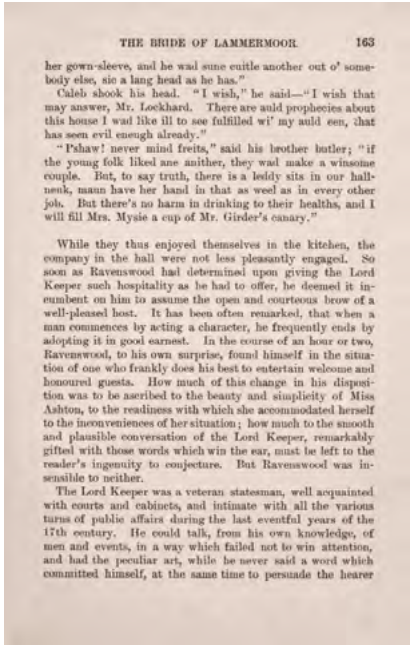
—

Pshaw ! never mind freits, —said his brother butler—; if the young folk liked ane anither, they wad make a winsome couple. But, to say truth, there is a leddy sits in our hall-neuk, maun have her hand in that as weel as in every other job. But there's no harm in drinking to their healths, and I will fill Mrs Mysie a cup of Mr Girder's canary.

Walter Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, 1819[123]



Portrait of Walter Scott. By Henry Raeburn (1822). Rijksmuseum.



THE BRIDE OF LAMMERMOOR 163

her gown-sleeve, and he wad sune cuitle another out o' somebody else, sic a lang head as he has."

Caleb shook his head. "I wish," he said—"I wish that may answer, Mr. Lockhard. There are auld prophecies about this house I wad like ill to see fulfilled wi' my auld een, that has seen evil eneugh already."

"P'shaw! never mind freits," said his brother butler; "if the young folk liked ane anither, they wad make a winsome couple. But, to say truth, there is a leddy sits in our hall-neuk, maun have her hand in that as weel as in every other job. But there's no harm in drinking to their healths, and I will fill Mrs. Mysie a cup of Mr. Girder's canary."

While they thus enjoyed themselves in the kitchen, the company in the hall were not less pleasantly engaged. So soon as Ravenswood had determined upon giving the Lord Keeper such hospitality as he had to offer, he deemed it incumbent on him to assume the open and courteous brow of a well-pleased host. It has been often remarked, that when a man commences by acting a character, he frequently ends by adopting it in good earnest. In the course of an hour or two, Ravenswood, to his own surprise, found himself in the situation of one who frankly does his best to entertain welcome and honoured guests. How much of this change in his disposition was to be ascribed to the beauty and simplicity of Miss Ashton, to the readiness with which she accommodated herself to the inconveniences of her situation; how much to the smooth and plausible conversation of the Lord Keeper, remarkably gifted with those words which win the ear, must be left to the reader's ingenuity to conjecture. But Ravenswood was insensible to neither.

The Lord Keeper was a veteran statesman, well acquainted with courts and cabinets, and intimate with all the various turns of public affairs during the last eventful years of the 17th century. He could talk, from his own knowledge, of men and events, in a way which failed not to win attention, and had the peculiar art, while he never said a word which committed himself, at the same time to persuade the hearer

Page from *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819), by Walter Scott, which mentions *Canary* (line 12).

—

I would gage my good horse yonder against a zecchin, that that same honest keeper to whom we are obliged for the venison has left thee a stoup of wine, or a runlet of canary, or some such trifle, by way of ally to this noble pasty. This would be a circumstance, doubtless, totally unworthy to dwell in the memory of so rigid an anchorite; yet, I think, were you to search yonder crypt once more, you would find that I am right in my conjecture.

Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 1819[124]

—

'I nothing doubt it, good brother,' said the King; 'and as venison is but dry food, our cellarer shall have orders to deliver to thee a butt of sack, a runlet of Malvoisie, and three hogsheads of ale of the first strike, yearly—If that will not quench thy thirst, thou must come to court, and become acquainted with my butler.

Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 1819[125]

—

"But here is to thee in a cup of thy sack; fill thyself another to pledge me, and, if it is less than superlative, e'en drink as you have brewed." "Less than superlative?" said Giles Gosling, drinking off the cup, and smacking his lips with an air of ineffable relish,—"I know nothing of superlative, nor is there such a wine at the *Three Cranes*, in the Vintry, to my knowledge; but if you find better sack than that in the Sheres, or in the Canaries either, I would I may never touch either pot or penny more. Why, hold it up betwixt you and the light, you shall see the little motes dance in the golden liquor like dust in the sunbeam. But I would rather draw wine for ten clowns than one traveller.—I trust your honour likes the wine?"

Walter Scott, *Kenilworth*, 1821[126]

—

"Amen! with all my heart, my good host," said the stranger; "let it be a quart of your best Canaries, and give me your good help to drink it."

Walter Scott, *Kenilworth*, 1821[127]

—

As they returned down the river, Lord Glenvarloch remarked that the boat passed the mansion of Lord Huntinglen, and noticed the circumstance to Lord Dalgarno, observing, that he thought they were to have dined there. "Surely no," said the young nobleman, "I have more mercy on you than to gorge you a second time with raw beef and canary wine."

Walter Scott, *The Adventures of Nigel*, 1822[128]

—

Three fine boys and two pretty girls prattled around their grandfather, who made them such answers as suited their age, and repeatedly passed his withered hand over the fair locks of the little darlings, while Alice, assisted by Wildrake (blazing in a splendid dress, and his eyes washed with only a single cup of canary), took off the children's attention from time to time, lest they should weary their grandfather.

Walter Scott, *Woodstock*, 1826[129]

—

"Oh, ho! my old friend!" said the Prince, recognising the figure as well as the appointments of the French glee-woman, Louise. "I think I owe thee something for being the means of thy having a fright, at least, upon St. Valentine's Day. Into this boat with thee, lute, puppy dog, scrip and all— I will prefer thee to a lady's service, who shall feed thy very cur on capons and canary."

Walter Scott, *The Fair Maid of Perth*, 1828[130]



Two men sitting at the table drinking. Etching by William Say, based on a painting by Henri Jean-Baptiste Fradelle. It depicts a passage from the novel *Ivanhoe*, by Walter Scott. Wellcome Collection.

—

"Especially when you wash them with a cup of Canary, Dame Dowlas," answered the Duke, who was aware that temperance was not amongst the cardinal virtues which were most familiar to the old lady's practice. "Was it Canary, your Grace said?—Was it indeed with Canary, that your Grace should have proposed me to have washed my eyes?" said the offended matron. "I am sorry that your Grace should know me no better." "I crave your pardon, dame," said the Duke, shaking aside, fastidiously, the grasp which, in the earnestness of her exculpation, Madame Dowlas had clutched upon his sleeve. "I crave your pardon. Your nearer approach has convinced me of my erroneous imputation —I should have said Nantz, not Canary."

Walter Scott, *The Peveril of the Peak*, 1822[131]

—

In vain Monsieur Bimbelot assured him that it was of an excellent vintage, and that his master had imported it himself; —the sergeant replied, somewhat gruffly, that he never drunk such sour French stuff, though he admitted that his anti-gallican prejudices did not extend to an equal dislike of the brandy of that country. At las his views were completely met by a bottle of Canary, which he lauded to the skies as a fines corroborative and strengthener of the stomach.

William Harrison Ainsworth, *Saint James's ...*, 1844[132]

—

Jolly nose I bright rubies that garnish thy tip
Are dug from the mines of canary;
And to keep up their lustre I moisten my lip
With hogsheads of claret and sherry.

William Harrison Ainsworth, *Jack Sheppard*, 1839[133]

—

The season has closed with a Dandy Ball; —but I have dinners with the Harrowbys, Rogers, and Frere and Mackintosh, where I shall drink your health in a silent bumper, and regret your absence till 'too much canaries' wash away my memory, or render it superfluous by a vision of you at the opposite side of the table.

Lordy Byron, *Letter to Mr. Moore*, 25-VII-1813[134]

—

"Pooh, pooh, master high sheriff!" cried the lieutenant-governor, who had overheard the foregoing discussion, and felt himself high enough in station to play a little with his dignity. "I will take the matter into my own hands. It is time that the good Colonel came forth to greet his friends; else we shall be apt to suspect that he has taken a sip too much of his Canary wine, in his extreme deliberation which cask it were best to broach in honor of the day! But since he is so much behindhand, I will give him a remembrancer myself!"

Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables*, 1851[135]

—

In a costly palace Youth goes clad in gold;
In a wretched workhouse Age's limbs are cold;
There they sit, the old men by a shivering fire,
Still close and closer cowering, warmth is their desire.
In a costly palace, when the brave gallants dine,
They have store of good venison, with old canary wine.

Charles Lamb, *A Ballad,* no date[136]

—

"By canary," said brother Michael. "Canary is the only life preserver, the true *aurum potabile*, the universal panacea for all diseases, thirst, and short life. Your life was saved by canary." … He kissed his daughter, held out his hand to the friar, and said, "Sing on, in God's name, and crack away the flasks till your voice swims in canary." … He was half-inclined, at first, to return the baron's compliment; but his love of Matilda checked him; and when the baron held out his hand, the friar seized it cordially, and they drowned all recollection of the affair by pledging each other in a cup of canary.… The appearance of the knight, however, cheered him up with a semblance of protection, and gave him just sufficient courage to demolish a cygnet and a numble-pie, which he diluted with the contents of two flasks of canary sack.

Thomas Love Peacock, *Maid Marian*, 1822[137]

After the applause of this sally had subsided, the landlord ventured to suggest that mugs of spiced canary all round would not be amiss to begin the evening with. This suggestion met with universal approval, and Britton waving his hand, consented whereupon the landlord heaved a deep sigh, and remarked, that if all the world was like him, the worshipful Master Britton, what a different world it would be to what it really was. "Off with, you," shouted Britton. "The canary—the canary, and we'll have a song. I've got a toast, too, to propose." The canary was not long in appearing, and Britton rising, proposed as a toast,— "Damnation for Jacob Gray!" The landlord looked aghast, and the guests looked aghast, till the punchy man volunteered his opinion in the following terms,— "Gentlemen, we don't know Jacob Gray, but there can be no doubt he's a very bad man—(Hear, hear.) Master Britton stands spiced canary, all round, and, consequently, it's my humble opinion it must be right."

James Malcolm Rymer, *Ada, the Betrayed*, 1844[138]

Immanuel Kant and *Canary Wine*

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), a natural philosopher from the Prussian city of Königsberg, has given us probably the most famous quotation about *Canary Wine* in universal letters after William Shakespeare. In his Critique of Judgement, in which he seeks to combine the theoretical and practical parts of his philosophy by studying the "faculty of judgement", he explores artistic experience, taste, and beauty. In the first chapter of this volume, Kant focuses on aesthetic judgement and gives the example of *Canary Wine* (*Kanariensekt*) as the object of an agreeable experience, which is affirmed in an empirical judgement, in other words, a particular affirmation grounded in a subjective and private sentiment. Hence, unlike the experience of beauty, which is expressed in "pure" judgements that aspire to have universal validity, when it comes to the agreeable, each individual has their own taste (the taste of their senses).

—

As regards the agreeable every one concedes that his judgement, which he bases on a private feeling, and in which he declares that an object pleases him, is restricted merely to himself personally. Thus he does not take it amiss if, when 30 he says that Canary-wine is agreeable, another corrects the expression and reminds him that he ought to say: It is agreeable to me. This applies not only to the taste of the tongue, the palate, and the throat, but to what may with any one be agreeable to eye or ear. A violet colour is to one soft and lovely; to another dull and faded. One man likes the tone of wind instruments, another prefers that of string instruments. To quarrel over such points with the idea of condemning another's judgement as incorrect when it differs from our own, as if the opposition between the two judgements were logical, would be folly. With the agreeable, therefore, the axiom holds good: Every one has his own taste (that of sense).

Immanuel Kant, *Critique Of Aesthetic Judgement*, 1790[139]



Portrait of Immanuel Kant (1768). By Johann Gottlieb Becker. Schiller-Nationalmuseum.

German literature has also been prolific in its references to *Canary*, or *Kanariensekt*. These sources are historically less well known in Spain due to the lack of translations into Spanish, but recently they have been brought to light through the work of Marcos Sarmiento, José Juan Batista, Elia Hernández, and Catherine Täger, thanks to whom these texts have been incorporated in this section and elsewhere in this publication.

In general, works written in German offer an image of *Canary*, especially Malvasia, as something exotic, beautiful, and sweet. Together with the reference made by Kant, the most interesting quotation comes from playwright and poet **Johann Christoph Friedrich Schiller** (1759-1805) in his poem *Punschlied. Im Norden zu singen* (1803). Although he does not explicitly mention *Canary Wine*, he does talk about a golden wine that nature has produced in the Fortunate Islands, which we can interpret as referring to the famous *Kanariensekt*[140].

As for the genre of novels, **Johann Gottfried Schnabel** (1692-1751/1758), names *Kanariensekt* in his most important work, *The Felsenburg Islands* (*Die Inseln Felsenburg*, 1731), a tale of adventure that was critical of the bourgeois society of his time. In the same genre, we find novels such as *Don Sylvio von Rosalva* (1764), written by the poet and editor **Christoph Martin Wieland** (1733-1813), and *Swiss Family Robinson* (1812), by **Johann David Wyss** (1743-1818), an adventure novel that had a significant influence on later authors.



Portrait of Friedrich Schiller. Austrian National Library.

On the free heights of the mountains,
In the midday sunlight,
Through the strength of the warm rays,
Nature is witness to the golden wine....
Heading out to the blessed isles,
She sets sail on the ship,
And the golden fruits of the South
She pours them up in the North.

Friedrich Schiller, *Punch Song. To be sung in the North*, 1803[141]



Illustration published in 1869 in an English edition of *The Swiss Family Robinson*, by Johann David Wyss.

—

We then lay down to rest most of the time, except for a few who wanted to take unnecessary advantage of the Captain's generosity, and who were still bravely joking around, partly over a glass of brandy, partly over a cup of coffee or a glass of Canary wine, until the day dawned. Therefore, we had already slept, as these drunken brothers were not even tired yet.

Johann Gottfried Schnabel, *The Felsenburg Islands*, 1731-1743[142]

—

His breath shall smell as sweet as jasmine, his saliva shall be sweeter than Canary wine.

Christoph M. Wieland, *Don Sylvio von Rosalva*, 1764[143]

—

After supper I sent Fritz to the boat for a bottle of Canary wine [*Kanariensekt*], from the case we had found in the captain's cabin; and then I asked my wife to relate the adventures and discoveries made by herself and the boys during the day. So interesting was the narrative, that no one seemed to care for the wine, until a pause occurred in the conversation.

Johann D. Wyss, *The Swiss Family Robinson*, 1812[144]

—

I then gave the trembling patient a glass of canary sack [*Kanariensekt*], a flask of which I had fortunately brought with me, and, leading him to our little cabin on board the yacht, told him to lie down, as I hoped a little refreshing sleep would calm his nerves.

Johann D. Wyss, *The Swiss Family Robinson*, 1812[145]

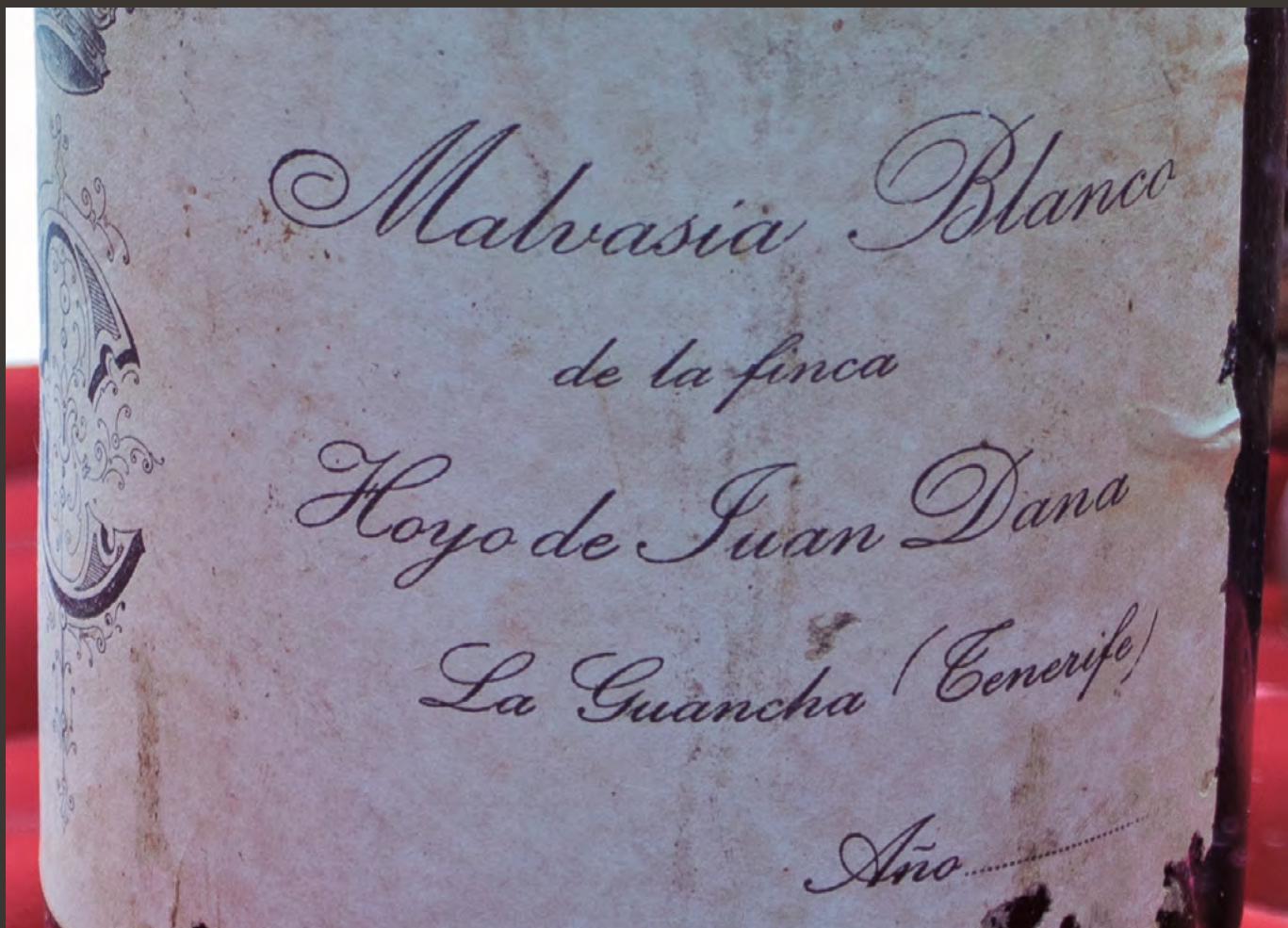
—

The mother, also, was not in the least sparing of her supplies, and seemed ready not only to employ her skill in preparing a rich repast, but also to make some delicious dishes with almonds, raisins, and cassava cakes sweetened with sugar. In assisting the mother, however, during these performances, the young Edward nearly betrayed his sex by the knowledge he displayed; but the young men were still deceived; and some flasks of our best mead and a bottle of canary sack [*Kanariensekt*] added to the feast, rendered them almost boisterous in the gayety of their spirits.

Johann D. Wyss, *The Swiss Family Robinson*, 1812[146]

Chapter 4

Nostalgia for *Canary Wine*





Close-up of the label from a bottle of Malvasia (1900). Casa del Vino de Tenerife.

From the mid-19th century onwards, Canary Wine abandoned fields and ports, seeking refuge within the Islands. But its memory remained ingrained on the universal imagination, and now this historic wine is enjoying a renaissance.

From the mid-19th century onwards, grapevines progressively disappeared as the main export crop on the Canary Islands. Following on from the negative secular circumstances that affected the production and commerce of wine for decades, the arrival of a mildew plague in 1852 was an insurmountable setback that drastically reduced the area of land dedicated to grape cultivation on the Islands. A process that was also hastened by the decision to cultivate cochineal, which became the new monoculture crop on the Archipelago. With a significant increase from the 1830s onwards, the cultivation of prickly pears began to spread around the Islands to the detriment of receding vines. The establishment of the free ports system, in 1852, which opened up the market and put local wines in a position of competitive disadvantage, did nothing to favour the recovery of an historic crop that was dealt its final blow with the mildew plague of 1878.

However, optimism surrounding the cultivation of cochineal turned out to be short lived. The discovery of artificial aniline dyes in 1870 led this business to collapse, forcing farmers to look for new alternatives, such as tobacco, sugar cane, and bananas, which eventually became the strongest candidate for new exports. Onions and tomatoes, demanded by British merchants and markets, made significant progress, while tourism was becoming another emerging sector.

Within this context of uncertainty, many landowners decided to focus on traditional crops, such as cereals, potatoes, legumes, and vines, although without the zeal displayed before, and reduced in this latter case to growing at medium altitudes and producing for local consumption. However, isolated attempts, sponsored by merchants, sought to revitalise production, and their wines received prizes at international expositions. Commercial firms such as Hamilton and Davidson, with different economic interests, began exporting Canary wines.

The Canary Islands were not the only place that experienced crisis in wine growing. From the last third of the 19th century onwards, *phylloxera* wreaked havoc in European vineyards, threatening total destruction. However, the Canaries did not suffer from the effects of this plague, which was a major advantage for wine growing on the Islands. The tragic situation elsewhere was seen by some as an opportunity to recover their exports and completely overhaul the way grapes were grown.

—

When the wicked influence of the *oidium tuckeri* is no longer felt with such intensity in the poor remnants of our esteemed vines;... the press should rouse the owners to dedicate themselves once more to the cultivation of grapes.... It would be long-winded to list the diverse causes that contributed to the decline of a wealth, to which the fatal blow was dealt by *oidium*, annulling it completely. From a producer [of wines], which offered vast quantities of this delicious wine for the consumption of other great countries, the Canaries have been reduced to importing from Catalonia and elsewhere.... The Provincial Council of Agriculture, Industry, and Trade, charged with promoting the development of the country, could take the initiative in this matter, gathering data about the localities in which *oidium* has disappeared completely, and rousing the owners to exploit once more a branch of wealth, which would attract once more in a few years the immense capitals it once drew; and which would give work to many arms; an enterprise that would be seconded by all those interested in the welfare of the archipelago.

***El Eco del Comercio*, 8-IX-1860**

—

Before *oidium* destroyed the wine crop, the aspect of the Valley [La Orotava] was far more pleasant: the vines, distributed with a certain symmetry, and interlacing their robust shoots, made a much livelier scene than we see today, with the cultivation of cochineal, which is more monotonous. Prickly pears stretch out their bare arms, forged in battle, bound here and there by stone walls, which are necessary for the levelling of the land, and which give the appearance of the ruins of a great city.

Ricardo Ruiz y Aguilar, *Stay in Tenerife*, 1867[1]



View of Puerto de la Luz, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (ca. 1895). Photograph by Luis Ojeda Pérez. Historic Photographic Archive of the Canary Islands, FEDAC-Cabildo de Gran Canaria.



Vineyards and winery in La Orotava Valley. Photograph by Carl Norman. Collection José A. Pérez Cruz. Historic Photographic Archive of the Canary Islands, FEDAC-Cabildo de Gran Canaria.

—

Without denying that *oidium* played a very important role in the disappearance of our famous vines, I do not think that this is the main reason that such a great source of wealth does not give the benefits one might expect.... The alternative of crops is still relevant for long-lived plants such as vines. Today it is possible, entirely possibly, that our Malvasia and even ordinary wine might find an outlet, leaving copious utilities; but it is imperative to invest the resources required to achieve this.... Within a few years, unless we find, as all would seem to suggest, an effective economic means of combating it [*phylloxera*], all that will remain of grape vines in Europe is a memory. On account of our special conditions we can defend ourselves from such a calamity, which favours the development of our vines by raising the prices on such important products.

Amado Zurita, ***Notes on the general state of agriculture in the Canaries...,*** **1893**[2]

—

Oídium killed that source of prosperity; but when the terrible plague disappeared, instead of replacing the old vines (Malvasia and Muscatel), they planted only Vidonia, which will never produce the nectar lauded by Shakespeare, "Canary sack".... If the islanders wish to accredit their wines once more, as well as Malvasia and Muscatel, they must go to Barcelona, Malaga, Porto, or Madeira to learn in practical terms to improve that product, leaving behind old ways and antiquated concerns.

Las Canarias: órgano hispano-canario, **24-VIII-1908**

During the 19th century, the crisis continued with no reprieve. In spite of different attempts made by institutions, wine growing and production continued to recede in terms of cultivation area and litres stored in wineries, respectively. Production was limited to local consumption on the Islands, and its heyday when it was shipped all around the world was now a distant memory. This atmosphere did not motivate wine makers to invest in improving and updating their processes, which were obsolete, dating back to the pre-industrial days and impaired the quality of wines, which were clearly losing out to competitors from the mainland, which were cheaper and better quality. In spite of proposals to reduce imports to prevent *Canary Wine* from becoming "*a stranger in its own home*", in the words of the Royal Economic Society of Friends of Tenerife, in 1909, these words remained on the page, with no effective action taken. The process was inevitable, as noted by Cirilo Velázquez: "*Local wine was even losing its domestic market, and the meagre production was destined for self-consumption, and at most, for sale in restaurants, taverns, and inns nearby.*"[3]

Until the end of Franco's dictatorship, the critical situation that had characterised the start of the century continued. In spite of the population increase on the Islands, the total number of litres produced at the end of the 1960s was fairly similar to the years before the Civil War. Telesforo Bravo pointed out: "*there are large areas of land dedicated to this crop, producing wines consumed in the domestic market. The quality has also declined, and only in rare cases or in the new oenological laboratories established have they managed to achieve the quality for which these wines were so famed in times gone by.*"[4] Shortly

afterwards, Julio Rodríguez argued: "*As we can see, we are found wanting in terms of production of wines on our Archipelago, which is why we have always needed to import wine from the mainland*."[5] This author advocated necessary structural reforms that included, in his opinion, overhauling the approach to wine growing, from the field to the winery, as well as bringing down the price of wine.

At the same time, just as two centuries previously, there were clamours for wine makers to band together as a solution to this secular wine growing crisis. But it was not until the 1990s, following several previous attempts, that the first designation of origin took shape, and the first regulatory council for the Canaries was established in the area of Tacoronte-Acentejo, recognised by the Spanish government in 1992. The local press linked this milestone with a legendary past: "*The prestige of 'Canary Wine', sought after by kings and poets, is reborn with the efforts of our wine growers*."[6] This was the first of many other steps that have been taken in recent decades and which have been able to resolve the main problems affecting the sector for more than a century, overhauling and updating technical procedures with a view to creating high quality wines.

There are currently eleven designations of origin in the Canary Islands, including DOP Islas Canarias, which has launched the trade mark *Canary Wine* in a bid to return to the ports frequented for centuries.



Photograph of the harvest in Monte Lentiscal (Gran Canaria). Collection José A. Pérez Cruz. Canaries Historic Photography Archive, FEDAC-Cabildo de Gran Canaria.

4.1. Nostalgia and the reality of travellers in the Canaries

During the second half of the 19th century, the arrival of travellers on our shores, mainly from Britain and France, was a frequent occurrence. The reasons for these trips, however, gradually changed. Together with commercial and scientific interest, the Canary Islands gradually secured a reputation as an ideal destination to rest and recuperate from health problems, ushering in tourist activity, with La Orotava Valley as one of the main epicentres.

These visits gradually translated into diaries, chronicles, travel guides, and literary works, sometimes featuring illustrations, paintings, or photographs depicting popular customs, the rural environment with its different crops, towns and cities, and hotels. In relation to wine and grapevines, this narrative is rooted in nostalgia, bewailing the impossibility of sampling the great wines quaffed by Shakespeare or contemplating the seas of grapevines that so delighted Humboldt.

One of the people who yearned for the past was **Elizabeth Heaphy de Murray** (1815-1882). A painter of landscapes, she lived on the island of Tenerife for a decade (1850-1859), during which time she exhibited her work and wrote *Sixteen Years of an Artist's Life in Morocco, Spain, and the Canary Islands* (1859). This publication provides vital information about the everyday life of society in the Canaries at that time. In her text, Edwards describes the receding of the grapevines, the economic crisis affecting the Archipelago, and the importance in the past of wine growing and commerce, highlighting its presence in the most important literary texts of the English Renaissance.

Along these same lines, **Olivia Stone**, travelled around all the Islands, beginning in 1883. *Tenerife and Its Six Satellites*, published in 1887, is considered one of the most important references in foreign literature for the Canaries,[7] offering a fascinating portrait of the society, customs, climate, and landscapes of each of the islands at that time, including a wide selection of anecdotes. Naturally, wine is a recurrent theme, as she highlights its glorious past and its sad present.

We see similar voices emerging in the second half of the 1800s, such as the astronomer **Charles Piazzi Smyth** (1817-1900), who made interesting scientific observations about Mount Teide; the Swiss jurist and scientist **Hermann Christ** (1833-1933), journalist **Isaac Latimer** (1813-1898), British army officer **Alfred Burdon Ellis** (1852-1894), writer **Charles Edwardes**, who wrote a beautiful volume about the islands, complete with illustrations, graphics, and photographs, author **Anna Brassey** (1839-1887), reverend **Thomas Debary**, and Belgian traveller **Jules Leclercq** (1848-1928).



Photograph of Olivia Stone. Published in her book *Tenerife and Its Six Satellites*.

—

The general condition of the island of Teneriffe is not nearly so prosperous and promising as it once was. It was once far more wealthy than it is at the present day. Various causes may probably be assigned for the flight of its riches; but the principal was undoubtedly the destruction of the vines, which constituted the main resource of the inhabitants.

... It was from this place that the favourite wine of our jolly forefathers, of which so much is said in old plays, and which is frequently referred to in Shakespeare, the sweet Canary sack, was brought to warm the heart and loosen the tongue of the good old English gentleman in his hall. This was the very sack, with a jug of which by his side, that worthy old knight, Sir John Falstaff, used to delight in taking his ease at his inn.

Elizabeth Murray, *Sixteen Years of an Artist's Life in Morocco, Spain, and the Canary Islands*, 1859[8]

—

That we drank at San Juan, though not Sack, was certainly the best wine we came across either in Tenerife or in any of the other islands. The Canary Sack of the "fine old English gentleman" is perhaps better described in one of Howell's [9] *Familiar Letters* than elsewhere, and although he modestly calls his dissertation "a dry discourse upon a fluent subject", there are few who will agree with his estimate of his epistolary abilities.... Rare old Howell, would there were more letter-writers like thee at the present day!

... These islands, but notably Tenerife, have been wine-producing countries for three hundred years. It was on the slopes round San Juan that the real Malmsey, or Canary Sack, of former times was produced. Shakspere [sic] has so immortalised this wine that, though lost a reality to the present generation, it lives as a remembrance connected with the unfortunate Duke of Clarence and Falstaff. Our jolly forefathers had their tongues loosened and their hearts warmed by this generous preparation of Canary grapes, partaken of in many an ancestral hall. Malmsey wine came from a grape called malvasia, which since the *oïdium* appeared in these islands has been little cultivated.... The wine of to-day is vidonia, a white, juicy grape, in bunches of about one and a half pounds in weight, the wine of which is sold for some ten pounds a pipe.

Olivia Stone, *Tenerife and Its Six Satellites*, 1887[10]

—

I concluded the day by dining with Mr. H., and tasting some of the genuine Canary, such as Falstaff and Prince Hal, Poins and Bardolph, regaled themselves with in Eastcheap.

Rev. Thomas Debary, ***Notes of a Residence in the Canary Islands…,*** **1851**[11]

—

Time passed, and the vine disease fell on the land. The fruit withered, the plants died, starvation stared every one in the face. Orotava, so frequently visited before by Americans, anxious to exchange deals and lumber for wine, was soon entirely deserted by that calculating people.

Charles Piazzi Smyth, ***Teneriffe, An Astronomer's Experiment,*** **1858**[12]

—

… if in Shakespeare's time and later Canary wine crowned the toppings of merry England, if Canary sugar was for a long time the best that Europe tasted, if *orchilla* and *barilla* and ultimately, since the fifties of our century, the cochineal from the Islands were sought-after goods, today all these sources of income have virtually dried up: one after the other, the grape fungus and the invasion of the cochineal cactus have taken over the wine of the Canaries… That is the way of fate.

Hermann Christ, ***A Spring Trip to The Canary Islands…,*** **1884**[13]

—

As for the vine, there is good reason to hope that it can be cultivated again with the old success. A large amount of land has been replanted and the new vines appear healthy. Some Tenerife wines are delicious. It is the home of the Malmsey Sack, which Jack Falstaff was so fond of.



Photograph of the harvest on Gran Canaria (ca. 1900). Collection José A. Pérez Cruz. Canaries Historical Photography Archive, FEDAC-Cabildo de Gran Canaria.



Flask for water or wine from El Hierro (19th century). Museo de Historia y Antropología de Tenerife, Organismo Autónomo de Museos y Centros del Excmo. Cabildo Insular de Tenerife.

... The old presses, large wooden machines that have been idle for a long time, will be used again and this year's harvest will be a good sign and will gladden the hearts of many hardworking farmers.

Isaac Latimer, *A Summer Climate in Winter*, 1887[14]

—

Canary Sack, the wine produced in Grand Canary, is a rather fiery fluid, and is not nearly so good as the wine of Teneriffe. As it was held in such high estimation in former days, one must either suppose that Falstaff and our ancestors had stronger heads than we now have, or that the wine now contains a much larger percentage of alcohol than it did formerly.... 20,000 pipes are exported annually, principally to England and the United States, where it is doctored to suit the Anglo-Saxon palate and sold under the name of sherry.

Alfred Burdon Ellis, *West African Islands*, 1885[15]

—

Every one here, as in Madeira, has been more or less ruined by the failure of the vines. Most of the large landed proprietors have left their estates to take care of themselves; and the peasants, for the last few years, have been emigrating by hundreds to Caracas, in Venezuela.

Anna Brassey, *A Voyage in the 'Sunbeam'*, 1878[16]

—

It is also true that at the time Humboldt visited La Orotava, the region had a different appearance—at that time the whole valley was nothing but an immense vineyard—since then, powdery mildew has killed the vine, and the cultivation of grapes has been replaced everywhere by that of the cochineal, which is less agreeable to the eye.

Jules Leclercq, *A Trip to the Fortunate Islands*, 1880[17]



Bottles of Malvasia, early 20th century. Casa del Vino de Tenerife.

—

The local wines are in as low a state as the sugar and cochineal of the island. They have lost ground sadly since the time when Falstaff blurted their praises. As a matter of form, the hotel list included two or three varieties of Tenerifan wine, though it was notorious that none but case-hardened stomachs could endure them. Even the Malvasia, in spite of its reputation and agreeable savour, plays tricks in an ungenerous manner upon the man who patronises it. Hence the anomalous and humiliating custom of drinking Bourdeaux and Burgundy in a country that ought to put France to the blush of its wines.

Charles Edwardes, *Rides and Studies in the Canary Islands*, 1888[18]

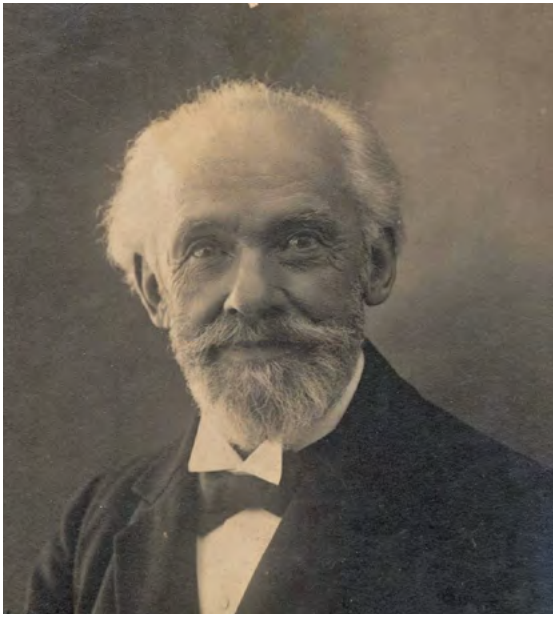
In this list, we should highlight, on account of its content, the portrait of the Islands provided by Spanish intellectual and jurist **Mariano Nougués Secall** (1801-1872), author of a travel journal, which he wrote while staying in the Canaries, which he does not consider "*a strange land; I am interested in their fortune, and when I leave them later on I shall carry with me the memory of them and shall not cast it into oblivio*n." Nougués highlights the past of *Canary Wine*, aware of its difficult present, but with the hope that in the near future, its vines will once again flourish as in days of old.

This positive hope for the future of *Canary Wine* is also expressed by Olivia Stone and by the anthropologist **René Verneau** (1852-1938), one of the founding fathers of Archaeology of the Canaries who, after describing its weather, praises the Canaries for offering "*The best dessert wines in the whole world*."

—

Wine from the Canary Islands was so famous, it occupied such a distinguished place on tables, that it still deserves an honorary mention. It is akin to those illustrious deceased, to whom a funeral oration is dedicated on account of their merits and renown. We do not yet know whether the vines will revive once more and once again adorn the slopes of these isles? In Canaria, vine stocks still boast their greenery on the hills and crags of El Lentiscal: on Tenerife some vines remain still by the sea shores, in Las Ramblas and Taganana. Perhaps one day Bacchus will once again shake his thyrsus over the territory of the Guanche and bring merriment to these districts with the cries of the vintagers. The wine harvest is a time of jubilation; the vines covered almost every corner of these islands with a beautiful green blanket.... The Canary Islands, which hold neither gold or silver mines within, soon became famed for their wines, especially for their Malvasia, which was the queen of these liquids; it was universally renowned and held in great esteem throughout the whole of Europe; it was offered as one of nature's most exquisite gifts.
... We trust that the malevolent influence of *oidium* shall cease; that this country shall yet see vine tendrils and leaves floating over the lands, and that this new harvest, together with cochineal, shall increase the wealth of these islands.

Mariano Nougués Secall, ***Historical-philosophical-administrative letters about the Canary Islands***, 1858[19]



René Verneau. Collection José A. Pérez Cruz. Canaries Historical Photography Archive, FEDAC-Cabildo de Gran Canaria.

—

The time is not far distant, I hope, when this famous historical wine will be once more drunk in England. There is no reason why it should not be a staple industry of Tenerife, whose soil has shown itself so capable of growing a really good grape.

Olivia Stone, *Tenerife and Its Six Satellites*, 1887[20]

—

For a number of years, vines have not been cultivated on a large scale, but they are now being cultivated again and can produce good results. At the time the cochineal was introduced into the Islands, powdery mildew had begun to attack the vines. The desperate winegrowers pulled up their vines and did not replace them. [...] Should I necessarily praise the wine, or rather the wines of the Canary Islands, as they are produced in all kinds? The small white wines of Lancerotte, which are only 11 to 12 degrees, might be considered great wines in our country. The ordinary red wines of Gran Canaria, when no alcohol is added, are between 12 and 14 degrees. These wines, as well as those of Lancerotte, can be found at 25 francs per hectolitre: [...] But in addition to these common wines, other wines of outstanding quality are produced. These are all white wines, which are possibly the best dessert wines in the world—their alcohol content varies from 15 to 17 degrees, so the customs duties include a small alcohol supplement. In small quantities they are sold in the Canary Islands from 1.75 to 2.50 francs per litre; but such great wines! No one who has tasted the great dry wines, the muscats, the Malvasia of this place, is able to lose the memory of them. I say it again: these wines are the best that can be produced anywhere in the world.

René Verneau, *Five Years of Stay in The Canary Islands*, 1891[21]



Large carafe of wine. Museo de Historia y Antropología de Tenerife, Organismo Autónomo de Museos y Centros del Excmo. Cabildo Insular de Tenerife.

We also have the unique testimony of **Henry Vizetelly** (1820-1894), printer, editor, and journalist from London, who was also a renowned oenologist. He was a judge at wine expositions and edited publications about wines from around the world, including *Facts about Port and Madeira* (1880), which included his impressions about Canary wines following his stay on the island of Tenerife. Vizetelly was interested in the grapes grown, the recent evolution in wine production and its evident decline, the latest wines being made, the harvest seasons, and the wine making process.

—

To-day the favourite vine in Tenerife is the vidueño, or vidonia, as it is sometimes called, the fruit of which is a juicy round white grape, the bunches seldom exceeding a pound and a half in weight. There is also a black variety of the vidueño, but this is very rare, and is mainly grown in the valley of Orotava.... The best wine is produced at Orotava, Sauzal, Victoria, Santa Ursula, Ycod de los Vinos, Garachico, Buenavista, and Valle de Guerra. The growths of Arafo and Guímar are altogether inferior, and are used for home consumption. The vintage, which ordinarily commences at the close of August, was delayed the year of my visit until the first week in September, and was not likely to finish before the commencement of October, the grapes on the slopes near the coast being first gathered, and those on the highlands —where the vines are planted at an altitude of twelve or thirteen hundred feet above the sea-level— about a fortnight later.

... It may here be mentioned that the vinification of Tenerife wine is almost precisely the same as that of Madeira, with one important exception. Although previous to the *oïdium* there were a few *estufas* in the island, to-day there are none; so that the wine is no longer subjected to artificial heat with the view of advancing its maturity. If let to itself it has a tendency either to grow harsh when old or to become ropy. In order to guard against the first result a small addition of "gloria" —a thinnish kind of vino dulce— is given to it on arriving at Santa Cruz in April or May from the stores where it has been kept since the preceding vintage; while ropiness is dispelled by constant racking and small admixture of spirit.

Henry Vizetelly, *Facts about Porto and Madeira*, 1880[22]



Vintagers descending the mountain, published in *Facts about Port and Madeira* (1880), by Henry Vizetelly.

Similar observations were made by **Richard F. Burton** (1821-1890), British politician, explorer, and humanist, a prolific author of numerous books that reflect his travels all around the world. Among these, he offers an extensive description of the Canary Islands in *To the Gold Coast for Gold* (1883), as a result of several trips to the Islands. Having previously read Vizetelly's writings, he also describes the main grape varieties grown, the cultivation areas still in existence, harvesting methods, and wine making methods.

—

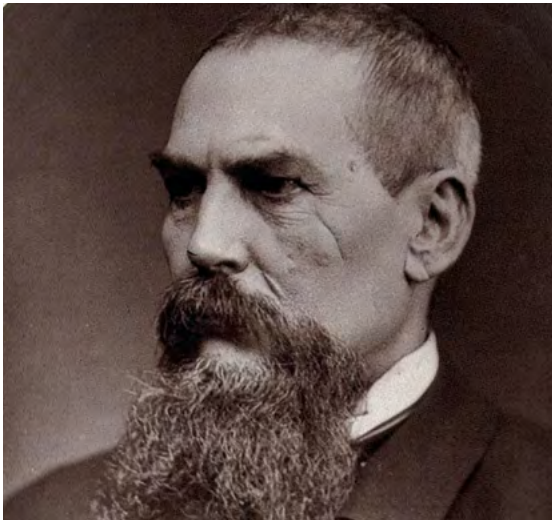
The best Tenerife brands were produced on the northern slopes from Sauzal and La Victoria to Garachico and Ycod de los Vinos. The latter, famed for its malmsey, has lost its vines and kept its name. The cultivation extended some 1,500 feet above the sea, and the plant was treated after the fashion of Madeira and Carniola (S. Austria). The *latadas*, or trellises, varied in height, some being so low that the peasant had to creep under them. All, however, had the same defect: the fruit got the shade and the leaves the sun, unless trimmed away by the cultivator, who was unwilling to remove these lungs in too great quantities. The French style, the pruned plant supported by a stake, was used only for the old and worn-out, and none dreamt of the galvanised wires along which Mr. Leacock, of Funchal, trains his vines. In Grand Canary I have seen the grape-plant thrown over swathes of black stone, like those which, bare of fruit, stretch for miles across the fertile wastes of the Syrian Haurán. By heat and evaporation the grapes become raisins; and, as in Dalmatia, one pipe required as much fruit as sufficed for three or four of ordinary. The favourite of the Canaries is, or was, the vidonia, a juicy berry, mostly white, seldom black: the same is the case with the muscadels. The Malvasia is rarely cultivated, as it suffered inordinately from the vine-disease. The valuable Verdelho, preferred at Madeira, is, or was, a favourite; and there are, or were, half a dozen others. The vendange usually began in the lowlands about the end of August, and in the uplands a fortnight or three weeks later. The grape was carried in large baskets by men, women, and children, to the lagar, or wooden press, and was there trodden down, as in Madeira, Austria, and Italy. The Canarians, like other neo-Latins an unmechanical race, care little for economising labour. The vinification resembled that of the Isle of Wood, with one important exception–the stove. This artificial heating to hasten maturity seems to have been soon abandoned.

… 'Canary' possessed its own especial character, as Jonathan [Vizetelly] says. If it developed none of the highest qualities of its successful rivals, it became, after eight to twelve years' keeping, a tolerable wine, which many in England have drunk, paying for good madeira. The shorter period sufficed to mature it, and it was usually shipped when three to four years old. It kept to advantage in wood for a quarter of a century, and in bottle it improved faster. My belief is that the properest use of Tenerife was to 'lengthen out' the finer growths. I found Canary bearing the same relation to madeira as marsala bears to sherry: the best specimens almost equalled the second or third-rate madeiras. Moreover, these wines are even more heady and spirituous than those of the northern island; and there will be greater difficulty in converting them to the category *vino de pasto*, a light dinner-wine.

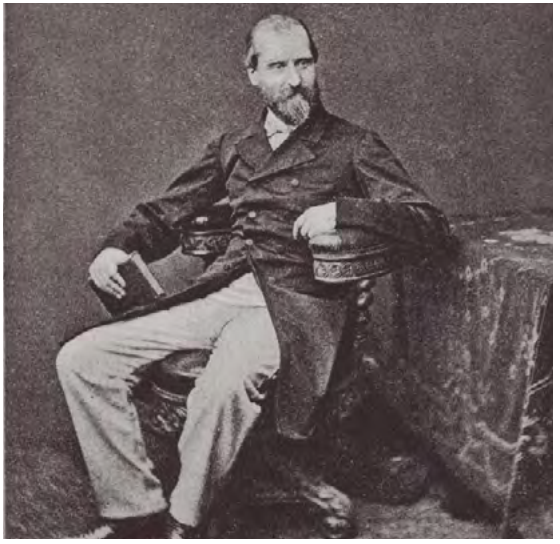
Richard F. Burton, *To the Gold Coast for Gold*, 1883[23]



Bottle of Hamilton & Co. wine (1878). Casa del Vino de Tenerife.



Photograph of Sir Richard Francis Burton. Wellcome Collection.



Photograph of Henry Vizetelly. National Portrait Gallery, London.

Both Vizetelly and Burton discuss the meaning of Canary sack and whether it refers to a sweet or dry wine. In the previous chapter, we saw how, during the 18th century, travellers understood the term Canary to refer to wines made from Malvasia grapes, which might have resulted in a sweet wine (known as either *Canary* or *Malmsey*) or a dry wine (known as Canary or "green" Malvasia). Dry Vidonia wines were somewhat on the side lines. So, at a time when Malvasia had become a relic, Vizetelly, who claimed to follow "the tradition in Tenerife", stated that *Canary sack* was a sweet wine, while Burton claimed it was a dry wine. In this latter case, he followed the etymology that derived the word "sack" from the French "sec", meaning dry, as well as other literary references that maintained it was a drink of such characteristics, to which sugar could be added *a posteriori*.

—

Before the *oïdium* appeared, the Malvasia vine, from which it is supposed the famed Canary sack used to be made, was also largely cultivated, but the disease dealt most severely with this variety, and now it is met with in very few vineyards. The grape is at once sweetish and harsh to the palate, while the mosto it yields is much stronger than that from the vidueño. Tradition in Tenerife declares that the original Canary sack was a sweet and not a dry wine, as those who derive "sack" from the French word "sec" would have us believe.

The Malvasia grapes were left on the vines till they had become raisins, and one pipe of this especial vintage needed as many grapes as sufficed for five pipes of ordinary wine, so that the liquor which Howell[24] eulogises was, in fact, nothing less than a luscious malmsey. Other vines but scantily cultivated in the island are the tentillo and the negra mole, both black varieties, as their names imply; the black and white muscatel; the Española, the Verdelho, the pedro jimenez, the forastero, the vijariega, and the gual, all white grapes, and the last —principally found at Sauzal and Victoria— yielding a wine of great volume and alcoholic strenght but needing to be kept for many years to rid it of.

Henry Vizetelly, *Facts about Porto and Madeira*, 1880[25]

—

Lastly of the wine Canary, now unknown to the English market, where it had a local habitation and a name as early as madeira and sherry, all claiming 'Shakespearean recognition.' The Elizabethans constantly allude to cups of cool Canary, and Mr. Vizetelly quotes Howell's ' Familiar Letters,' wherein he applies to this far-famed sack the dictum ' Good wine sendeth a man to heaven.' But I cannot agree with the learned oenologist, or with the ' tradition of Tenerife,' when told that ' the original canary was a sweet and not a dry wine, as those who derive "sack" from the French word "sec" would have us believe.' ' Sherris sack ' (jerez seco) was a harsh, dry wine, which was sugared as we sweeten tea.

Richard F. Burton, *To the Gold Coast for Gold*, 1883[26]

The last few sips of Malvasia

Both the loss of foreign trade and the reduction of Malvasia vine stocks planted where they were once famous meant that sampling this wine was a rather complex endeavour. English travellers, above all, travelled to the Canaries holding in their memories passages from their literary greats, and wanting to emulate them by sampling this ancestral wine. But as the historian Nicolás González Lemus noted: "*it was very difficult to find Malvasia in the 'Golden Age' of travel to the Canaries*."[27] Travellers such as Olivia Stone mention that they did not have the opportunity to try some. Charles Edwardes tells an anecdote about this: "*When I ordered a bottle of Malvasia at dinner, the head waiter, a good and considerate man, asked, in a whisper, if I knew what I was doing. It is considered wise to talk with the doctor before making such a bold experiment*."[28]

Other people fortunate enough to sample Malvasia include the Spanish politician **Ricardo Ruiz Aguilar (**1823-1922), Swiss zoologist **Johann Büttikofer** (1850-1927) and Henry Vizetelly. During his stay in Tenerife, he visited English wine exporters based in the city of Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Hamilton and Co. and Davidson and Co. In the premises of the latter, he had the opportunity to try an 1859 vintage Malvasia [Malmsey as he calls it], which retained "*all the aroma and lusciousness of a fine liqueur.*" The tasting also included Vidonia and aged wines, which the British wine expert found astonishing.

—

Here as well, we didn't have much time and we limited our visit to a tour through the city, not forgetting to enter into a cool tavern in order to have ourselves served with a noble Malvasian (a typical Canary Isles wine [*Kanariensekt*]) by a black-eyed Spanish woman).
Johan Büttikofer, *Travel Sketches from Liberia*, 1889[29]

—

There is nothing else I can think of to tell you about the town: I rested there for a couple of hours in the house of a rich landowner who obliged me to sample the old wines from his cellar, among which I found the much-talked-about Canary Island malvasia, which today is scarcely picked, and the little that remains is so highly prized that it is not sold even at the price of gold weight.
Ricardo Ruiz y Aguilar, *Estancia en Tenerife*, 1867[30]

—

The two principal wine-shipping firms of Tenerife are both English houses of old standing-messrs. Hamilton and Co. and Messrs. Davidson and Co [In Hamilton and Co.] we tasted a variety of growths shipped under the name of Vidonia (the grape from which they are produced being so called), commencing with the vintages of 1876 and 1875, which, however, had not yet developed any especial characteristics. On the other hand a sample of 1874 proved remarkably soft, and some 1871-72 wine, destined for the Russian market, had acquired an oily richness of flavour combined with considerable aroma. Some so-called Taoro, vintaged four or five years ago, was rather sweet; but in the course of a few more years, we were told, it would

develop a marked pungency. A wine fifteen years of age, which had made the voyage to the West Indies and home again, and a "London Particular" of 1865 which had received, as is the rule with Tenerife wines, some eight gallons of spirit per pipe, were remarkably soft and aromatic, though less deep in colour than madeiras of the same age would have been.

[...]] [In Davidson and Co.] 6,000 pipes might be, and have been, easily stored. A venerable cellar-master, who could boast of seventy years' experience in the rearing of Tenerife wines, conducted us through them. We commenced by tasting and 1875 vintage, which had a good vinous flavour, and a '74, alike mellow and aromatic. A dry wine of eight years old had acquired many of the characteristics of a madeira; another, vintaged some twelve years ago, proved remarkably soft and rich, while an old Malmsey of 1859 had all the aroma and lusciousness of a fine liqueur. Tenerife wine has its own special character, differing as much from sherry on the one hand as from madeira on the other; and if it develops none of the higher qualities of these well-known vintages, it is nevertheless a wine of some pretension, and well deserves a return of its lost popularity. It is usually shipped when from three to four years old, and may be kept in the wood for a quarter of a century with a certainty of improvement, although eight years will ordinarily be found sufficient for its development. In bottle it keeps equally well and improves far more rapidly.

Henry Vizetelly, *Facts about Porto and Madeira*, 1880[31]



Bottle of Malvasia, from La Guancha (Tenerife). Museo de Historia y Antropología de Tenerife, Organismo Autónomo de Museos y Centros del Excmo. Cabildo Insular de Tenerife.

One of the most interesting contributions in the context of travel literature in the Canaries is provided by **Alfred Samler Brown** (1859-1936), author of *Madeira and the Canary Islands* (1898), which reprinted in up to fourteen different editions (the last one in 1932). Considered the first serious tourist guidebook in the world,[32] it offers not only information about the history, geography, and natural environment of the Islands, but also paints a suggestive portrait of society on the Islands at the time, with recommendations aimed at tourists regarding excursions, customs, gastronomy, hotels, cities, etc.

He also includes information about Canary and Madeira wines. He briefly summarises the historic prestige of Canary wines and makes observations about the cultivation systems, irrigation of the vines, and grape varieties: "*tentillo and the negra molle, both black; the moscatel, black and white, and the verdelho, Pedro Jimenez, forastero and vijariega, all white*."[33]

From his travels around the Islands, he recommends the wines of Fuencaliente as the best on the island of La Palma, white wines from Lanzarote, red wines from Tacoronte, of which he says: "*the people of Tacoronte pride themselves on growing the best red wine in Teneriffe*"[34]*; or those of Monte Lentiscal, in Gran Canaria, the "best source of canary wine (red).*"[35] He also mentions *ventas* (wine shops), where he regularly stops to sample the local wine: "*a good glass of wine can be obtained from almost any of the* ventas."[36] Finally, he highlights the unique opportunity of being able to enjoy a glass of wine at the bottom of the Caldera de Bandama volcano crater, on the island of Gran Canaria.

—

[...] the produce of the vines is now as good and as abundant as ever it was, whilst a bad vintage in the best vineyards is very rare. The ordinary method of manuring is to plant lupine between the vines in the winter and dig it in the spring [...] The quality of wine produced by the best houses has, however, for some years, been equal to any made in the palmiest days.

Alfred Samler Brown, ***Madeira and the Canary Islands, with the Azores,*** **1898**[37]



Wine exhibition at the Flower Festival, 1892. Gran Canaria. Canaries Historical Photography Archive, FEDAC-Cabildo de Gran Canaria.

In the 20th century, there is still nostalgic discourse about *Canary Wine*, fuelled even more by reminiscence. This is the case of the English novelist **Florence du Cane** who, together with her sister **Ella du Cane** (1874-1943), created beautiful travel books illustrated with Ella's watercolour paintings,including *The Canary Islands* (1911). Du Cane describes forgotten wineries, deserted houses, and fields of grapevines, such as those of Gran Canaria, which give: "*The best red wine in the Canaries*."

The subject of vineyards and wines also attracted jurist **Louis Proust** (1874-1959) and botanist **Joseph Pitard** (1873-1927), who wrote several volumes about the Archipelago, such as *On Atlantis (Sur l'Atlantide,* 1906) and *The Canary Islands* (*Les Îles Canaries*, 1908). In this latter tome, they intersperse scientific observations about the nature of the Islands with various impressions about the reality of its inhabitants, cities, and economic activities.

Another French scientist, the mathematician and astronomer **Jean Mascart** (1872-1935), who penned several publications resulting from his stay on Tenerife, painted a more optimistic portrait in *Impressions and Observations of a Trip to Tenerife (Impressions et observations dans un voyage à Ténérife,* 1910). **Katharina von Pommer-Esche** (1852-1920), author of *The Canary Islands*, (*Die Canarischen Inseln* (1906), provided the first testimony written by a woman in German about the Archipelago, in this case as a travel account, which educated Germans about the pleasantness of the Canaries landscapes.

—

Here and there old houses remain, dating from the days when the wine trade was at its zenith... In those days vineyards and cornfields took the place of banana plantations and potato fields, and near some of the villas are to be seen to this day the old winepresses with their gigantic beams made of the wood of the native pine. These presses have long been silent and idle, as disease ravaged the vines some fifty years ago, and "Canary sack" is no longer stored in the vast cellars of the old houses.

Florence Du Cane, *The Canary Islands*, 1911[38]

—

The vines seem to thrive in the volcanic soil, their roots go down deep in search of damper loam below, and this possibly helps to keep them free of disease, though in spring the effect of the tender green shoots with their long twining tendrils is sadly spoilt when, just as they are coming into flower, the mandate goes forth to dust the growth with sulphur. The men and women, who for the past weeks have been busy gathering in the potato crop, are now employed in sulphur dusting.

Florence Du Cane, *The Canary Islands*, 1911[39]

—

The wines from Tenerife were famous long ago. And there are few people who have not, at least, heard of the famous Malvasias del Pico. At present, the production of wine has decreased significantly—*phyloxera* and the eruption of 1703 have devastated the magnificent vineyards of Icod and Garachico. These vineyards have been actively restored for the past twenty years, but unfortunately, neither the quantity nor the quality of the wines of earlier times is being achieved. The average of the last five vintages has been

125,000 hectolitres— this production does not seem to be increasing in any considerable proportions, but rather to remain stationary.

Louis Proust and Charles-Joseph Pitard, ***The Canary Islands,*** **1908**[40]

—

The quality of the wines from Tenerife, particularly the Malvasia, does not seem to be in decline at all—it is likely to be the same as it was in the middle of the 17th century, at the peak of vine cultivation. Today, this cultivation, although not as important as in the past, tends to increase every year, which allows the export companies to constantly renew their stocks— the wines of Tenerife, in fact, have to undergo certain transformations and be aged for several years before they are ready to be shipped.

Jean Mascart, ***Impressions and Observations of a Trip to Tenerife,*** **1910**[41]

—

Shortly after Tacoronte is Santa Úrsula, a place of pilgrimage, well known for its excellent Malvasia wine. With rigorous treatment of the vine, the grape must of Tenerife has no need to envy the noble wine of Madeira. Here in a small inn, you can take that excellent wine.

Katharina von Pommer-Esche, ***Canary Islands,*** **1906**[42]



Bottle of red wine from the area of Tacoronte-Acentejo. Museo de Historia y Antropología de Tenerife, Organismo Autónomo de Museos y Centros del Excmo. Cabildo Insular de Tenerife.

By way of an epilogue, we should mention the impressions recorded by English journalist **Elizabeth Nicholas**, who arrived in the Canaries in 1952 as a correspondent for *The Sunday Times*. Her stay on the Islands gave rise to *Madeira and the Canaries* (1953), a travel guide that recounts her meanderings around the seven islands, accompanied by various notes on their history, economy, and geography. She included interesting facts about the history of *Canary Wine*, the different wine making landscapes she had visited, and even recommended certain wines: "*By the by I will say that the red wine El Monte, from the winery of the hotel de Santa Brígida, is excellent and cheap.*"[43]

—

The wine of the archipelago also has a convoluted history; three or four centuries ago the fortified wine of the Canaries was greatly esteemed in England and on the European continent, and even Shakespeare mentioned it often in his works. True Malvasia was cultivated in the elevations close to San Juan, in Tenerife, where a truly interesting wine was produced. But when the *oidium* plague attacked, as it did in Madeira, the export industry was hit by a blow from which it could never recover. Today, very little wine is exported from the Canary Islands, which is not as invigorating as Madeira wine. They are, in fact, totally different in quality.

Elizabeth Nicholas, *Madeira and the Canaries*, 1952[44]

—

[About Lanzarote] As we drove south I observed that the landscape looked like a territory that had been subjected to intense aerial bombardment. The earth, covered with black ash, presents at regular intervals circular excavations very similar to the craters left by bombs; in them the vine stocks are planted. The purpose is twofold: the first, of course, is so that irrigation can take place thanks to the moisture retained by the ash layer, and the second is to protect the vine from the dry, gruelling wind that blows across through the island most days of the year. Hence, the vine stock achieves remarkable fecundity, obtaining, from a well-developed plant, up to one hundred gallons of wine per harvest. And the white wine is, as I said in chapter IV, medium dry and as strong as a good French dessert wine.

Elizabeth Nicholas, *Madeira and the Canaries*, 1952[45]



Landscape of La Geria (Lanzarote). Photographs and collection of Günter Kunkel (1965). Canaries Historical Photographic Archive, FEDAC-Cabildo de Gran Canaria.

4.2. *Canary*, a recollection among novels, essays, and poems

As in previous periods, works of literature written in English kept the memory of *Canary Wine* very much alive, even though its trade with England and the United States was a thing of the past. However, its power in the Anglo-Saxon imagination was still significant, as we can see from the different authors who reference it. Renowned authors such as Stevenson, Conan Doyle and Wells travelled along the path carved out by Shakespeare, Jonson, Keats, and Scott.

Historic and adventure novels were a popular genre during this period, in which we can find interesting allusions to *Canary Wine*. One such reference was **Robert Louis Stevenson** (1850-1894), novelist, poet, essayist, and author, among other titles, of *Treasure Island*, *The Strange Case of Doctor Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, and *The Black Arrow* (1888). *Canary* features in this latter book, an historic novel set during the War of the Roses, which occurred in the second half of the 15th century. Another prolific author in the adventure genre was **Thomas Mayne-Reid** (1818-1883), who keeps the characters of *The Ocean Waifs* (1865) well furnished with a precious supply of *Canary*.

Set in Elizabethan times, *Canary* is enjoyed by characters in *The Spaewife* (1853), *Westward ho!*, (1855) and *The Wonderful Flower of Woxindon* (1893) written, respectively, by **Paul Peppergrass** (1810-1864, pseudonym of John Boyce), **Charles Kingsley** (1819-1875) and **Joseph Spillmann** (1842-1905). **Samuel R. Crockett** (1859-1914) takes us back to the reign of James I with his novel ***The Grey Man*** (1895).



Photograph of Robert Louis Stevenson (1887). Published in *The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson* (1915).

—

"Master Ellis," he said, "y' are for vengeance— well it becometh you!— but your poor brother o' the greenwood, that had never lands to lose nor friends to think upon, looketh rather, for his poor part, to the profit of the thing. He had liever a gold noble and a pottle of canary wine than all the vengeances in purgatory."

... At length I came by you and Matcham. I could see but evilly through this same hood, and was not sure of you, being chiefly, and for many a good cause, astonished at the finding you together. Moreover, in the open, where I had to go slowly and tap with my staff, I feared to disclose myself. But see," he added, "this poor shrew begins a little to revive. A little good canary will comfort.

... And so saying, the knight filled himself a horn of canary and pledged his ward in dumb show.

R. L. Stevenson, *The Black Arrow,* 1883[46]

—

No matter; it meant something, —something to supply the place of a supper,— if not so substantial as they would have wished, at least something that would not only prolong their lives, but for a while lighten their oppressed spirits. It meant a cup of Canary. They had not forgotten their possession of this. Had they done so, they might have yielded to even a deeper despair. A small quantity of the precious grape-juice was still within the cask, safe stowed in its old locker. They had hitherto abstained from touching it, with the view of keeping it to the last moment that it could be conveniently hoarded. That moment seemed to Ben Brace to have arrived, when he proposed a cup of Canary for their supper.

Thomas Mayne-Reid, *The Ocean Waifs*, 1865[47]

—

But the rest, sirs, took the matter all across, and began murmuring against the Captain, saying that poor honest mariners like them had always the labour and the pain, while he took his delight with his lady; and that they would have at least one merry night before they were slain by the Cimaroons, or eaten by panthers and *lagartos*; and so got out of the pinnace two great skins of Canary wine, which were taken in the Lima prize, and sat themselves down to drink.

Charles Kingsley, *Westward Ho!*, 1855[48]

—

So get thee gone, varlet; thou wit find it pleasanter, I fancy, to sip a pint of Canary at the tavern fire, than imbibe inspirations here in the cold moonshine.

Paul Peppergrass, *The Spaewife,* 1853[49]



Illustration from the 1869 edition of *The Ocean Waifs*, depicting barrels of wine, including *Canary*, mentioned in the pages of the book.

—

Southorn, having deposited the babe on a settle near the kitchen fire, threw off his doublet and jack boots, and then, rubbing his hands pleasantly together, advanced to the tap, and demanded to be served with a pint of canary, to refresh him after ride.

Paul Peppergrass, *The Spaewife,* 1853[50]

—

[He] invited all present to join us at the Anchor, and drink Walsingham's health in a bottle of canary.... All three were quite young, scarcely older than ourselves, and knew how to keep up a pleasant conversation, so that before many glasses of canary had been drunk, we had become better friends than considerations of prudence would have allowed.

Joseph Spillmann, *The Wonderful Flower of Woxindon*, 1893[51]

The 17th century was another setting chosen to evoke the consumption of *Canary Wine*, as in *Micah Clarke* (1889), written by **Arthur Conan Doyle** (1859-1930). A prolific author of historical novels, poems, and plays, his best-known works feature the famous detective Sherlock Holmes.

More recently, *Canary* was mentioned by the English writer **Margery Allingham** (1904-1966), considered one of the most important authors in the genre of crime writing. She includes this reference in her debut novel, *Black'erchief Dick* (1923), set in around 1660 on the mysterious island of Mersea.

On the other side of the Atlantic, the historic genre was also hugely popular. One of America's most influential novelists was **Herman Melville** (1819-1891) who, in addition to *Moby Dick*, penned *Benito Cereno* (1856), where *Canary* is a fundamental provision for Captain Delano's crew.

Another figure in universal literature, Robin Hood, comes across *Canary Wine* once again in the illustrated novel by **Howard Pyle** (1853-1911) *The Merry Adventures of Robin Hood* (1892),[52] when the hero from Nottingham and his friends drink *Canary Wine* in the taverns around the city. Interestingly, Pyle distinguishes between *Sack*, *Malmsey* and *Canary*. **Edgar Rice Burroughs** (1875-1950), who created another key literary figure, Tarzan, travels to Mediaeval England in *The Outlaw of Torn* (1927) where, in spite of the anachronism, the Bishop enjoys a good cup of *Canary*.



Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. Pastel drawing by M. Menpes, 1901. Wellcome Collection.

—

It chanced one day, however, that one of them insisted upon my sharing his glass of Canary wine, and afterwards out of roguishness persuaded me to take a second, with the result that I was sent home speechless in the carrier's cart, and was never again allowed to go into Portsmouth alone.

Arthur Conan Doyle, *Micah Clarke*, 1889[53]

—

— "Split me, but you have come in good time!"—he exclaimed, as I entered.

— "I have even now sent down for a flask of canary. Ah, and here it comes!" —as a maid from the inn tripped upstairs with the bottle and glasses—. "Here is a gold piece, my pretty dear, the very last that I have in the whole world. It is the only survivor of a goodly family. Pay mine host for the wine, little one, and keep the change for thyself, to buy ribbons for the next holiday."

Arthur Conan Doyle, *Micah Clarke*, 1889[54]

—

... and my thoughts were already running on the good things therein —cakes and comfits, sweetmeats, some bottles of Canary wine, and geegaws for the adorning of my person when I rode forth....
... Last of all Nell brought to the window the three bottles of Canary wine, for which I had paid so dear. "What is this?" she cried, with her head at the side in her masterful cock-sparrow way. "What is this? Wine, wine of Canary—rotten water rather, I warrant, to be sold in a booth at a fair? At any rate, wine is not good for boys," she added, "and such drabbled stuff is not for the drinking of a lady— wouldst thou like it, Spurheel?"

Samuel R. Crockett, *The Grey Man*, 1895[55]

—

"Then have I gained this day," quoth Robin, "the three stoutest yeomen in all Nottinghamshire. We will get us array to the greenwood tree, and there hold a merry feast in honor of our new friends, and mayhap a cup or two of good sack and canary may mellow the soreness of my poor joints and bones, through I warrant it will be many a day before I am again the man I was."

Howard Pyle, *The Merry Adventures of Robin Hood*, 1892[56]

—

These will do for the more solid things; but with these I must have tree pootles, fat and round, one full of Malmsey, one of Canary, and one brimming full of mine own dear lusty sack. Thus spoke Robin to himself, his mouth growing moist at the corners with the thoughts of the good things he had raised in his own mind.

Howard Pyle, *The Merry Adventures of Robin Hood*, 1892[57]



Photograph of Herman Melville, ca. 1860. US Library of Congress.



Illustration by Howard Pyle, *The Merry Adventures of Robin Hood*, where we can see a cup of wine, possibly *Canary*, since it is mentioned in the text linked to this scene.

—

There was not much call for Canary sack at the Ship, so Anny was some minutes finding and tapping a cask. When she returned from the cellar, a flagon in her hand, the talk had become more animated and one or two lively spirits had started a song, but above the noise a voice penetrating although musical was saying loudly, "Marry, Master French, do you never drink aught but rum in the East that a gentleman is kept waiting ten minutes for a cup of sack?"

Margery Allingham, *Black'erchief Dick*, 1923[58]

—

— "The Ship is no wayside tavern," he said—. "The folk be simple but the liquor good and the wenches pretty, and they are waiting for you to come— the maids in their best caps, and the canary warming on the hearth".

Margery Allingham, *Black'erchief Dick*, 1923[59]

—

The lunch was a frugal one. Some of Captain Delano's fresh fish and pumpkins, biscuit and salt beef, the reserved bottle of cider, and the San Dominick's last bottle of Canary.... With starting eyes he stared before him at vacancy. For nothing was to be seen but the hand of his servant pushing the Canary over towards him. At length a few sips served partially to restore him.

Herman Melville, *Benito Cereno*, 1855[60]

—

As the two sat sipping the Bishop's good Canary, the little old man of Torn entered. He spoke to Father Claude in a surly tone, asking him if he knew aught of the whereabouts of Norman of Torn.

Edgar Rice Burroughs, *The Outlaw of Torn*, 1927[61]



Photograph of Louise Chandler Moulton, ca. 1893. US Library of Congress.



Photograph of Alfred Noyes. US Library of Congress.

In poetry, the legacy of Ben Jonson still casts a long shadow over the poetry written during this period. **Louise Chandler Moulton** (1835-1908), originally from Connecticut, for example, recalls those English Renaissance compositions and their devotion for *Canary Sack*. A little later on, the English poet **Alfred Noyes** (1880-1958) continued this trend, evoking in his poems the Mermaid Tavern, Ben Jonson, and: "*Canary!, Sack!, Malvasia! and Muscatel!*" We find these references within a series of poems entitled *Tales of the Mermaid Tavern*.

—

You called your mystic draught Canary sack—
I drank, and dreamed of far-off Southern Seas
And heard the wraiths of vagrant melodies;
And Joys and Hopes from some dim shade came back.

What blithe feet walked upon a grass-grown track!
What glad winds gossiped under summer trees!
You called your mystic draught Canary sack —
I drank, and dreamed of far—off Southern Seas.

This wine, from strange grapes pressed, upon my
Track
Lets loose the band of Ancient Memories:
Now this sole cup my waywardness can please;
All other brews some fine distinction lack—
You called your magic draught Canary sack!

Louis Chandler Moulton, *After Supping with a Poet*, 1899[62]

—

"Silence, all!"
Ben Jonson echoed, rolling on his bench:
"This gentle lawyer hath a longing, lads,
To hear a right Homeric hymn. Now, Jack!
But wet your whistle, first! A cup of sack
For the first canto! Muscadel, the next!
Canary for the last!" I brought the cup.
....
Chorus:
This great oak-cup to heaven!
The second canto ceased; and, as they raised
Their wine-cups with the last triumphant note,
Bacon, undaunted, raised his grating voice.
"This honey which, in some sort, may be styled
The Spettle of the Stars ..." "Bring the Canary!"
Ben Jonson roared. "It is a moral wine
And suits the third, last canto!" At one draught
John Davis drained it and began anew.
....
Chorus:
Till the great blue sails be furled,
It taketh now, mark! All the beasts in the Ark,
Teeth and claws, too, to make a good world!
"¡Sack! ¡Sack! Canary! Malmsey! Muscadel!"
As the last canto ceased, the Mermaid Inn Chorussed.

Alfred Noyes, *Black Bill's Honey-Moon*, 1913[63]

—

And, as I scrambled up, the rafters rang
With cries of "Sack! Bring me a cup of sack!
Canary! Sack! Malmsey! and Muscadel!"
I understood and flew. I was awake,
A leather-jerkined pot-boy to these gods,
A prentice Ganymede to the Mermaid Inn!

Alfred Noyes, *A Knight of the Ocean-Sea*, 1913[64]

Canary Wine in the personal accounts of H. G. Wells

H. G. Wells (1866-1946) is undoubtedly one of the most important writers in universal literature, and one of the leading exponents of science fiction. There is no mention made of *Canary* in his most famous works, but he does reference it in two of his most private writings: *Experiment in an Autography* (1934) and *Tono-Bungay* (1908), also considered a semi-autobiographical novel, which shows that the author had first-hand knowledge of *Canary Wine*.

—

Like many fantastic and ample talkers he was at bottom secretive, and he gave me a series of little shocks of discovery throughout our intercourse. 'The first of these came in the realisation that he quite seriously meant to do nothing in the world at all towards reforming the evils he laid bare in so easy and dexterous a manner. The next came in the sudden appearance of a person called 'Milly'—I've forgotten her surname—whom I found in his room one evening, simply attired in a blue wrap— the rest of her costume behind the screen— smoking cigarettes and sharing a flagon of an amazingly cheap and self-assertive grocer's wine Ewart affected, called 'Canary Sack.' 'Hallo!' said Ewart, as I came in. "'This is Milly, you know. She's been being a model—she is a model really... (Keep calm, Ponderevo!) Have some sack?"

H. G. Wells, *Tono-Bungay*, 1908[65]



Photograph of H. G. Wells. US Library of Congress.

—

In this flagon there was a wine – I do not know if it is still sold by grocers— a golden wine, called "Canary Sack". I am not at all sure if it was the same as Falstaff's sack; it was a sweetish thin sherry-like wine.... We knew no wines but port and sherry. Accordingly we decided to experiment with food and drink so far as the resources of the Camden Town and Tottenham Court Road luxury trade permitted. We tried a bottle of claret and a bottle of hock and so forth and so on, and that is why we "washed down" our Christmas fare with Canary Sack. So that if anyone asked us to take Canary Sack we should know what we were in for. But nobody ever did ask us to take Canary Sack. My knowledge of Canary Sack is still waste knowledge.

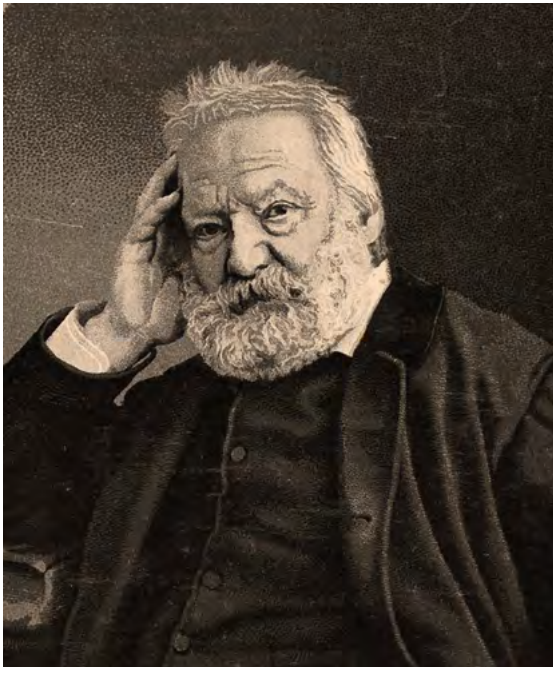
H. G. Wells, *Experiment in Autobiography*, 1923[66]

In French literature, the echoes of Romanticism are harder to hear in the second half of the 19th century. The revolutionary atmosphere akin to the Romantics crumbled with the Second Empire, and realism progressively took hold as a literary movement. **Victor Hugo** (1802-1885) leads this transition during his exile, during which he creates one of the most important works in the history of literature, *Les Misérables* (1865). *Canary Wine* has the honour of being featured among the pages of this great opus, when several Spanish wines are mentioned, including "*vin des Canaries*".

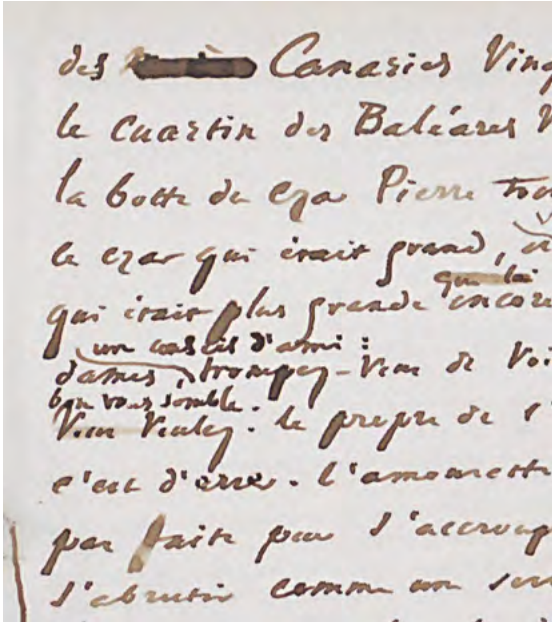
—

—Honor to wine! *Nunc te, Bacche, canam!*
Pardon, ladies, that's Spanish. And here is the proof, *señoras*; like cask, like people. The *arroba* of Castile contains sixteen liters, the *cantaro* of Alicante twelve, the *almuda* of the Canaries twenty-five, the *cuartin* of the Baleares twenty-six, and the boot of czar Peter thirty. Long live the czar, who was great, and long live his boot, which was still greater! Ladies, some friendly advice! Deceive your neighbors, if it seems good to you. The characteristic of love is to rove.

Victor Hugo, *The Miserables*, 1865[67]



Portrait of Victor Hugo. Catholic University of Leuven.



Manuscript of *Les misérables* by Victor Hugo. "vin des Canaries" is mentioned in the first line. Provenance: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothéque Nationale Française.

Another key exponent of this literary moment was **Théophile Gautier** (1811-1872). This multi-faceted writer mentions *Canary Wine* in some of his works, including his novels, *Square Part* (*Partie carrée,* 1848), *Jettatura* (1865) and *The Captain Fracasse* (*Le capitaine Fracasse*, 1863), where two of the characters, Bilot and Lampourde, drink *Canary* during the reign of Louis XIII. "*Vin des Canaries*" is also mentioned in two novels by **Eugène Sue** (1804-1857), *Le Morne Au Diable* (1842) and *Adventures of Hercules Hardi* (*Aventures d'Hercule Hardi,* 1864); as well as *The Devil's Puppets* (*Les marionnettes du diable,* 1860) by *Xavier de Muntépin* (1823-1902) and in the play *A Pierrot's Revenge* (*Une Vengeance de Pierrot,* 1865), by **Hippolyte Lefebvre** (1810-1877) and **Jacques Lambert**.

We also find references among the heavyweights of French and world literature, including **Alexandre Dumas** (1802-1870), the author of novels such as *The Count of Montecristo* and *The Three Musketeers*. In later life, he also became a great culinary expert in the years leading up to his death, and his *Grand dictionnaire de cuisine* (1873) recipe book was published posthumously.

Canary Wine is used as an ingredient in two of these recipes: rotie with spinach, and ancient Terrine du Louvre.[68] Furthermore, when identifying Spanish wines, he talks about: "*Canary wine [Canarie], which grows around La Palma [Palme]" and "Malvasia, which is shipped to all parts*", praising it among foreign liqueur wines.[69]

—

Well, we shall see. Master Bilot is a willing talker, but he is also a good listener and knows the story of every one who puts up at his inn. Let us go and drink a glass of Canary [vin des Canaries] there.

Théophile Gautier, *The Captain Fracasse*, 1863[70]

—

Lampourde, long since used to the manners in this establishment, which, for the matter of that, seemed to him quite proper, paid not the least attention to the scene I have just described. Seated in front of a table, his back against the wall, he was gazing lovingly and amorously upon a bottle of Canary wine [vin des Canaries] which a servant had just brought him, —an old and proper bottle, drawn from the select stock reserved for the thorough— paced swillers and drunkards.

Théophile Gautier, *The Captain Fracasse*, 1863[71]

—

—"You had better own at once that you think horrid. It is your fault, Commodore," she went on. "You have been feeding me up on chicken wings, choice chops, fillet of beef and Canary wine, and with your rides on horseback, your sea-bathing and your gymnastic exercise, you have worked me up to state of rude country health that has scattered to the winds Mr. d'Aspremont's poetic illusions".

—"You are teasing Mr. d'Aspremont and making of me," said the Commodore. "It is quite certain that fillet of beef is strengthening and that Canary wine never hurt any one."

Théophile Gautier, *Jettatura*, 1865[72]

—

Maître Geordie, who was acquainted with the human heart, and the pitiful aspect that the consciousness of an empty purse gave to the physiognomy, considered, given the stranger's aplomb and the freedom of his manners, that, despite his humble clothes, he was likely to possess a certain amount of wealth, and to be served a bottle of French wine, or at least a roast with Canary wine, and, making a temporary sacrifice of his dignity, he stepped aside as best as he could and allowed his aggressor to enter the house.

Théophile Gautier, *Square Part*, 1848[73]

—

—What you said there is judicious, Pilot Keyser; you will ask Lady Balbine for a glass of Canary wine when you get off. But what the hell did you have to say to me, anyhow?

Eugène Sue, *The Adventures of Hercules Hardi*, 1864[74]



Illustration of Captain Fracasse, by Clément-Auguste Andrieux (1829-1881). Warsaw National Museum.

—

... a bluish glass bottle contained about a pint of Canary wine; in a large tin pot the *oagou*, a fermented drink made from the marc of sugar canes, was bubbling...

—Save for the wine from the Canary Islands which I have been given as a present, all this, my son, comes from the garden which I cultivate, or from the fishing and hunting of my two black men, for the provisions of my parishioners were of no use to me, and thanks to the anticipation of Monsieur and Jean, who knew of my arrival from a boat-master at Fort-Saint-Pierre. ... When the meal was over, Monsieur placed a jar of tobacco and pipes next to the bottle of Canary wine; Father Griffon and Crouslillac remained on their own.

Eugène Sue, *The Female Bluebeard: Or, the'Adventurer*, 1842[75]

—

There has to be at least something here that is comforting...

—A flacon of Canary wine, for example.

—I've got some excellent wine —direct importation.

—It has been in my cellar for ten years.... A minute later Olivier and Maître Lehuédé were sitting opposite each other and the amber-coloured Canary wine was flowing in their tulip-shaped glasses.

Xavier de Montépin, *The Devil's Puppets*, 1860[76]

—

Pierrot.—It's a wine from the Canary Islands.

Fracasse.—Canary Wine... That's a strange name.

Pierrot.—It's a good idea to name this wine Canary, since it gives the drinker a sweet and serene air that makes him sing... like a Canary. Apropos, sing then.

Hippolyte Lefebvre y Jacques Lambert, *A Pierrot's Revenge*, 1865[77]

Finally, our review of French literature should culminate with another great universal figure, **Jules Verne** (1828-1905), the creator of literary masterpieces, especially adventure and science fiction novels, such as the brilliant *From the Earth to the Moon*, *Journey to the Centre of the Earth*, *Around the World in Eighty Days* and *The Mysterious Island*. He mentions *Canary Wine* in one of his lesser-known novels, *Second Fatherland* (*Seconde patrie*, 1900), which is part of his collection of *Extraordinary Voyages*. It is a continuation of the novel *The Swiss Family Robinson* by Johann D. Wyss, which Verne had loved, and who also knew about *Canary Wine*, as we saw in the previous chapter.

—

— ¡Hurray for the New Switzerland!... the guests exclaimed joyfully. And in his honour they emptied their glasses filled with that Canary wine which Mr Zermatt used to replace the native wine on special occasions.

... The dinner consisted of fresh fish, roast poultry, peccary ham and a variety of fruits, which were pleasantly accompanied by mead and Canary wine.

... The harvest of the Falkenborst vineyards was done in due time, and, as for mead, there was no lack of honey, spices and rye cakes intended to enhance its fermentation. There was also plenty of palm wine, not to mention the reserve of Canary wine.

Jules Verne, ***Second Fatherland, or, The Castaways of the Flag***, **1900**[78]



Photograph of Jules Verne (*ca*. 1902), by León Carón. Image from the Biblioteca Nacional de España.



Photograph of Alexandre Dumas. Rijksmuseum.

In German literature, **Moritz Hartmann** (1821-1872) praises Malvasia in his novel *The Prisoner of Chillon* (*Der Gefangene von Chillon*, 1863). In *Fata Morgana*, the author **Adolf Mützelburg** (1831-1882) tells the story of how a young lad enthusiastically drinks a pitcher of *Canary Wine*. Another brief reference to *Kanariansekt* is found in the novel *Poor souls, stories and purring* (*Arme Seelen, Geschichten und Schnurreng*, 1905), by **Friedrich Freiherr von Ostini** (1861-1927). One of the most interesting references from this period comes from Russian literature —a land that favoured *Canary Wine* immensely— specifically from the pen of writer **Aleksandr Kuprin** (1870-1938), who praised "*wine from Tenerife*" in *A family* (1919). Finally, within Spanish literature, we should highlight a play by **Manuel Soriano**, which extols the magnificence of *Canary*.

—

... my noble palate has not tasted Canary wine and nor Malmsey! It is said that it dates back to the good times of Pope Alexander Borgia, who received it from his good friends the Grand Turk people.

Moritz Hartmann, *The prisoner of Chillon*, 1863[79]

—

I have escorted the ladies here and I only ask for a cup of Canary wine, which is supposed to be excellent.

Adolf Mützelburg, *Fata Morgana*, 1851[80]

—

... I shall serve you wine. It is a very good wine. It is called "Tenerife". I have a friend, a ship's captain, who drinks none other than Tenerife.

Aleksandr Kuprin, *A Family*, 1910[81]

—

There was a large, round-bottomed stone jar, and the tidy Mr. Kohlemann had written "Canary wine" on it, as opposed to the other jar next to it. On it was written "vinegar".

Friedrich Freiherr von Ostini, *Poor Souls: Stories and Purrs*, 1905[82]

—

Ricardo.— Well, although it may be an act of foolishness, for you Concha, I shall drink the sea turned to wine (He drains his glass).
Luisa.— *(Consummatum est)*. How was it?
Ricardo.—Magnificent! Extraordinary! (Savouring the wine). Such a special flavour this Canary wine has!

Manuel Soriano, *The Sandwiches*, 1893[83]



Photograph of Aleksandr Ivanovich Kuprin, taken by Alexander Savialoff. Finnish Heritage Agency, Finland.

Following this review of world literature and letters, we shall return once more to the Canary Islands themselves, the birthplace of eminent authors who reflected on and wrote about our wines. Rooted once again in the nostalgia evoked throughout this chapter, we find the works of Tenerife-born **María Rosa Alonso** (1909-2011). A linguist and university professor, she was distinguished with various literary awards and is considered one of the most influential writers of the 20th century in the Canary Islands. In one of her journalistic essays entitled "Tenerife wine once again", published in *San Borondon (Saint Brendan), sign of Tenerife* (*San Borondón, signo de Tenerife,* 1940), Alonso explores the historical episodes and literary figures that have glorified *Canary Wine*, especially Malvasia, yearning for that prestige and greatness lost with the passage of time. In a similar vein, also anchored in that same nostalgia, the journalist **Leoncio Rodríguez** (1881-1951), from Tenerife, wrote an ode to the legendary *Canary Wine*, harking back to the figures and writers who drank and enjoyed it.

Another highly relevant contribution, somewhere between historiography and literature, since the author was both historian and poet, is an essay entitled *Malmsey and Falstaff (Malvasía y Falstaff,* 1944) by **Andrés de Lorenzo-Cáceres** (1912-1990). This is one of the most important and influential contributions of the 20th century. Through a poetic free narrative, albeit with all the rigour of an historian, the author explores the main written references to *Canary Wine*, but does so with a yearning for the past that we have seen in other authors. All subsequent publications that have revisited the presence of *Canary Wine* in literature are indebted to this seminal text.



Winery, ca. 1900. Photography by Keith Fullerton Whitman. Canaries Historical Photography Archive, FEDAC –Cabildo de Gran Canaria.



Photograph: Rocío Eslava.

—

Tenerife, illustrious font of the blood of Europe, carried the fortunes of the Fortunate Islands in its Malvasia. The soul of the wine, and the soul of the Island, was lost subsequently in pure "progressive" foolishness. It was lost once more just like Saint Brendan's Island behind an errant cloud. The secret and the soul.

María Rosa Alonso, *The Wine of Tenerife once again*, 1936[84]

—

The wines!... An absolute emporium of wealth that dissolved with the last aromas of the famous Vidonia and Malvasia wines. Proclamation of fame for the Island, which spread the name of Tenerife to the Asian empires, "there was no nectar as delicate as that which was yielded by the ripe grapes under a luminous and pure sky, and which were given a gentle warmth by the soils heated by volcanoes." Their excellent qualities were pondered by the most universally renowned writers—Shakespeare, Hugo, Walter Scott, etc.— and their fame was on the lips of poets and theatrical players.

—"Bring me a glass of Canary wine! Let us drink, mistress Doll"—exclaims Falstaff, the jovial character from Shakespeare's comedies. And another adds "you have drunk too much canaries; and that's a marvellous searching wine, and it perfumes the blood ere one can say "What's this?" And Pistol says to the fair Calipolis: "Give me some sack, —and sweetheart, lie down there."

The wines!... An historic epoch, rich in episodes, in joys and misfortunes, which over the course of more than two centuries stirred and transformed every aspect of life in the Canaries.

... Of those times only these ancient wineries remain as a memory, their roof in ruins, their tiles broken, and the hefty beams riddled with damp, still defying the elements. Venerable survivor, which still raises its mighty arm as a symbol of its lower power! Climbing up its old timber, the morning cockerel sings out its morning reveille, greeting the dawn.

Leoncio Rodríguez, *Wineries, ca.* 1935[85]

—

Luminous train left by a lost star. The star of our wines fallen like a pendant that has slipped into the bosom of our history. Language of languages. A flare blazing over different skies. A font that bathes the horizon in rose. Our Malvasia wines sing only for the universal revelry of culture. While their tender nightingale has been extinguished in the most beautiful gardens on earth. Yet dawn rests behind sleeping shadows.

... The fragrance of the grape must extinguishes the fragrance of the flowers. The distant horizon spills over like a honeyed cask of golds and rubies. The sweet afternoon rests on its wings, laden down with sugar, fragranced with perfumed wines. It drips its honey and ash onto us. The first stars that shine spill gold from their points. An angel sweeps through the wineries; his name is Sir John... and he leans tenderly over the barrels whence the Malvasia fairy has flown.

Andrés de Lorenzo-Cáceres, *Malvasia and Falstaff*, 1944[86]

We conclude our journey through history and the literature and letters linked to *Canary Wine* on the island of Lanzarote. Firstly, in the company of **Rafael Arozarena** (1923-2009), who plunges his narrative into the harvest on the island of volcanoes, highlighting the family and festive nature of this time of year, which brings together the whole community around the winery and the vines.

—

We were in the time of the harvest, and from the nearby villages people came to La Cantarrana in search of work. The majority were women, and three or four would arrive together. The vineyard was a beautiful sight at that time, such a hive of activity. Throughout the valley of the Badlands, scattered groups of workers, men and women, could be seen picking the grapes. Others formed a kind of trail of ants along the pathways of that vast field, with large baskets brimming with bunches shining in the sun. The custom was to sing, and throughout the day, those long tunes would reach one's ears, so characteristic of these lands, always the same and with such a full heart. Even Don Lázaro would change his preferred spot at that time and settle under a canopy close to the wineries from where he could take in the vast sweep of the vineyards.

Rafael Arozarena, *Mararía*, 1973[87]



La Vendimia (1950). Painting by César Manrique (1919-1992), located in the former Parador Nacional de Turismo de Arrecife, now UNED headquarters in Lanzarote. Photo courtesy of Fundación César Manrique. ©Fundación César Manrique. © César Manrique, VEGAP, Tenerife, 2022.

Finally, the island of Lanzarote was the birthplace of writer **Benito Pérez Armas** (1871-1937), author of a significant body of narrative. However, we are looking here at one of his poems: *The Land and the Poet (La Tierra y el Poeta*), a delicious dialogue between a young poet and a character representing the land of the Canaries, which remembers how Malvasia wines used to be shipped off all around the world as one of the most splendid moments of its long life.

—

The young man sighed bitterly as old Echeide, puffing out a swollen cloud of smoke, made the trees and rocks tremble. The Earth was covered in a cold sweat as if the inner storm perspired through its pores... Then, the voice spoke once more:

—The victors are the same in all parts. Little by little, I became accustomed to my new state, and for years I still had legitimate reason to be proud... Yes, my Malvasia wine was drunk all around the world, like seculo [Portuguese brandy], Falernian wine and Cypriot, those classic nectars, in engraved glasses... Do you not remember that the Duke of Clarence, so Shakespeare tells us in one of his tragedies, being condemned to death, choose as his only request to be drowned in a vat of Malmsey? Do you not know that all the poets sang of the delicacies of my wine, golden as a virgin's daydream and joyous as an anacreontic?

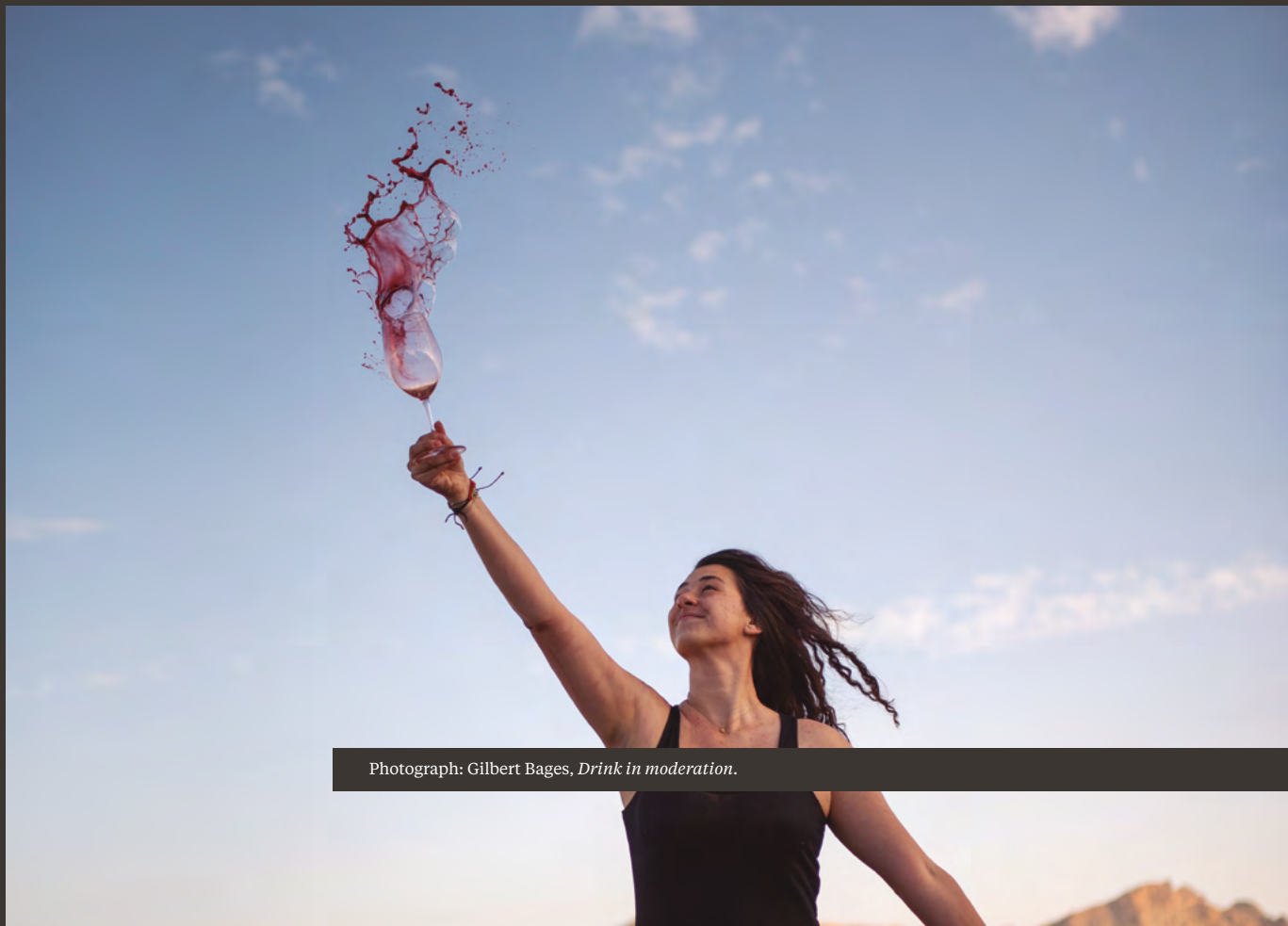
Benito Pérez Armas, *The Land and the Poet*, 1900[88]



Benito Pérez Armas (1911). Photograph by Keith Fullerton Whitman. Collection José A. Pérez Cruz. Canaries Historical Photography Archive, FEDAC-Cabildo de Gran Canaria.

Epilogue

The renaissance of *Canary Wine*



Photograph: Gilbert Bages, *Drink in moderation*.

The Canary Islands are home to a wine growing tradition stretching back more than five centuries, as we have seen over the previous pages, experiencing moments of great splendour, but also prolonged crises. Unfortunately, the most recent one, which began in the mid-19th century, has had the strongest influence on shaping collective memory, which no longer remembers the golden age of *Canary Wine*. The times when ports all around the islands were bristling with ships headed across the world, loaded with thousands of pipes of the most outstanding wine. In this historic tale, eminent figures from the past emerge, shining with their own inner light. Characters who tasted, demanded, and yearned for *Canary Wine* when it started to become more of a memory than a reality.

Within this thrilling adventure through history, *Canary Wine* is now writing a new and exciting chapter, which began just forty years ago, with the creation of the first designation of origin label and the first regulatory council in the area of Tacoronte-Acentejo. This marked the start of a transformation in wine making in the Canaries, steering the sector away from a crisis that had been going on for too long. Since then, the volume of production has increased along with the area of land dedicated to wine growing. The sector has become more professionalised at all levels, modernising its means of production and wine making, receiving greater economic and institutional stimuli, promoting commercialisation in different markets, and recovering local varieties, etc. All of this has contributed in this latest generation to substantially improving the situation of the sector, creating better wines, and repositioning our wines as a quality product in the international context.

Today, Canary wines are proud to bear the labels of eleven designations of origin, including **Denominación de Origen Protegida Islas Canarias**. Created in 2012 by the Canaries Association of Wine Makers and Winery Owners (Asociación de Viticultores y Bodegueros de Canarias-AVIBO), with a fully integrating mission, it groups together wineries located on the islands of Tenerife, Gran Canaria, La Gomera, Fuerteventura, La Palma, Lanzarote and El Hierro. Family-run wineries that embody the wine making culture of the Archipelago. Each of them bears witness to centuries of tradition and artisanal growing practices, which generate unique wines, characteristic of the different terroirs around the Canary Islands.

DOP Islas Canarias aims to highlight all the values that make the Canary Islands the home of unique wines in the world. Distinctive geological, soil, climate, environmental, historical, varietal, and heritage factors that, in close interrelation, contribute to making diverse wines on each island but which share a common identity. All these aspects were included in a study published in the year 2021, *Acerca del Canary Wine. Compendio de la vitivinicultura del archipiélago canario* (*About Canary Wine. Compendium of viticulture on the Canary Islands)*, which explores all these values in detail. DOP Islas Canarias has also been working in recent years on other initiatives surrounding professional qualification, training, and dissemination.

Furthermore, in the same year, a new set of specifications was published, which classifies *Canary Wine* into four categories: *vino de Parcela*, *vino de Municipio*, *vino de Isla* y *vino de Región*. The

infographic below sets out the criteria used to identify the different types of *Canary Wine*. This classification categorises wines into different geographical scopes depending on the provenance of the grapes used to make them. So, we have *Vinos de Parcela*, made using grapes grown in one specific plot or vineyard; *Vinos de Municipio* and *Vinos de Isla*, for wines made from grapes grown in a single municipality or different areas on the same island, respectively. And finally, *Vino de Región* is a wine made from grapes that may have been grown on plots located on different islands. This classification summarises the potentiality of wine growing in the Canary Islands, capable of making excellent wines with grapes from all over the Archipelago.

Finally, through its trademark *Canary Wine*, DOP Islas Canarias is pursuing its mission to consolidate its regional market, but also to boost the international commercialisation of Canary wines, just as centuries ago, when conquered the ports and palates of the whole world. An objective that, as we have seen throughout the course of this publication, is not new but which has been slumbering for too long. As of today, *Canary Wine* is recovering its prestige, step by step, dusting off the pages that sang its praises as the nectar of the gods, discovered by travellers who, in their search for experiences on our Islands, have followed the words of songs and poems that once encapsulated the literary passions of the most esteemed writers.



Grapevines in Gran Canaria. Photography: Tato Gonçalves.

How to identify a *Canary Wine*

The Denominación de Origen Protegida Islas Canarias (Islas Canarias Protected Designation of Origin) wants to promote the singularity of the archipelago and highlight the characteristics of each of the islands, the particular features of its areas, and the most specific expression of its “terroir”. To achieve this, a new set of specifications has been drawn up, which indicates four major classifications: Vino de Parcela, Vino de Municipio, Vino de Isla and Vino de Región.

VP - Vino de Parcela (Plot wine)

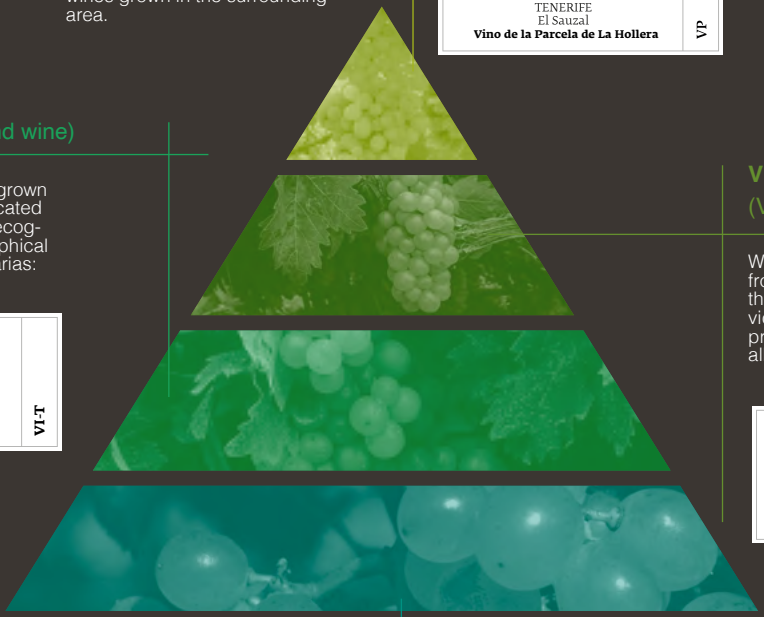
Wine made from grapes grown on a single plot of land, where the soil characteristics and microclimate differentiate them from wines grown in the surrounding area.



VI - Vino de Isla (Island wine)

Wine made using grapes grown in plots or on vineyards located within one of the islands recognised as a smaller geographical unit within DOP Islas Canarias: Tenerife or Fuerteventura.





VM - Vino de Municipio (Village wine)

Wine obtained from grapes from wine-growing plots belonging to the same village (municipality), provided that the origin of the grapes, production and bottling happen all within the same village.



VR - Vino de Región (Regional wine)

Wine made from grapes grown in different plots located within the geographical region of the Canary Islands.



Directory

Wineries that Bottle DOP Islas Canarias Wines



Winery in Gran Canaria (1931). Canaries Historical Photography Archive, FEDAC-Cabildo de Gran Canaria.

—

Bodegas Tajinaste | Bodegas Tajinaste S.L.L.
Island: Tenerife
Address: El Ratiño, 5, 38315, La Orotava,
Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
Web: www.bodegastajinaste.com
E-mail: bodega@tajinaste.net

—

Bodegas Viñátigo | Bodegas Viñátigo C.B.
Island: Tenerife
Address: Travesía Juandana s/n, 38440,
La Guancha, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
Web: www.bodegasvinatigo.com
E-mail: vinatigo@vinatigo.com

—

Bodega Viña Zanata | Viña La Guancha S.L.
Island: Tenerife
Address: Calle El Sol 3, 38440, La Guancha,
Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
E-mail: zanata@zanata.net

—

Bodegas Arautava | Bodegas Arautava S.L.
Island: Tenerife
Address: Camino La Habanera 286, 38315,
La Orotava, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
Web: www.bodegasarautava.com
E-mail: info@bodegasarautava.com

—

Bodega Viña Engracia | C.B. Balja
Island: Tenerife
Address: Prol. Centinela 53, 38430, Icod de los Vinos,
Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
E-mail: vinosengracia@hotmail.com

—

Bodegas Monje | Bodegas Monje S.L.
Island: Tenerife
Address: Calle Cruz de Leandro 36, 38360,
El Sauzal, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
Web: www.bodegasmonje.com
E-mail: monje@bodegasmonje.com

—

Bodega El Lomo | Afecan S.A.
Island: Tenerife
Address: Carretera El Lomo 18, 38280, Tegueste,
Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
Web: www.bodegaellomo.com
E-mail: administracion@bodegaellomo.com

—

Bodega Mataznos 33 | Natan Afonso Pacheco
Island: Tenerife
Address: Ctra. Palo Blanco, Cmno. La Ferruja 12, 38413,
Los Realejos, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
E-mail: mataznos33@gmail.com

—

Bodegas Ferrera | Bodega Ferrera S.L.
Island: Tenerife
Address: Calle Norte s/n, 38550,
Arafo, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
Web: www.bodegasferrera.es
E-mail: info@bodegasferrera.com

—

Alejandro Gallo & Quíquere Wines | Grinfeld Mir, S.L.
Island: Tenerife
Address: Salto del Gato 61, 38280, El Sauzal,
Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
E-mail: alejandrogallowines@gmail.com

—

Bodegas El Sitio | Ranilla Trading S.L.
Island: Tenerife
Winery address: Barranco San Juan 47, 38356, Tacoronte, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
Office address: Calle Retama 6, local 15, 38400, Puerto de la Cruz, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
Web: www.bodegaselsitio.es
E-mail: administracion@bodegaselsitio.com

—

Bodega Cumbres de Abona | S.C. Cumbres de Abona
Island: Tenerife
Address: Soc. Coop. Cumbres de Camino del Viso, s/n, Teguedite, 38580, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
Web: www.cumbresdeabona.com
E-mail: info@cumbresdeabona.com

—

Bodega CONATVS | Pedro Antonio Martín Hernández
Island: Fuerteventura
Address: C. Cuesta Valerio, 28, 35650, La Oliva, Islas Canarias
Web: www.conatvs.com
E-mail: contacto@conatvs.com

—

Bodega Piedra Fluida | Bodegón Las Vistas Tamaide S.L.
Island: Tenerife
Address: Calle Bencomo, 58, 38390, Santa Úrsula, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
Web: www.piedrafluida.com
E-mail: info@piedrafluida.es

—

Bodega Hoyos de Bandama | Viña & Vinos Hoyos de Bandama S.L.
Island: Gran Canaria
Address: Camino a La Caldera 36, 35307, Santa Brígida, Las Palmas, Islas Canarias
Web: www.bodegahoyosdebandama.com
E-mail: maria@bodegahoyosdebandama.com

—

Bodega Llano El Pino | Pedro Jonay Santana Hernández
Island: Tenerife
Address: Callejón la Hoyilla 1, 38280, Tegueste, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
E-mail: info@tasat.es

—

Bodega Viña El Drago | Juan José Fuentes Tabares
Island: Tenerife
Address: Camino El Boquerón, s/n, 38270, Valle de Guerra | Camino la Biromba, 10, 38270, Valle de Guerra, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
Web: www.bodegaeldrago.com
E-mail: info@bodegaeldrago.com

—

Bodega La Casmi | Sociedad Cooperativa Agrícola San Miguel
Island: Tenerife
Address: Carretera General del Sur 5, 38620, San Miguel de Abona, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
Web: www.lacasmi.com

—

Bodega Comarcal Valle de Güímar | SAT. Viticultores de la Comarca de Güímar
Island: Tenerife
Address: Carretera Los Loros, km 4, 38550, Arafo, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
Web: www.bodegavalledeguimar.com
E-mail: info@bodegacomarcalguimar.com

—

Bodega Linaje del Pago | Productos importados de alimentación
Island: Tenerife
Address: Calle Herrera 85, 38360, El Sauzal, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
Web: www.linajedelpago.com
E-mail: linajedelpago@gmail.com

—

Bodega Finca Escudero | Sanbrig 2005 S.L.U.
Island: Gran Canaria
Address: Calle Palma Romero, 35300, Santa Brígida, Las Palmas, Islas Canarias
Web: www.fincaescudero.com
E-mail: info@fincaescudero.com

—

Bodega Ricardo Gutiérrez de Salamanca Pérez | Ricardo Gutiérrez de Salamanca Pérez
Island: Tenerife
Address: Calle El Laurel 110, 38208, San Cristóbal de La Laguna, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
Web: www.vinos1861.com
E-mail: info@vinos1861.com

—

Camino los Laureles | Explotaciones y Servicios Herzam S.L.
Island: Tenerife
Address: C/ La Perla, 12. 38350, Tacoronte, Santa Cruz de Tenerife
Web: www.fincaelancon.es
E-mail: info@fincaelancon.es

—

Finca Parque de Los Olivos | Transformaciones y servicios S.L.
Island: Tenerife
Address: Carretera Arico al Porís de Abona (TF-625), Km 2,660, 38589, Arico, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias

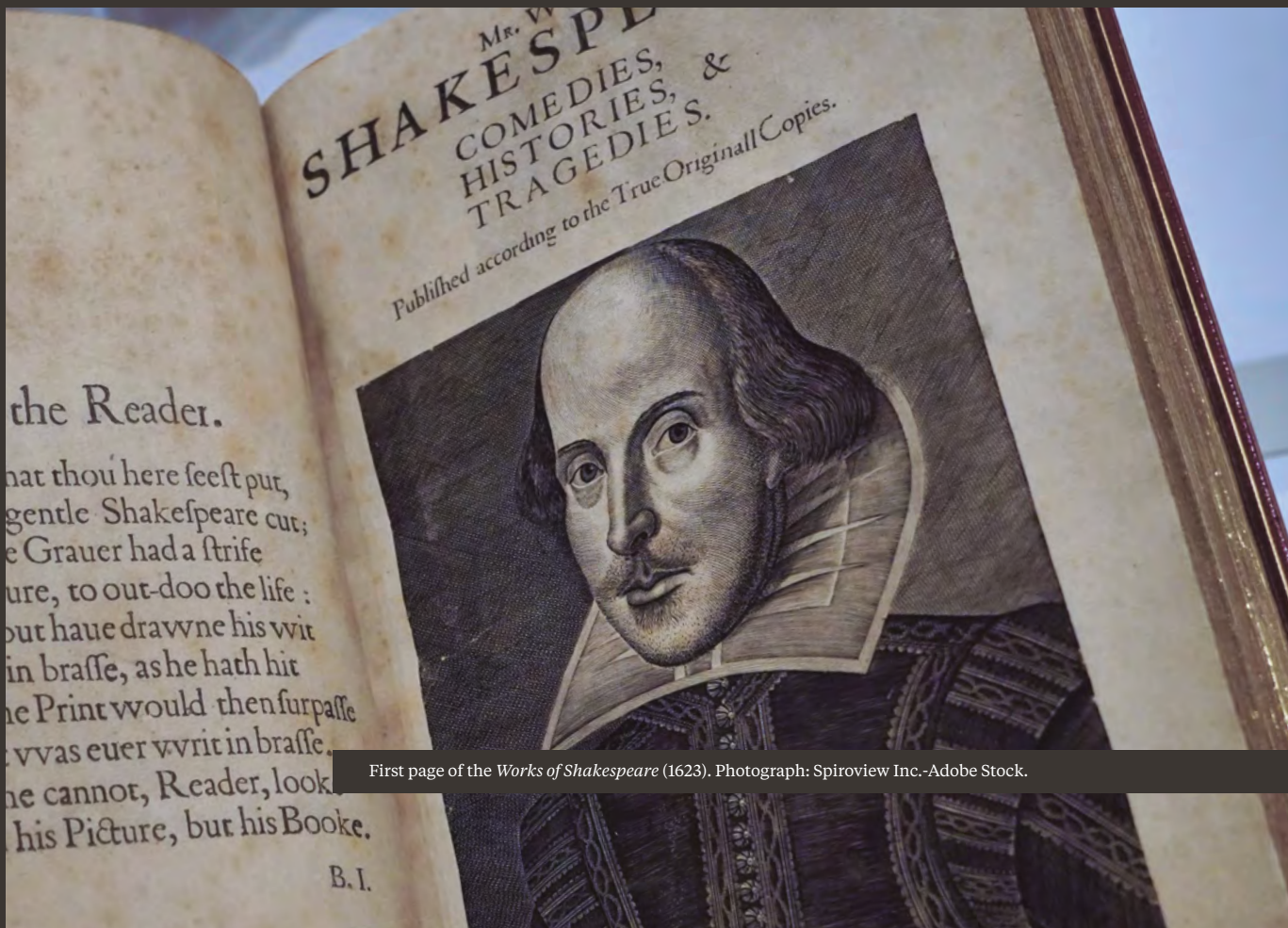
—

Bodega Marqués de Tamargada | Arcano Natura S.L.
Island: La Gomera
Address: Carretera La Ermita s/n, km 36, 38840, Tamargada, Vallermoso, Islas Canarias
E-mail: tania@garajonay.com

—

Bodega Pago los Cercados | Emilio Tomás Palmero García
Island: Tenerife
Address: Calle Los Cercados 21, 38380, La Victoria de Acentejo, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Islas Canarias
Web: www.pagodeloscercados.com
E-mail: info@pagodeloscercados.com

Notes and Bibliography



First page of the *Works of Shakespeare* (1623). Photograph: Spiroview Inc.-Adobe Stock.

Notes about this edition

The notes below provide the historical and literary references included in this publication. The quotations provided throughout this text are given in the original English, conserving the original spelling in each case. As for translations into English, we have included the official published translations of different editions. When there is no official published translation or we have been unable to locate one, translations have been provided specifically for this publication by Anna Moorby (indicated Trans. by AM) and Patricia González-Barreda (indicated Trans. by PGB). Translator's Notes (TN) are also provided by Oscar Torres. In the text, the titles of different publications have been translated into English to make them easier for readers to understand, even though there are no published translations in existence.

Notes for chapter 1

1 Antonio M. Macías Hernández, "Colonización y viticultura. El caso de las Canarias, 1350-1550". *DOURO - Estudos & Documentos* VII (13) (2002), 286-288.

2 See Jacob Morales, P. Henríquez-Valido and A. Rodríguez, "Agricultura y recolección vegetal en la arqueología prehispánica de Canarias (siglos III-XV d.C.): la contribución de los estudios carpológicos". In *Miscelánea en homenaje a Lydia Zapata Peña (1965-2015)*, coordinated by J. Fernández Eraso *et alli*, 191-218. (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2017); Jacob Morales, *El uso de las plantas en la prehistoria de Gran Canaria: alimentación, agricultura y ecología*. (Gran Canaria: Cabildo Gran Canaria, 2011; M. C. Machado Yanes, "El combustible: la antracología". In *El yacimiento arqueológico de La Cerera. Un modelo de ocupación en la isla de Gran Canaria*. Cuadernos de Patrimonio Histórico, n.º 9, ed. by P. González Quintero, Marcos A. Moreno Benítez and A. M. Jiménez Medina, 299-317. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 2009; María del Carmen del Arco Aguilar *et alli*, "El Menceyato de Icod en el poblamiento de Tenerife: D. Gaspar, Las Palomas y Los Guanches. Sobre el poblamiento y las estrategias de alimentación vegetal entre los Guanches". *Eres (Arqueología)* 9: 1, (2000), 67-129; María del Carmen del Arco Aguilar, "Del vino y la vid en Canarias durante la Antigüedad. Contexto teórico y arqueológico para su estudio". In *Jornadas Históricas Canary Wine. Universidad de La Laguna – DOP Islas Canarias. I Edición 2017 y II Edición 2021,* coordinated by Carlos Fernández Hernández, Gabriel Santos García and Javier Luis Álvarez Santos, 44-55. La Laguna: DOP Islas Canarias-FGULL, 2022..

3 Giovanni Boccaccio, *De Canaria y de las otras islas nuevamente halladas en el Océano Allende España (1341).* Critical Study by Manuel Hernández (La Orotava, 1998), 38. (Trans. by AM).

4 José Manuel Montesdeoca Medina, "Las islas canarias en los islarios (I)", *Fortunatae*, 18 (2007): 111. (Trans. by AM).

5 Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, Dolores Corbella Díaz and Antonio Tejera Gaspar, *Los viajes africanos de Alvise Cadamosto (1455-1456)* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios 2017) 84. (Trans. by AM).

6 *Ibid*., 446. (Trans. by AM).

7 Quoted by Francisco Morales Padrón, *Canarias: crónicas de la conquista* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: El Museo Canario, 1978), 371-372. (Trans. by AM).

8 Juan Abreu Galindo, *Historia de la conquista de las siete islas de Gran Canaria* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Imprenta Valentín Sanz, 1940), 60. (Trans. by AM).

9 Tomás Antonio Marín de Cubas, *Historia de las siete islas de Canaria* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País de Gran Canaria, 1986), 260. (Trans. by AM).

10 José de Viera y Clavijo, *Historia de Canarias*, edited by Manuel de Paz Sánchez (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Ed. Idea, 2016), I: 571, n. 44. Original document: José de Viera y Clavijo, *Borrador de los Ensayos sobre la Historia Natural y Civil de las Yslas Canarias*, 1763-1766. Manuscript, Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País de Tenerife, La Laguna, RM 190 (20/7, fol. 269). (Trans. by AM).

11 Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, Dolores Corbella Díaz, Berta Pico Graña and Antonio Tejera Gaspar, *Le Canarien. Retrato de dos mundos. I. Textos (1402-1494)* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 2007), I: 84. (Trans. by AM).

11 *Ibid*., 87.

13 *Ibid*., 91.

14 *Ibid*., 102.

15 *Ibid*., 123.

16 *Ibid*., 127.

17 *Ibid*., 163.

18 *Ibid*., 176.

19 José de Viera y Clavijo, *Diccionario de Historia Natural de las Islas Canarias* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Imprenta de la Verdad, 1868), I: 149, see entry "parras". (Trans. by AM).

20 Viera y Clavijo, *Historia de Canarias*, II: 296. (Trans. by AM).

21 Andrés Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos. Don Fernando y Doña* Isabel (Sevilla, 1870), I: 176-177. (Trans. by AM).

22 Edited by Eduardo Aznar and Dolores Corbella, *África y sus islas en el Manuscrito de Valentim Fernandes* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2021), 168-173. (Trans. by AM).

23 Martín Fernández de Enciso, *Suma de Geographia* (Seville, 1519), n.p. (Trans. by AM).

24 Elías Serra Rafols, *Las Datas de Tenerife* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1992), 42-43. (Trans. by AM).

25 Elías Serra Rafols, *Acuerdos del Cabildo de Tenerife I (1497-1507)* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1939), n.º 155, 28. (Trans. by AM).

26 Serra Rafols, *Las Datas…*, 24. (Trans. by AM).

27 Quoted by Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, "La vid y el vino en los nuevos espacios atlánticos. La evolución del mercado canario", *Bajo Guadalquivir y Mundos Atlánticos* 03 (2020), 28-51. Original document in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Las Palmas, leg. 2316, fol. 16 v. (Trans. by AM).

28 Francisco Morales Padrón, "Canarias en el Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla", *Anuario de Estudios* Atlánticos 7 (1961): 279. (Trans. by AM).

29 Serra Rafols, *Acuerdos del Cabildo de Tenerife I…*, n.º 248, p. 42. (Trans. by AM).

30 *Ibid*., n.º 793, p. 177. (Trans. by AM).

31 Elías Serra Rafols, *Acuerdos del Cabildo de Tenerife III (1514-1518)* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1965), n.º 179, p. 181. (Trans. by AM).

32 Elías Serra Rafols and Leopoldo de la Rosa, *Acuerdos del Cabildo de Tenerife IV (1518-1525)* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1970), n.º 153, p. 58. (Trans. by AM).

33 Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, *Documentos canarios en el Registro del Sello (1476.1517)* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1981), n.º 199. (Trans. by AM).

34 Leonardo Torriani, *Descripción de las Islas Canarias* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Cabildo Insular de Tenerife, 1999). The references correspond, respectively, to pp. 138, 185, 186 (Gran Canaria), 225, 251, 225 (Tenerife), 286, 473 (La Palma) and 274 (El Hierro). (Trans. by AM).

35 Antonio M. Macías Hernández, "El paisaje vitícola de Canarias. Cinco siglos de historia", *Ería* 68 (2005): 356. (Trans. by AM).

36 *Ibid*., 355.

37 Alonso de Espinosa, *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Candelaria* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Goya, 1952), 28. (Trans. by AM).

38 Quoted by Manuel Lobo Cabrera, *El comercio del vino entre Gran Canaria y las Indias en el siglo XVI* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Ediciones del Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1993), 24.Original document from the Archivo General de Simancas y Junta de Hacienda, legajo 56-153. (Trans. by AM).

39 Cesáreo Fernández Duro, "Canarias en el siglo XVI", *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid*, XV, 2º (1883), 113. Original Document from the Biblioteca de la Academia de la Historia. Colección Salazar y Castro, M-11, fols. 30-32. (Trans. by AM).

40 Francisco de Thamara, *El libro de las costumbres de todas las gentes del mundo y de las Indias* (Antwerp, 1556), 250. (Trans. by AM).

41 Gaspar Frutuoso, *Descripción de las Islas Canarias* (La Laguna: Centro de la Cultura Popular Canaria, 2004), 95. The passage comes from the original work *Saudades da Terra*, which is conserved in six manuscripts dated between 1586 and 1590. (Trans. by AM).

42 Quoted in Dacio V. Darias Padrón, "El historiador Núñez de la Peña y su tiempo", *Revista de Historia* XI (1945): 7. (Trans. by AM).

43 Abreu Galindo, *Historia…*, 235. (Trans. by AM).

44 Marín de Cubas, *Historia…*, 247. (Trans. by AM).

45 Juan Núñez de la Peña, *Conquista y antigüedades de islas de la Gran Canaria y su descripción con muchas advertencias de sus privilegios, conquistadores, pobladores y otras particularidades en la muy poderosa isla de Tenerife, dirigido a la milagrosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de Candelaria* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), 340, 342, 99. (Trans. by AM).

46 Francisco Morales Padrón, *Ordenanzas del Concejo de Gran Canaria (1531)* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1974), 82. (Trans. by AM).

47 *Ibid*., 92.

48 Antonio Bethencourt Massieu, "Canarias e Inglaterra: el comercio de vinos (1650-1800)", *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos* 2 (1956): 200-201. (Trans. by AM).

(Trans. by AM).

49 George F. Steckley, "The Wine Economy of Tenerife in the Seventeenth Century: Anglo-Spanish Partnership in a Luxury Trade", *The Economic History Review*, n.s. 33, 3 (1980): 335-350.

50 Viera y Clavijo, *Diccionario…*, 96-97. (Trans. by AM).

Notes for chapter 2

1 Manuel Lobo Cabrera, *El comercio del vino entre Gran Canaria y las Indias en el siglo XVI* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Ediciones del Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1993), 402 and 408. (Trans. by AM).

2 *Ibid*., 163. Original document from the Archivo Municipal de La Laguna, R-III, 29. (Trans. by AM).

3 *Ibid*., 164. Original document from the Archivo General de

Simancas, Registro General del Sello. (Trans. by AM).

4 Quoted by Francisco Morales Padrón, *Cedulario de Canarias* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Ediciones del Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1970), I: 255-256. (Trans. by AM).

5 José Manuel Montesdeoca Medina, "Las Islas Canarias en los islarios (II)", *Fortunatae* 19 (2008): 106. (Trans. by AM).

6 Quoted by José Manuel Rodríguez Yanes, *Tenerife en el siglo XVII. Tensiones y conflictos en la segunda mitad de la centuria* (La Laguna: Centro de la Cultura Popular Canaria, 1992), 193. (Trans. by AM).

7 Juan Núñez de la Peña, *Conquista y antigüedades de la isla de la Gran Canaria y su descripción, con muchas advertencias de sus privilegios, conquistadores, pobladores y otras particularidades en la muy poderosa isla de Tenerife, dirigido a la milagrosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de Candelaria* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), 306 and 481. (Trans. by AM).

8 Archivo Histórico Provincial de Santa Cruz de Tenerife, leg. 1536, fº420v. (Trans. by AM).

9 Archivo Municipal de La Laguna, Libros Capitulares, Oficio 2º, Libro 13, fº213. (Trans. by AM).

10 Archivo Municipal de La Laguna, Libros Capitulares, Oficio 2º, Libro 14, fº218. (Trans. by AM).

11 Núñez de la Peña, *Conquista y antigüedades*..., 297. (Trans. by AM).

12 Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *Piratería y ataques navales contra las Islas Canarias* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1947), I: 314-316.

13 Antonio Bethencourt Massieu, "Canarias e Inglaterra: el comercio de vinos (1650-1800)", *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos* 2 (1956): 214-215. (Trans. by AM).

14 José de Viera y Clavijo, *Historia de Canarias*, edited by Manuel de Paz Sánchez (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Ed. Idea, 2016), III: 318-319. (Trans. by AM).

15 Quoted by Manuel Lobo Cabrera *et al*., *Textos para la historia de Canarias (*Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Ediciones del Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1994), 189. (Trans. by AM).

16 Bethencourt, *Canarias e Inglaterra*..., 227. (Trans. by PGB).

17 Viera y Clavijo, *Historia de Canarias*, III: 309. (Trans. by AM).

18 Dacio V. Morales Lezcano, *Relaciones mercantiles entre Inglaterra y los archipiélagos del Atlántico ibérico. Su estructura e historia* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1970), 139-144. (Trans. by AM).

19 Bethencourt, *Canarias e Inglaterra*..., 242. (Trans. by PGB).

20 *Ibid*., 247. (Trans. by PGB).

21 *Ibid*., 249. (Trans. by PGB).

22 Viera y Clavijo, *Historia de Canarias*, III: 310. (Trans. by AM).

23 John Locke, *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest, and Raising the Value of Money. In a Letter Sent to a Member of Parliament* (London, 1692), 177.

24 Rodríguez Yanes, *Tenerife en el siglo XVII*..., 193. (Trans. by AM).

25 Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *The royal commentaries of Peru* (London, 1688), 388. In the 19th century, the Peruvian author Ricardo Palma wrote*: "Francisco Carabantes brought from the Canary Islands the first black grapevine stock planted in Peru. In the settlement of Tacaraca, in Ica (writes Córdova y Urrutia in 1840), a black grapevine still exists today that it is claimed was one of those planted by Carabantes, which has thus far given a great yield. Human injustice! Drunkards always bless Noah, who planted the first vines, and they have not one word of gratitude for Carabantes, who is the Noah of our Homeland"*. Ricardo Palma, *Tradiciones peruanas* (Barcelona, Montaner y Simón, editores, 1894), II: 19. (Trans. by AM).

26 Pedro Nolasco Leal Cruz, "El término Canary en inglés. Análisis del uso de Canary, Sack y Malmsey en William Shakespeare", *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos* 61, 18 (2015): 1-12.

27 "A general name for a class of white wines formerly imported from Spain and the Canaries", *Oxford English Dictionary,* edición online, s.v. "sack, n. 3".

28 Tobias Venner, *Via recta ad vitam longam* (London, 1638), 32.

29 Archaic name that means "water of life" referring to an aqueous drink obtained by distilling wine. It could also be interpreted as the elixir of eternal life in the field of alchemy. Both cases allude to its high value (TN).

30 *"Their legs in their hands, their eyes upon their noses, and an Almanack in their bones"* means a person who has travelled a great deal, has an acute sense of smell and is highly educated, referring to experts in wine (TN).

31 James Howell, *The Familiar Letters of James Howell* (London, 1842), 457.

32 María Asunción Barreras Gómez, "La figura del vino en la obra de William Shakespeare", *Cuaderno de Investigación Filológica* n.º 33-34 (2007-2008): 9-54.

33 *Ibid*., 51. (Trans. by AM).

34 Fernando Rodríguez de la Torre, "Recolección (o cosecha) de todas las citas de vinos españoles en las obras de William Shakespeare", *Revista de Folklore,* n.º extra 1 (2012): 3-21.

35 Leal Cruz, *El término Canary*..., 1-12.

36 Laura Campillo Arnáiz, "La traducción histórica de los vinos españoles en las obras de Shakespeare", *Revista de Historia de la Traducción* 11 (2017): 1-10.

37 William Shakespeare, *Henry IV. Part I & part II* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2011), 175.

38 William Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (New York: Modern Library, 2011), 51.

39 William Shakespeare, *Major plays and the Sonnets*, edited by G.B. Harrison (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948), 572.

40 Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives…*, 62, 94; Shakespeare, H*enry IV*, 11, 15, 48, 48, 49, 55, 58, 64, 60, 61, 82, 95, 123, 149, 178, 180, 184; William Shakespeare, *Henry V* (Harlow: Longman Group, 1966), 59.

41 Meredith Goulding, "'A Case for the Epigram: Ben Jonson's Inviting a Friend to Supper'", *Sydney Studies in English* 8 (1982): 24.

42 Thespis, the first recorded actor in Greece, considered the father of theatre in European culture. "Thespian spring" refers to pitchers of wine that appear in a play that won the Dionysian Festival, Dionysius being the Greek God of wine and festivities (TN).

43 A colloquial way of referring to agents of the law (TN).

44 Ben Jonson, *Selected poetry* (London: Penguin Books, 1992), 40.

45 Ben Jonson, *The Works of Ben Jonson* (London: Thomas Hodgkin, 1692), 570.

46 *Ibid*., 29.

47 *Ibid*., 44.

48 *Ibid*., 224.

49 Ben Jonson, *Bartholmew Fayre: A Comedie, acted in the Yeare, 1614* (London: Robert Allot, 1631), 2.

50 Ben Jonson, *The Devil is an Ass* (New York: Henry Holt and Company 1905), 34.

51 Ben Jonson, *The Staple of News*, edited by Anthony Parr (Manchester-New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 253.

52 "Grapes, before Herrick *leave* Canary sack. / **Sack is my life, my leaven, salt to all / *My dearest dainties, nay, 'tis the principal / *Fire unto all my functions, gives me blood, / *An active spirit, full marrow, and, what is good, / Sack makes me sprightful, airy* to be borne, / Like Iphyclus, upon the tops of corn. / *Sack makes* me nimble, as the wingèd hours, / To dance and *caper o'er the tops* of flowers, / And ride the sunbeams. Can there be a thing / Under the *cope of heaven* that can bring / More joy unto my *soul*, or can present / My Genius with a fuller blandishment?". Italics illustrate the variations and asterisks the lines omitted in *Hesperides*. Manuscript version derived from the British Museum copies (Harl. 6931 and Add. 19,268). See *Robert Herrick, The Hesperides & the Noble Numbers*, edited by Alfred Pollard (London-New York: Lawrence & Bullen, 1898), I: 274, note 197.

53 José Tomás Monterrey Rodríguez, "The castalian liquor: goce y mitificación del vino canario en la literatura inglesa". In *Estudios de filología inglesa: homenaje a la Dra. Asunción Alba Pelayo,* coordinated by María Teresa Gilbert, Laura Alba and María Asunción Alba, (Madrid: UNED, 2008), 465.

54 Hercules' twin brother (TN).

55 Robert Herrick, *Selected Poems*, edited by David Jesson-Dibley (New York: Routledge, 2003), 35).

56 Thomas Nabbes, *Covent Garden: A Pleasant Comedie* (London: Richard Oulton, for Charles Greene 1638), 3.

57 *Ibid*., 15.

58 *Merry Milkmaid of Islington, or, The Rambling Gallants Defeated* (London: W. Mears, 1735), 31. In *Tottenham-Court Fair: A Pleasant Comedy* (London: James Robert, 1718), 74, we read "black Pot" instead of "A bottle of Canary"..

59 Richard Brome, *A Jovial Crew: or, The Merrry Beggars* (London, 1652), n.p.

60 Richard Warwick Bond, ed., *The Complete Works of John Lyly* (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1967 [1902[1]]), II: 322.

61 John Marston, *John Drum's Entertainment* (London, 1601), n.p.

62 Thomas Middleton, *A Mad World my Masters* (London, 1640 [1608]), n.p. Cf. T*he Works of Thomas Middleton*, edited by Alexander Dyce (London: Edward Lumley, Chancery Lane, 1840): IV, 103. Note the similarity with the poem by John Lyly in *Campaspe* (ver p. 57). Also included in Maynard, *A Tankard of Ale. An Anthology of Drinking Songs* (London, 1919), 30.

63 *Old English Plays being a Selection from the Early Dramatic Writers* (London: Whittingham & Rowland, 1815), 119.

64 *Ibid*., 157. Also included in Maynard, *A Tankard of Ale…*, 32.

65 Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Dramatic Works of Beaumont and Fletcher* (London: Former Editions, 1778), V: 75-76.

66 Probably referencing Pedro Ximénez wine. It might also be a local way of writing Pewter, a metal container made from brass and lead or copper (TN).

67 Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Dramatic Works…*, 17.

68 Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Custom of the Country* (London: J. & R. Tonson and S. Draper, 1750), II: 75.

69 Thomas Heywood and William Rowley, *Fortune by Land and Sea: A Tragi-Comedy* (London: John Sweeting and Robert Pollard, 1655), 4-5.

70 James Shirley, *Poems* &c. (London: Princes Armes in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1646), 29-30.

71 William Gifford, ed., *The Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley* (London, 1833), I: 290.

72 *Ibid*., 298.

73 *Ibid*., 392.

74 Lording Barry, *Ram-Alley: or, Merrie-Trickes. A Comedy diuers times here-to-fore acted by the Children of the Kings Reuels (*London: 1611), n.p.

75 Thomas Jordan, *Bacchu's Festival*: *or, A New Medley being a Musical Representation at the Entertainment of his Excellency the Lord General Monck (*Oxford, 2008).

76 Thomas Jordan, *Tricks or Youth: or, The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon with the Humours of Woodstreet-compter a Comedy* (London, 1663), n.p.

77 *Ibid*., 392.

78 John Lacy, *Sir Hercules Buffoon: or, The Poetical Squire: A Comedy, as it was acted at the Duke's Theatre* (London: Jo. Hindmarsh, 1684), 21.

79 Alexander Brome, *Songs and Other Poems by Alexander Brome* (London: Henry Brome, 1668[3]), 17-18. Published in the compilations of William Hutchinson, *Songs of the Vine* (London, 1904), 86.

80 Brome, *Songs…*, 74-75. Published in the compilation *Merry Drollery Compleat bring Jovial Poems, Merry Songs, &c.* (Boston, 1855 [1691]), 178-180, entitled "On Good Canary".

81 Brome, *Songs…*, 4-5.

82 *Ibid*., 16-17. Also published in Hutchinson, *Songs of the Vine*, 87; Maynard, *A Tankard of Ale…*, 87 and Thomas d'Urfey, *Wit and Mirth…*, III: 79-80.

83 Brome, *Songs…*, 95.

84 *Ibíd*, 155-156.

85 *Ibid*., 30.

86 *Ibid*., 59. Also included in Mackay, *The Cavalier Songs…*, 116-117.

87 *Ibid*., 56. Also quoted in Thomas d'Urfey, *Wit and Mirth: or, Pills to Purge Melancholy: Being a Collection of the best Merry Ballads and Songs, Old and New* (London: W. Pearson, 1719), V: 86 and in *Merry Drollery…*, 208, entitled "The Jovial Loyallist".

88 Brome, *Songs…*, 57. Included in Mackay, *The Cavalier Songs…*, 115.

89 *Ibid*., 178. Some of the verses are similar to the poem "The Answer", quoted on the previous page. In *Merry Drollery…*, 210, in fact, it appears with this title.

90 Monterrey, *The castalian liquor…*, 461. (Trans. by AM).

91 Original published in *Thomas Baskerville's Journeys in England*, Report of Historical Manuscripts Commission, 29. Report of the Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland (London, 1893), 275.

92 Angela McShane, "Drink, song and politics in early modern England", *Popular Music* 35: 2 (2016): 184.

93 James Orchard Halliwell (ed.), *The Loyal Garland: or, A Choice Collection of Songs Highly in Request, and Much Esteemed in the Past and Present Times* (London: Percy Society, 1850 [1686]), 53-55. Also published, with a few variations, in *Merry Drollery…*, 121-124. In the first, the title is "The Canary's Coronation" whereas in the second it is "Canary Crowned". Also included in Mackay, *The Cavalier Songs…*, 297-299.

94 *Ibid*., 72-74.

95 *Merry Drollery…*, 47.

96 Thomas d'Urfey, *Wit and Mirth…*, V: 66. Published in *Merry Drollery…*, 14 and in *The Loyal Garland*, 77-78.

97 Thomas Percy (ed.), *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (London, 1876) I: 176; Thomas Percy (ed.), *Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (London, 1910), 222.

98 *The Loyal Garland…*, 29. In *Merry Drollery…*, 98-99, it appears with the title "Merry Song", whereas it is published as"The New Droll" in *The Royal Garland…*, 28-29 and Mackay, *The Cavalier Songs…*, 286.

99 *The Loyal Garland…*, 25-26. Included in Mackay, *The Cavalier Songs…*, 285. This stanza was part of the poem "The Safety", by Alexander Brome, published in Brome, *Songs…*, 64.

100 John Payne Collier, ed., *A Book of Roxburghe Ballads* (London, 1847), 179.

101 Thomas d'Urfey, *Wit and Mirth…*, III: 62.

102 *Merry Drollery…*, 248. Previous verses of this poem read: "*There we will tipple free unto the memory / Of our fraternity drown'd in Canary*".

103 *Ibid*., 124.

104 Charles Hindley, *The Roxburghe Ballads* (London: Reeves & Turner, 1874), II: 131.

105 *Ibid*., 496.

106 Thomas d'Urfey, *Wit and Mirth…*, III: 18.

107 *Merry Drollery…*, 107.

108 *Merry Drollery…*, 208. Included in *The Royal Garland…*, 24 and in Mackay, *The Cavalier Songs…*, 288, with the title "The Royalist".

109 Thomas d'Urfey, *Wit and Mirth…*, III: 156.

110 Hindley, *The Roxburghe Ballads*, II: 305.

111 *Ibid*., 38.

112 *Merry Drollery…*, 12.

113 Antonio de Viana, *Antigüedades canarias* (La Laguna,

1905), 396, 161, 377, 386, 397. (Trans. by AM).

114 Quoted by Donald Lemen Clark, *John Milton at St. Paul's School. A Study of Ancient Rhetoric in English Renaissance Education* (New York: Archon Books, 1964), 90.

115 See note 66 for chapter 2.

116 *Pasquils Palinodia* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1619), 23.

117 Robin Robbins, ed. *The Complete Poems of John Donne* (London-New York: Routledge, 2008), 351.

118 Maynard, *A Tankard of Ale…*, 45. Published in Hindley, *The Roxburghe Ballads*, II: 32.

119 John Cleveland, *The Works of Mr. John Cleveland* (London, 1699), I: 252.

120 Thomas Jordan, *A Royal Arbor of Loyal Poesie consisting of Poems and Songs* (London, 1664), 44.

121 *Ibid*., 93.

122 *Ibid*., 96. Included in Maynard, *A Tankard of Ale…*, 81.

123 *Ibid*., 147.

124 Andrew Marvell, *The complete Works in Verse and Prose of Andrew Marvell* (London, 1872), I: 208-209.

125 Joseph Woodfall Ebsworth, ed., *The Roxburghe Ballads* (London: The Ballad Society, 1890), Part XX, Volume VII: 111.

126 Thomas d'Urfey, *Wit and Mirth…*, III: 327. Also included as "In praise of Sack" in *Merry Drollery…*, 293.

127 Hugh Crompton, *Pierides: or, The Muses Mount* (London: Charles Webb, 1658), 1. Published in Maynard, *A Tankard of Ale…*, 59; Hutchinson, *Songs of the Vine*, 60.

128 *Ibid*., 30.

129 Hugh Crompton, *Poems by Hugh Crompton, The Son of Bacchus, and God-Son of Apollo. Being A Fardle of Fancies: or, A Medley of Musick, stewed in four Ounces of the Oyl of Epigrams* (London: Rickaby, 1657), 98.

130 *Ibid*., 25.

131 Pun between playing a game and a theatrical play, meaning that it enjoyed great fame (TN).

132 Leigh Hunt, ed., *The Companion* (London: Hunt and Clarke, 1828), 91. Also included in en *Merry Drollery…*, 73.

133 Kenneth Hopkins, *The Poets Laureate* (London, 1954), 17.

134 Quoted by Barbara Sebek, "Canary, Bristoles, London, Ingleses: English Trades in the Canaries in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries". In *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: Literature and Culture in the Era of the Expansion, 1500 - 1700,* edited by Jyotsna G. Singh (Washington: John Wiley & Sons-Blackwell, 2021), 280.

135 Edmund Kemper Broadus, *The Laureateship: a Study of the Office of Poet Laureate in England* (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon, 1921), 61.

136 *Ibid*., 227-228.

137 Richard Head, *The English Rogue: Described in the Life of Meriton Latroon, A Witty Extravagant* (London: Henry Marsh, 1665), 195.

138 Anne Fanshawe, *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe* (London, 1830), 208.

139 Francis Godwin, *The Strange Voyage and Adventures of Domingo Gonsales, to the World in the Moon* (London: H. Batchellor, 1768), 28. Another passage reads: "*No sooner was I upon the Ground, but I found myself extreme hungry; stepping then to the next Tree, I fastened my Engine and Ganzas thereto, and in great Haste fell to examining my Pockets for the Victuals I had reserved there; but to my great Surprize and Vexation, instead of Partridges and Capons, which I thought I had hoarded there, I found nothing but a Medley of dry Leaves, Goats Hair, Sheep or Goats Dung, Moss, and the like; my Canary-wine was turned, and stunk like Horse-piss*". (*Ibid*., 22).

140 John Taylor, *The Pennyles Pilgrimage: or, The Money-lesse Perambulation* (London, 1618), 60.

141 James Howell, *The Familiar Letters of James Howell* (London, 1842), 457. In other letters, we can read: "*… in the Afternoon, gone out of the Church to a Tavern, and returning towards the evening pretty well heated with Canary, to look to his Roast, and his Wife falling to read him a loud lesson in so furious manner, as if she would have basted him instead of the Mutton, and among other reviling…*" (*Ibid*., 220); "*I have read of a King of Navarre (Charles le Mauvais) who perish'd in strong waters; and of a Duke of Clarence that was drown'd in a Butt of Malmsey : But Jack T. I fear will ide in a Butt of Canary. Howsoever commend me to him, and desire him to have a care of the main chance.*" (*Ibid*., 275).

142 Head, *The English Rogue…*, 98-100. Elsewhere in the novel he also makes mention of *Canary*: "*I got all ready by the time of her rising : she was extraordinarily well pleased in my double diligence of serving her : having applauded my industry an care of her, we fell to it, interlining every bit with a Glass of Canary*" (*Ibid*., 106); "*After several Congratulations past, order was given for a pint of Canary…*" (*Ibid*., 76); "*Come, be of good comfort, Man, Friends must part; and it is better to part here than at the Gallows. Go along with me, and we will wash fown sorrow; and with a Glass of neat Canary, antidote our hearts against any thing that may disturb them*" (*Ibid*., 104); "*And as I understood afterwards, he did her so much right, that she sent him in a half dozen of Bottles of Canary…*" (*Ibid*., 64); "*… and though I wanted liberty, which commonly doth depress the mind, yet by the virtue of Canary (wich I could not be without) my fancy scorned to be fetter'd, but would in spite of fate, use her freedom*" (*Ibid*., 347).

143 Alejandro Cioranescu, *Thomas Nichols. Mercader de azú-*

car, hispanista y hereje (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1963), 119, 111, 115, 121, 123.

144 Edmund Scory, "Extracts taken out of the Observations of tbe Right Worshipfull Sir Edmond Scory, Knight, of tbe Pike of Tenariffe, and otber rarities, which hee observed there", in Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his pilgrimage, or, Relations of the world and the religions observed in all ages and places discovered, from the creation vnto this present* (London, 1626), 285.

145 Robert Davis, ed., *The Life of Marmaduke Rawdon of Yorke*, (London: Candem Society, 1863), 21-23.

146 Markham, Clements R., ed. *The Hawkin's Voyages during the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth and James I* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1878), 12.

147 Girolamo Benzoni, *History of New World* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1857), 262.

148 Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *The voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1875), II: 266.

149 John Whithall, "A letter written to M. Richard Staper by John Whithall from Santos in Brasil, the 26. of June 1578". In Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations...* (London, 1599), XI: 26-30.

150 Anonymous, *The Honorable Actions of that Most Famous and Valiant Englishman, Edward Glemham, esquire, latelie obtained against the Spaniards, and the Holy Leauge, in foure sundrie fightes* (London: William Barley, 1591), n.p.

151 Robert Harcourt, *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana by Robert Harcourt, 1613* (London: Routledge, 1928), 95, 134.

152 Edward Barlow, *Barlow's Journal of his Life at Sea in King's Ships, East & West Indiamen & Other Merchantmen from 1659 to 1708*, transcribed from the original manuscript by Basil Lubbock (London: Hurst & Blackket, 1934), I: 142.

153 Johann von Leubelfing, *Ein schön lustig Reisbuch Vozniemals in Truck kommen Darinnen Begriffen in was gestalt die Herzen Staaden der Vnirten Niderländischen Provincien, ein Armada zugericht und auff dem Meer die Insulen in Hispanien und West Indien besuchen lassen* (Elm, 1612).

154 Peter Heylin, *Mikrokosmos. A Little Description of the Great World* (Oxford: John Lichfield and William Turner, 1612), 763-764.

155 Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal-Society of London* (London, 1667), 208.

156 Quoted by Marcos Sarmiento Pérez, *Las Islas Canarias en los textos alemanes (1496-1865).* Doctoral thesis directed by Luis Acosta Gómez and Manuel Lobo Cabrera (Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 2004), 32.

157 Jean-François Regnard, *Voyage de Normandie* (Paris: E.A. Lequien, 1820), I: 368-369. (Trans. by AM).

158 Berta Pico and Dolores Corbella, *Viajeros franceses a las Islas Canarias* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 2000), 56. (Trans. by AM).

159 André Thévet, *La singularité de la France Antarctique* (Paris: Maurice de la Porte, 1558*)*, 10. (Trans. by AM).

160 André Thevet, *Le grand Insulaire et pilotage d'André Thevet, Angoumoisin, cosmographe du Roy, dans lequel sont contenus plusieurs plants d'isles habitées et deshabitées et description d'icelles*. Manuscript ket at Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fol. 131r. (Trans. by PGG).

161 Jean Fontenau, *La cosmographie avec l'espère et régime du soleil et du* nord (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1904), 324-325. (Trans. by AM).

162 Alonso de Santa Cruz, *Islario general de todas las islas del mundo*, prólogo de Antonio Blázquez (Madrid: Patronato de Huérfanos de Intendencia e Intervención Militares, 1918), 353-361. (Trans. by AM).

163 José Manuel Montesdeoca Medina, "Las islas Canarias en los islarios (II)", *Fortunatae* 19 (2008): 115, 113. (Trans. by AM).

Notes for chapter 3

1 *Reglamento y ordenanza de su magestad de 6 de diciembre de 1718 sobre el comercio de las islas de Canaria, Tenerife y La Palma en Las Indias, 1718*. Quoted by María Cristina García Bernal, "Los navíos de permisión tras el Reglamento de 1718: una valoración cuantitativa (1720-1730)". In *V Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana*, coordinated by por Francisco Morales Padrón (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1982), I : 779-780. (Trans. by AM).

2 Quoted by Agustín Guimerá Ravina, *Burguesía extranjera y comercio atlántico. La empresa comercial irlandesa en Canarias (1703-1771)* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Consejería de Cultura y Deportes del Gobierno de Canarias-CSIC, 1985), 327. (Trans. by AM).

3 Quoted by Manuel Hernández González, "Algunos aspectos del cultivo de la vid en el Valle de La Orotava y la isla de Tenerife en el Antiguo Régimen", *El Pajar. Cuaderno de Etnografía Canaria* 13 (2002), 29. (Trans. by AM).

4 Manuel Hernández González, "La pugna entre los cosecheros y los mercaderes canarios por la introducción de aguardientes y vinos tintos peninsulares para el tráfico con el Caribe y Estados Unidos", *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos* 47 (2001): 14. (Trans. by AM).

5 Francisco Morales Padrón, *El comercio canario-americano (siglos XVI- XVII y XVIII)* (Seville: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1955), 96. (Trans. by AM).

6 Quoted by Francisco Morales Padrón, "Méritos, servicios y estado de las Canarias en 1761", *El Museo Canario* 21 (1960): 50-53. (Trans. by AM).

7 Quoted by Manuel Lobo Cabrera *et alli*, *Textos para la historia de Canarias* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Ediciones del Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1994), 309-310. (Trans. by AM).

8 Alonso de Nava y Grimón, "Escritos económicos", introduction by Antonio M. Bernal and Antonio M. Macías (La Laguna: Universidad de La Laguna, 1988), 14-15. (Trans. by AM).

9 Quoted by Cirilo Velázquez Ramos, "La isla del vino. Breve reseña histórica de un cultivo esencial: cinco tiempos de la vid y el vino en Tenerife". In *Semillas y letras. Exposición bibliográfica y documental*, coordinated by Delfina Galván Alonso (La Laguna: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de La Laguna, 2002), 69. Original document kept in Archivo de la Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País de Tenerife. Agricultura 5 (5/22) fol. 319 vto. (Trans. by AM).

10 Lope Antonio de la Guerra y Peña, *Memorias* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: El Museo Canario, 1951), I: 88. (Trans. by AM).

11 Quoted by Velázquez, *La isla del vino...*, 71. (Trans. by AM). Original document kept at the Archivo de la Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País de Tenerife. Agricultura 5 (5/22) fol. 244 vto. (Trans. by AM).

12 Published in Pedro Ontoria Oquillas, Luis Cola Benítez and Daniel García Pulido, *Fuentes documentales del 25 de julio de 1797* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Ayuntamiento de Santa Cruz de Tenerife - Museo Militar Regional de Canarias, 1997), 33. (Trans. by AM).

13 Quoted by Hernández González, *La pugna...*, 350. (Trans. by AM). A *síndico personero* is an his historic position, a kind of trustee and spokesperson for Tenerife (TN).

14 T.M. Hughes, *Revelations of Spain in 1845* (London: Henry Colburn, 1845), 347, 394.

15 Antonio M. Macías Hernández, "El paisaje vitícola de Canarias. Cinco siglos de historia", *Ería* 68 (2005): 360. (Trans. by AM).

16 Mathías Pedro Sánchez Bernalt, *Semihistoria de las fundaciones, residencias o colegios que tiene la Compañía de Jesús en Canarias. Origen y progresos y estado presente de ellas*, estudio introductorio de Francisco Fajardo Spínola (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 2008), 225. (Trans. by AM).

17 Juan Tous Meliá, *Descripción geográfica de las Islas Canarias (1740-1743) de D. Antonio Riviere* (Madrid, 1997), 192. (Trans. by AM).

18 George Glas, *The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands* (London: J. Dodsley, 1764), 196.

19 Pedro C. Quintana Andrés, "Las catástrofes volcánicas y la transformación del paisaje agrario en Canarias durante la edad moderna: Lanzarote 1730-1750", *Revista de Historia Moderna* 23 (2005), 233-260. (Trans. by AM).

20 Quoted by Luis Alberto Anaya Hernández and Manuel Lobo Cabrera, "Lanzarote en el siglo XVIII", *Tebeto: Anuario del Archivo Histórico Insular de Fuerteventura* 6 (1993): 75. (Trans. by AM).

21 José Agustín Álvarez Rixo, *Historia del Puerto de Arrecife* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Centro de la Cultura Popular Canaria, 1982), 141-142. (Trans. by AM).

22 Mathías Sánchez, *Semihistoria de las fundaciones...*, 218-219. (Trans. by AM).

23 Berta Pico and Dolores Corbella, *Viajeros franceses a las Islas Canarias* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 2000), 121-122. (Trans. by PGB).

24 Henri-Alexandre Tessier, "État de l'agriculture des Isles Canaries". In *Mémoires de l'Institut National des Sciences et Arts*. Paris: Baudouin, 1798, 274-276. (Trans. by PGB).

25 André-Pierre Ledru, *Voyage aux Iles de Ténériffe, La Trinité, Saint-Thomas, Sainte-Croix et Porto-Ricco* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1810), I: 23-25. (Trans. by PGB).

26 Francis Coleman Mac-Gregor, *Die Canarische Inseln* (Hannover, 1831), 151-152. (Trans. by PGB).

27 Juan Bautista Bandini, *Lecciones elementales de Agricultura teórica, práctica y económica para las enseñanzas de sus discípulos en las islas Canarias* (La Laguna, 1816), 38-39, 49. (Trans. by AM).

28 Daniel J. Browne, *Letters from te Canary Islands* (Boston: G. W. Light, 1834), 114-115.

29 Pico and Corbella, *Viajeros franceses...*, 86. (Trans. by PGB).

30 *Ibid*., 104-105, 102-103. (Trans. by PGB).

31 Mathías Sánchez, *Semihistoria de las fundaciones...*, 230. (Trans. by AM).

32 Mac-Gregor, *Die Canarische...*, 205. (Trans. by PGB).

33 Alfred Diston, *Los trajes canarios de Alfred Diston, Herederos de Dª María del Pilar de Lorenzo Cáceres de la Torre* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 2018); 150.

34 Browne, *Letters...*, 160-161.

35 Ildefonso Antonio Bermejo, *Viage ilustrado en las cinco partes del mundo* (Madrid, 1852), 332. (Trans. by AM).

36 Alexander von Humboldt, *Personal narrative of travels to the equinoctial regions of America, during the year 1799-1804* (London: Bohn), I: 116.

37 Johann Christian Schedel, *Neues und vollständiges Handbuch für Weinhändler, Kommissionaire, Speditörs und alle Weinliebhaber überhaup* (Leipzig: A. F. Böhme, 1790), 306.

Quoted by Marcos Sarmiento Pérez, *Las Islas Canarias en los textos alemanes (1496-1865).* Tesis doctoral dirigida por Luis Acosta Gómez y Manuel Lobo Cabrera (Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 2004), 32. (Trans. by PGB).

38 Ledru, *Voyage aux Iles de Ténériffe...*, 29-31. (Trans. by AM).

39 Sabin Berthelot, *Miscellanées canariennes (Histoire Naturelles des Iles Canaries)* (Paris: Béthune éditeur, 1839): I, 2nd part, 139. (Trans. by PGB).

40 Eugènne Pégot-Ogier, *Les Iles Fortunées: ou Archipel des Canaries* (Paris: A, Lacroix, 1869), I: 123. (Trans. by PGB).

41 Mathías Sánchez, *Semihistoria de las fundaciones...*, 180. (Trans. by AM).

42 Pedro Agustín del Castillo, *Descripción histórica y geográfica de las Islas de Canaria* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Imprenta Isleña, 1848), 267, 294. (Trans. by AM).

43 José de Viera y Clavijo, *Diccionario de historia natural de las Islas Canarias (*Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Imprenta de la Verdad, 1868), 150. (Trans. by AM).

44 Louis Feuillée, *Voyage aux isles Canaries, ou journal des observations physiques, mathématiques, botaniques et historiques, faites par ordre de Sa Majesté, par le R. P. Louis Feuillée, religieux Minime, mathématicien et botaniste du Roy. 1724*. Manuscript kept at Bibliothèque Nationale de France, pp. 34; 32. (Trans. by PGB).

45 Pico and Corbella, *Viajeros franceses...*, 121. (Trans. by PGB).

46 *Ibid*., 169. (Trans. by PGB).

47 Abbé Joseph Delaporte, *Le voyageur françois ou La connoissance de l´ancien et du nouveau monde* (Paris: L. Chellot, 1772), XV: 215-216. (Trans. by PGB).

48 Pico and Corbella, *Viajeros franceses...*, 180. (Trans. by PGB).

49 Ledru, *Voyage aux Iles de Ténériffe...*, 125-126. (Trans. by PGB).

50 Jean-Baptiste Bory de Saint-Vincent, *Essais sur les Isles Fortunées et l'antique Atlantide, ou Précis de l'histoire générale de l'archipel des Canaries* (Paris: Baudouin, 1803), 227. (Trans. by PGB).

51 Viera y Clavijo, *Diccionario...*, 97. (Trans. by AM).

52 José de Anchieta y Alarcón, *Diarios*, edited by Daniel García Pulido (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Ed. Idea, 2011), III: 227. (Trans. by AM).

53 Glas, *The History...*, 91.

54 Prévost, *Abrégé de l'Histoire Générale des Voyages* (Paris, 1820), I: 148, 157. (Trans. by PGB).

55 William Dampier, *A Voyage to New Holland, &c. In the year 1699* (London, 1729), III: 7.

56 Pico and Corbella, *Viajeros franceses...*, 104. (Trans. by PGB).

57 Quoted by Guimerá Ravina, *Burguesía extranjera...*, 327. (Trans. by AM).

58 *Ibid*., 325.

59 Jemima Kindersley, *Letters from the island of Teneriffe, Brazil, the Cape of Good Hope and the East Indies* (London, 1777), 17-18.

60 James Cook, *The three voyages of Captain James Cook round the world* (London, 1821), V: 120.

61 William Bligh, *A Voyage to the South Sea. For Conveying The Bread-Fruit Tree To The West Indies, Including An Account Of The Mutiny On Board The Ship* (London, 1792), 20.

62 Pico and Corbella, *Viajeros franceses...*, 180-181. (Trans. by PGB).

63 Ledru, *Voyage...*, 125-126. (Trans. by PGB).

64 Viera y Clavijo, *Diccionario...*, 449-450. (Trans. by AM).

65 Mac-Gregor, *Die Canarischen...*, 152-153. (Trans. by AM).

66 Diston, *Los trajes...*, p. 152.

67 James Holman, *Travels in Madeira, Sierra Leone, Teneriffe, St. Jago, Cape Coast, Fernando Poo, Prince's Island* (London: George Routledge, 1840), 37.

68 Julius von Minutoli, *Die Canarischen Inseln, ihre Vergangenheit und Zukunft* (Berlin, 1854), 54. (Trans. by PGB).

69 Giovanni Borghesi di Mondovì, *Informe del viaje desde Tenerife hasta Pondicherry, en la costa de Coromandel* (Rome, 1704). (Trans. by AM).

70 Daniel Beeckman, *A Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo in the East-Indies* (London, 1718), 6.

71 Viera y Clavijo, *Diccionario...*, 96. (Trans. by AM).

72 Humboldt, *The Travels...*, 40.

73 Pico and Corbella, *Viajeros franceses...*, 120, 104-105. (Trans. by PGB).

74 Feuillée, *Voyage aux isles Canaries...,* 34, 153. (Trans. by PGB).

75 Diston, *Los trajes...*, 152.

76 Pico and Corbella, *Viajeros franceses...*, 81. (Trans. by PGB).

77 Prévost, *Canarias...*, 99-100. (Trans. by PGB).

78 Theophil Friedrich Ehrmann, *Geschichte der merkwürdigsten Reisen welche seit dem zwölften Jahrhunderte zu Wasser und zu Land unternommen worden sind* (Frankfurt, 1794), 11-12: 190. (Trans. by PGB).

79 George B. Wood and Bache Franklin, *The Dispensatory of the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Grigg & Elliot), 1836[3], 673.

80 John Quincy, *Pharmacopoeia Officinalis Extemporanea: or, A Compleat English Dispensatory* (London: A. Bell, 1729), 386.

81 *Pharmacopeia Londinensis* (London, 1682), 182.

82 Glas, *The History…* On the customs of the peasants of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, see p. 202. On these two islands, pp. 195-196; Gran Canaria, p. 232; Tenerife, p. 262; La Palma, p. 267; La Gomera, p. 273; El Hierro, p. 274.

83 María Ángeles Pérez Samper, "La alimentación en la corte española del siglo XVIII", *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna. Anejos,* 2 (2003), 161.

84 Carlos Cólogan, *Tenerife Wine. El comercio de vinos. Siglo XVIII [1760-1797].* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Cajasiete - Mutua Tinerfeña - Cabildo Insular de Tenerife, 2017), 38.

85 Conde de Fernán Núñez, *Vida de Carlos III* (Madrid: Librería de los Bibliófilos Fernando Fé, 1854), 49, 56. The writer Luis Coloma also provides an account of this: "*Dinner was at nine thirty on the dot, and the same dishes were invariably served: soup, roast veal, a fresh egg, salad, with water, sugar, and vinegar, and a cup of Canary wine, in which he would dip small pieces of toasted bread and drink the rest*". Luis Coloma, *Retratos de antaño* (Madrid, 1895), 232. (Trans. by AM).

86 Quoted by Cólogan, *Tenerife Wine…*, 41. Original document kept at the Archivo Provincial de Santa Cruz de Tenerife, AZC, Corr. 525/24. (Trans. by AM).

87 Guimerá Ravina, *Burguesía extranjera…*, 323-325.

88 See Manuel Rodríguez Mesa, *Un canario al servicio de Carlos III: José de Bethencourt y Castro* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1988).

89 Quoted by Rafael Padrón Fernández (ed.), *Viera y Clavijo. Diario de viaje a Francia y Flandes* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 2008), 77-78, n. 350. Original document published in *Copiador de algunas cartas familiares…, ms. Cit.,* tomo II, fol. 24r. (Trans. by AM).

90 José de Viera y Clavijo, *Diario é itinerario de mi viaje, Francia y Flandes* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Imprenta, Litografía y Librería Isleña, 1777-1778), 38-39. (Trans. by AM).

91 Agustín de Betancourt y Molina, Correspondencia de la familia Betancourt, 1815-1842. Online resource published by the Fundación Canaria Orotava para la Historia de la Ciencia. Available at: https://fundacionorotava.es/pynakes/lise/betan_corre_es_04_1815/18/. Viewed 1st July 2022. (Trans. by AM).

92 José Cadalso, *Anales de cinco días o carta de un amigo a otro*, *Obras* (Madrid, 1878), III: 92. (Trans. by AM).

93 Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire: Théatre. La Henriade. La Pucelle. Poésies* (Paris: Chez Furne, 1835), II: 718. (Trans. by PGB).

94 Albert Cahen (ed.), *Lettres du XVIIe siècle. Lettres choisies de Voltaire, Mme Du Deffand, Diderot, Mme Roland et de divers auteurs* (Paris: Armand Colin et Cie, 1894), 147. (Trans. by PGB).

95 Benito Jerónimo Feijoo y Montenegro, *Cartas eruditas y curiosas* (Madrid, 1770), V: 240. (Trans. by AM).

96 Johann Albrecht de Mandelslo, *The Voyages and Travels of J. Albrecht de Mandelslo into the East Indies* (London, 1669), 81. Cf. M. S. Commisariat, ed., *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India* (London-Bombay-Calcuta-Madras, OUP, 1911), 69.

97 Feijoo y Montenegro, *Cartas eruditas…*, V: 240. (Trans. by AM). See also the letters published in *Misiones dominicanas en China* (1700-1750) (Madrid: CSIC, 1952), with frequent allusions to *Canary Wine* for liturgical and medical purposes.

98 See for example François Bernier, *Voyages de François Bernier* (Paris, 1830), I: 314, who says: "*… et qu'ils ont expérimenté qu'un peu de bon vin de Grave, de Canarie ou de Chiras, est un merveilleux antidote contre le mauvais air*".

99 Mandelslo, *The Voyages…*, 81. Cf. Commisariat, *Mandelslo's Travels…*, 69. The anecdote was recovered and published in *The Pennsylvania Packet* de 22 de febrero de 1773. See Cólogan, *Tenerife Wine…*, 240-241.

100 *The Travels of Certain Learned Missioners of the Society of Jesus into Divers Parts of the Archipelago, India, China, and America* (London, 1714), 169.

101 Guy Tachard, *A Relation of the Voyage to Siam Performed by Six Jesuits* (London, 1688), 60.

102 John Bell, *Travels from St. Petersburgh in Russia to various parts of Asia* (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1738), II: 8.

103 Guimerá Ravina, *Burguesía extranjera…*, 329.

104 Another play by Goldoni, entitled *La buona muoglie* (1749), was translated into Spanish from the Italian by the Spanish playwright and scholar Manuel Fermín de Laviano with the title *La buena casada* (Barcelona, 1796). "*Vino de Cipro*", in Goldoni's original, is translated as "*vino de Canarias*". Something similar also occurs in other plays, such as the comedy *Gli amori di Comingio*, by G.A. Gualzetti. In the Spanish adaptation by playwright Francisco Comella, "*rosolio*" is translated as "*vino de Canarias*" (Madrid, 1792, 4). It says: "*He takes his time / This Prospero! /This is not Canary wine!*", whereas the original reads: "*Prospero non si ha rotto la nuca del collo. Viene queso rosolio?*" (Giacomo A. Gualzetti, *Gli amori di Comingio*, Milano, 1829, 16). (Trans. by AM).

105 The reference of this work says: "*No one can think that spears are like tickles and no one can tell their mouth that vinegar is wine from the Canary Islands*". Quoted by Catherine Täger Pérez, "El Canary Wine en la literatura anglo-alemana. Una historia de amor encerrada en los libros". In *Jornadas Históricas Canary Wine. Universidad de La Laguna – DOP Islas Canarias. I Edición 2017 y II Edición 2021*, coordinated by Carlos Fernández

Hernández, Gabriel Santos García and Javier Luis Álvarez Santos (La Laguna: DOP Islas Canarias-FGULL, 2022), 39.

106 Daniel Defoe, *The Four Years Voyages of capt. George Roberts* (London, 1726), 4, 11.

107 Giacomo Casanova, *Mémoires de Jacques Casanova de Seingalt* (Paris, Ponthieu et Comp., 1827), IV: 408. (Trans. by PGB).

108 Giacomo Casanova, *Mémoires de Jacques Casanova de Seingalt* (Paris, Paulin, Libraire-éditeur, 1833), I: 414. (Trans. by PGB).

109 Samuel Richardson, *Pamela: or, Virtue rewarded in a series of Familiar Letters from a Beautiful Young Damsel, to her Parents* (London, 1785), II: 93, 94. Elsewhere in this book, he mentions *Canary*. Interestingly, in the different English language editions, we sometimes see *Canary* whereas in others *sherry-brandy*. For example, in the 1873 edition, published by Routledge, on p. 177 we see: *"Mrs. Jewkes brought two bottles of canary, and two of cinnamon-water, and some cake"*, whereas in the 1785 edition, on p. 147, it says: *"Mrs. Jewkes brought two bottles of cherry-brandy, and two of cinnamon-water, and some cake"*. Furthermore, some translations into Spanish changed the original. For example, in the passage quoted above, "*Sack*" is translated as "*Canarias*" and "*Canary*" as "*vino generoso*". The Spanish text, published in Madrid in 1789, volume III, says: "*Cada uno de los concurrentes bebió un vaso de vino de Canarias* [*Sack*, in the original text] [...] *Yo le respondí, que después del paseo que habían dado, un vaso de vino generoso* [*Canary*, in the original text] *era un estomacal que les haría mucho provecho*". In another novel by Richardson, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*, we find something similar. The Spanish translation, published in 1793, p. 239, says: "*... entregó a su amo un pañuelo con bollos y dulces, y también una botella de vino de Canarias con un vaso*", whereas the original reads:"*...one of his men came up, and put a handkerchief into his master's hands, in which were some cakes and sweetmeats; and gave him also a bottle of sack, with a glass*". Samuel Richardson, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison* (Dublin,1870),I:240.

110 Carlo Goldoni, *La locandiera. Commedia* (Monaco: Giorgio Franz, 1848), 56. (Trans. by AM).

111 In the Danish versions it is given as *Kanari-Sek* o *Canari-Sæk*. See Ludvig Holberg, *Jeppe paa Bjerget, eller Den forvandlede bonde* (Copenhague, 1861), 21; Ludvig Holberg, *Holbergs Comedier i eet Bind* (Copenhague, 1876), 71.

112 Ludvig Holberg, *Jeppe on the Hill*, translated by Martin B. Ruud (North Dakota, 1906), 34. Cf. Holberg, *Jeppe paa Bjerget...*, 21.

113 Holberg, *Uden Hoved og Hale...*, 153.

114 Samuel Sewall, *Diary of Samuel Sewall*. 1674-1729 (Boston, 1878), 15. In another passage he comments: "*In the evening Mr. Cooke, Secretary, major Brown, Mr. Sergeant and I waited on Mr. Eliakim Hutchinson, and perwaded him not to decline serving. He treated us with Canary*". (*Ibid*., 34).

115 Quoted by Irma Jane Cooper, *The Life and Public Services of James Logan* (New York, 1921), 54.

116 Antoine Bertin, *Poésies et oeuvres diverses* (Paris: Au Bureau des Éditeurs, 1879), 265. (Trans. by AM).

117 Lope Antonio de la Guerra y Peña, *Memorias* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: El Museo Canario, 1951), I: 196. (Trans. by AM).

118 Quoted by Cólogan, *Tenerife Wine...*, 64.

119 William Harrison Ainsworth, *Jack Sheppard* (London: Richard Bentley, 1839), I: 88.

120 John Keats, *The Complete Poems*, edited by J. Barnard (London: Penguin Books, 1988 [1818]), 225.

121 Walter Scott, *Old Mortality* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1913), 100. The Spanish translation (Barcelona, 1838, p. 43), incorporates *Canary Wine* even though it is not in the original text.

122 Walter Scott, *The Antiquary* (London-Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1893), 25-26.

123 Walter Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1966 [1819]), 149.

124 Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2004), 254.

125 *Ibid*., 603. We decided to include this reference even though it does not explicitly mention *Canary* but rather *Sack*. However, it is possible that Scott is referring to Canary here, since he mentioned it previously in this novel. Furthermore, he names it alongside Malvasia wine. In addition, also in the case of Walter Scott, some translations into Spanish introduced "*vino de Canarias*", even though it is not mentioned in the original, as in the passage mentioned previously, in which Juan Tomás y Salvany (Barcelona, 1883, volume II, 236), translates *Sack* as "*vino de Canarias*". Another version reads: "*Había echado mano a un tonelito de vino de Canarias, y disponíame a llamar en mi ayuda a uno de esos haraganes...*" (*Ibid*., 108); whereas the original says: "*I had caught up one runlet of sack, and was coming to call more aid among these lazy knaves...*" (*Ibid*., 255).

126 Walter Scott, *Kenilworth* (Boston: Dana Estes & Company, 1893), 4. In the translation by Vicente Pagasartundúa (translated from French and published in Bordeaux in 1838) the term "*Canarias*" is used for "*Sack*": "*En todo caso, añadió el posa- dero, llenando un vaso de Canarias: de todo mi Corazón Dios lo tenga en paz*" (p. 13), whereas in the original we read: " *'I doubt his end will never do such credit to his friends: were it so, I should say —(taking another cup of sack— " 'Here's God rest him, with all my heart' "*. (*Ibid*., 7).

127 *Ibid*., 3.

128 Walter Scott, *The Fortunes of Nigel* (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1871), 162-163.

129 Walter Scott, *Woodstock* (London, 1897), 530.

130 Walter Scott, *The Fair Maid of Perth: or, St. Valentine's Day* (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1863), 277.

131 Walter Scott, *Peveril of the Peak* (Philadelphia, 1823), II: 198.

132 William Harrison Ainsworth, W., *Saint James's : or, The Court of Queen Anne. The Historical Romance* (London, 1850), 52. In another work, *Boscobel: or, the royal oak. A Tale of the Year* (London, 1651), it reads: "*Plenty of provisions and an abundant supply of good liquor —ale, perry, cider, canary, sack, and other wines, were sent them by the mayor and sheriff*".

133 Ainsworth, *Jack Sheppard*, I: 212.

134 Thomas Moore, *Life of Lord Byron: with his Letters and Journals* (London: John Murray, 1854), II: 222.

135 Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables* (London, 1907), 10.

136 Charles Lamb, *The Poetical Works of Charles Lamb* (Philadelphia: E.H. Butler, 1858), 31.

137 Thomas Love Peacock, *Maid Marian* (London, 1891), 24, 53, 56 and 163. Judging by the recurrent mentions of *Canary* and *Canary Sack*, Love Peacock must have known of these wines or at least have been interested in reflecting the literary tradition in these kinds of historical novels. These instances include: "*I yield to him in this. My strong points are venison and canary*" (p. 30); "*I presume you have some other business with me than to eat my beef and drink my canary…*" (p. 39); "*He that comes to take them shall first serve me as the friar serves my flasks of canary…*" (p. 42); " *'Under favour, bold baron'," said the friar; but the friar was warm with canary, and in his singing vein…*" (p. 51); " *'Odso ! courteous knight', said the baron, 'is this the return you make for my beef and canary, when you kissed my daughter's hand in token of contrition for your intermedding at her wedding?'* " (p. 141), "*The friar produced a flask of canary*" (p. 148); "*The friar now conducted them to his peaceful cell, where he spread his frugal board with fish, venison, wild-fowl, fruit and canary.*" (p. 150); "*The friar fidgetted about in his seat: fell into a deep musing: shook himself, and looked about him : first at Marian, then at Robin, then at Marian again; filled and tossed of a cup of canary…*" (p. 150); "*In lonely hut himself he shut, / The friar of Rubygill; / Where the ghostly elf absolved himself, / To follow his own good will : / And he had no lack of canary sack…*" (p. 154); " *'I think,' said the friar, 'you never saw one that blushed not, or you saw good canary thrown away. But you are welcome to laugh if it so please you.'* " (p. 154).

138 James Malcolm Rymer, "Ada, the Betrayed; or, The Murder at the Old Smithy. A Romance of Passion", *Lloyd's Penny Weekly Miscellany of Romance and General Interest* (London: Lloyd, 1843), 70. Other mentions of *Canary* in this story are: "*I will make you the partaker of the value of a couple of gold pieces melted down into humming ale, spiced canary, sack, or choice Rhenish—ay?*" (p. 87); " *'Here, come back with a bowl of punch,' cried Britton; 'and, do you hear, some spiced canary—come, quick!'* " (*Ibid*., 247); "*Your worship's majesty had just ordered cans of spiced canary all round, as you went off to sleep like a babe*." (*Ibid*., 260); " *'Bring me some spiced canary, and keep every body out of here'. 'Yes, your majesty—most certainly—oh dear yes!'. 'The spiced canary was soon set before the precious couple, and then Britton, after a hearty draught, handed the liquor to the butcher…*" (*Ibid*., 536).

139 Immanuel Kant, *Critique Of Aesthetic Judgement* (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1911), 51-52.

140 Täger, *El Canary Wine…*, 39.

141 Quoted by Täger, *El Canary Wine…*, 39.

142 Johann Gottfried Schnabel, *Die Insel Fenselburg*, first part (Berlin: B. Behr's Verlag, 1902), 70. (Trans. by PGB).

143 Christoph Martin Wieland, *The Adventures of Don Sylvio de Rosalva* (London: Routledge, 1904), 319. (Trans. by PGB).

144 Johann David Wyss, *The Swiss Family Robinson* (New York-London: Harper & Brothers, 1909), 74.

145 *Ibid*., 426.

146 *Ibid*., 568.

Notes for chapter 4

1 Ricardo Ruiz y Aguilar, *Estancia en Tenerife: 1866-1867* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Cabildo Insular de Tenerife, 2000), 85. In another letter, dated 10 October 1867, he adds: "The vineyards, the main source of wealth, were lost, leaving many families ruined.", (Ibid., 97-98). (Trans. by AM).

2 Amado Zurita, *Ligeros apuntes sobre el estado general de la agricultura en Canarias y mejoras que pueden introducirse* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Imprenta isleña, 1893), 21-22. (Trans. by AM).

3 Cirilo Velázquez Ramos, "La isla del vino. Breve reseña histórica de un cultivo esencial: cinco tiempos de la vid y el vino en Tenerife". In *Semillas y letras. Exposición bibliográfica y documental*, coordinated by Delfina Galván Alonso (La Laguna: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de La Laguna, 2002), 82. (Trans. by AM).

4 Telesforo Bravo, *Geografía General de las Islas Canarias* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Goya Ediciones, 1964), I: 255. (Trans. by AM).

5 Julio Rodríguez Rodríguez, *La vid y los vinos de Canarias* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Goya Ediciones, 1970), 201. (Trans. by AM).

6 *Diario de Avisos*, 20 de septiembre de 1992. (Trans. by AM).

7 Véase Daniel García Pulido, "Sobre la literatura de viajes y los viajeros. Olivia M. Stone: aproximación a una biografía desconocida", *Revista de Filología* 39 (2019): 202.

8 Elizabeth Murray, *Sixteen Years of an Artist's Life in Morocco, Spain, and the Canary Islands* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1859), I: 286; II: 4.

9 See page 45 of this publication.

10 Olivia Stone, *Tenerife and Its Six Satellites, or The Canary Islands Past and Present* (London: Marcus Ward & Co., 1887), I: 81-83.

11 Thomas Debary, *Notes of a Residence in the Canary Islands, South of Spain, and Algiers* (London: Francis & John Rivington, 1859), 95.

12 Charles Piazzi Smyth, *Teneriffe, An Astronomer's Experiment: or, Specialities of a Residence Above the Clouds* (London: Lovell Reeve, 1858), 407.

13 Hermann Christ, *Eine Frühlingsfahrt nach den Canarischen Inseln* (Basel, 1886), 3. (Trans. by PGB).

14 Isaac Latimer, *Notas de un viaje a las islas de Tenerife y Gran C*anaria. *(Un clima de verano en invierno),* translation by José Antonio Delgado Luis; critical study of Manuel Hernández González (La Orotava: Ayuntamiento de La Orotava), 123-124. (Trans. by AM).

15 Alfred Burdon Ellis, *West African Islands* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1885), 192.

16 Anna Brassey, *A Voyage in the 'Sunbeam'. Our Home on the Ocean for Eleven Months* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1878), 30.

17 Jules Leclercq, *Voyage Aux Iles Fortuneés, le pic de Téneriffe et les Canaries* (Paris: E. Plon et Cie., 1880), 60. (Trans. by PGB).

18 Charles Edwardes, *Rides and Studies in the Canary Islands* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1888), 52-53.

19 Mariano Nougués Secall, *Cartas histórico-filosófico-administrativas sobre las Islas Canarias* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1858), 80-89. (Trans. by AM).

20 Stone, *Tenerife and Its Six Satellites*, I: 83.

21 René Verneau, *Cinq années de séjour aux Îles Canaries* (Paris: A. Hennyer, 1891), 385-386. (Trans. by PGB).

22 Henry Vizetelly, *Facts about Port and Madeira* (London, 1890), 204-209.

23 Richard F. Burton, *To the Gold Coast for Gold. A Personal Narrative* (London: Spottiswoode and Co., 1883), I: 254-256.

24 See the page 45 of this publication.

25 Vizetelly, *Facts about Port*..., 206.

26 Burton, *To the Gold Coast*..., I: 252-253.

27 Nicolás González Lemus, "La Producción vitivinícola en Tenerife y el viaje del enólogo británico Henry Vizetelly en 1877", *Vinaletras* 2 (2009): 24. (Trans. by AM).

28 Edwardes, *Rides and Studies*..., 53.

29 Johann Büttikofer, *Travel Sketches from Liberia*, translated and edited by Henk Dop and Philip T. Robinson (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013), 252. Cf. Catherine Täger Pérez, "El Canary Wine en la literatura anglo-alemana. Una historia de amor encer*rada en los libros". In Jornadas Históricas Canary Wine. Universidad de La Laguna – DOP Islas Canarias. I Edición 2017 y II Edición 2021,* coordinated by Carlos Fernández Hernández, Gabriel Santos García and Javier Luis Álvarez Santos (La Laguna: FGULL, 2022), 41.

30 Ricardo Ruiz y Aguilar, *Estancia en Tenerife*..., 97-98. (Trans. by AM).

31 Vizetelly, *Facts about Port*..., 204-209.

32 Pedro Nolasco Leal Cruz, "Las Palmas de Gran Canaria según las catorce ediciones de la obra del escritor inglés de viajes Alfred Samler Brown (período de 1889-1932)", *XX Coloquio de Historia canario-americana*, coord. by Elena Acosta Guerrero (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 2014), 505.

33 Alfred Samler Brown, *Madeira and the Canary Islands with the Azores. Practical and Complete Guide for the use of invalids and tourists* (London, 1901), 276.

34 *Ibid*., 195.

35 *Ibid*., 237.

36 *Ibid*., 195.

37 *Ibid*., 276-277.

38 Florence Du Cane and Ella Du Cane, *The Canary Islands* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1911), 3, 68.

39 *Ibid*., 117-118.

40 Louis Proust and Charles Joseph Pitard, *Les Îles Canaries: Description de l'archipel* (Paris: E. Guilmoto, éditeur, 1908), 114-115. (Trans. by PGB).

41 Jean Mascart, *Impressions et observations dans un voyage à Ténérife* (Paris: Ernest Flammarion, 1911), 138. (Trans. by PGB).

42 Katharina von Pommer-Esche, *Las Islas Canarias*, introduction and translation into Spanish by Elia Hernández Socas (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Ed. Idea, 2009), 88. (Trans. by PGB).

43 Elizabeth Nicholas, *Canarias* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Ed. Idea, 2004), 115. (Trans. by PGB).

44 *Ibid*., 94-96.

45 *Ibid*., 140-141.

46 Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Black Arrow : A Tale of the Two Roses* (London: Cassel & Company, 1888), 60; 91; 92.

47 Thomas Mayne-Reid, *The Ocean Waifs, a Story of Adventure on Land and Sea* (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1872), 353-354.

48 Charles Kingsley, *Westward Ho!* (Philadelphia: Collins Clear Type Press 1920), 150.

49 Paul Peppergrass, *The Spaewife: or, The Queen's Secret. A Story of the Reign of Elizabeth* (London, 1853), II: 41.

50 *Ibid*., II: 604. Also mentioned in this same play: *"At least as yesterday, Mister Crimp; her majesty's messenger, on his way to Liston, alighted to quaff a stoup o' Canary, and averred she was yet ailing, but out of danger"*. (Ibid., 216).

51 Joseph Spillmann, *The Wonderful Flower of Woxindon* (Saint-Louis: Herder, 1896), 13.

52 *Robin Hood* (Philadelphia-Chicago: The John C. Winston Co., 1923), edited by George Cockburn Harvey with illustrations by Edwin John Prittie, which mentions *Canary wine*.

53 Arthur Conan Doyle, *Micah Clarke. His statement as made to his three grandchildren, Joseph, Gervas & Reuben, during the hard winter of 1734* (London, 1912), 14.

54 *Ibid*., 324.

55 Samuel Rutherford Crockett, *The Grey Man* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896), 15-16, 19.

56 Howard Pyle, *The Merry Adventures of Robin Hood* (New York, 1892), 67.

57 *Ibid*., 201. Cf. 111.

58 Margery Allingham, *Black'erchief Dick* (Garden City-New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1923), 47.

59 *Ibid*., 39-40.

60 Herman Melville, *Bartleby & Benito Cereno* (New York: Dover Publications, 1990), 78-79.

61 Edward R. Burroughs, *The Outlaw of Torn* (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2005), 104.

62 Louise Chandler Moulton, *At the Wind's Will. Lyrics and Sonnets* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1899), 143.

63 Alfred Noyes, *Collected Poems* (New York: Frederick A. Stockes Company, 1913), II: 277.

64 *Ibid*., 305, 317, 321.

65 H.G. Wells, *Tono-Bungay* (London: Collins, 1953), 107-108.

66 H.G. Wells, *Experiment in Autobiography* (London-Boston: Faber and Faber, 1934), II: 532.

67 Victor Hugo, *Les miserables*, translation by Lee Fabnestock and Norman MacAfee (New York: New American Library, 1987), 136.

68 Alexandre Dumas, *Grand dictionnaire de cuisine* (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, éditeur, 1873), 962, 1026. (Trans by AM).

69 *Ibid*., 1095, 1107. (Trans by AM).

70 Téophile Gautier, *The Complete Works of Théophile Gautier* (New York: Bigelow, Smith & Co., 1910), IX: 38. (Trans by PGB).

71 *Ibid*., 259.

72 Théophile Gautier, *The Works of Théophile Gautier: Avatar. Jettatura. The water-pavillion* (New York, 1902), 279. (Trans by PGB).

73 Théophile Gautier, *Partie carrée* (Paris: G. Charpentier et Cie. éditeurs, 1889), 4. (Trans. by PGB).

74 Eugène Sue, *Deux Histoires. Aventures d'Hercule Hardi (1772) et Le Colonel de Surville Histoire du temps de l'Empire (1810)*. (Paris, 1860), 6b. (Trans. by PGB).

75 Eugène Sue, *Le Morne-au-diable ou l'aventurier* (Paris: Gosse, 1842): I, 77-79. (Trans. by PGB).

76 Xavier du Montépin, *Les marionnettes du diable* (Paris, 1860), VII: 129, 131. (Trans. by PGB).

77 Hippolyte Lefebvre and Jacques Lambert, *Une Vengeance de Pierrot* (Paris, 1865), 19. (Trans by PGB).

78 Jules Verne, *Seconde patrie* (Paris: Bibliothèque d'Éducation et de Récréation, 1900), 51, 89, 216. (Trans by PGB).

79 Moritz Hartmann, *Der Gefangene von Chillon* (Stuttgart, 1873), 4. (Trans by PGB).

80 Adolf Mützelburg, *Fata Morgana* (Berlín, 1851), 16. (Trans. by PGB).

81 Aleksandr Kuprin, *El brazalete de rubíes* (Madrid, 1920), 145. (Trans. by PGB).

82 Friedrich Freiherr von Ostini, *Arme Seelen : Geschichten und Schnurren* (Stuttgart, Verlag von Adolf Boz, 1910), 183. (Trans. by PGB).

83 Manuel Soriano, *Los emparedados* (Madrid, 1893), 21. (Trans. by AM).

84 María Rosa Alonso, *San Borondón, signo de Tenerife (Artículos, notas, crónicas) 1932-1936* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Valentín Sanz, 1940), 86. (Trans. by AM).

85 Leoncio Rodríguez, *Estampas tinerfeñas* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 2016), 162-165. (Trans. by AM).

86 Andrés de Lorenzo-Cáceres, *Malvasía y Falstaff. Los vinos de Canarias* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1944), 16, 35. (Trans. by AM).

87 Rafael Arozarena, *Marariá* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Interinsular Canaria-Cabildo de Lanzarote, 2022), 133. (Trans. by AM).

88 Benito Pérez Armas, "La tierra y el poeta", *Siglo XX. Semanario de ciencias, literatura y artes*, 9-XI-1900. (Trans by AM).

Bibliography

Abreu Galindo, Juan de. *Historia de la conquista de las siete islas de Gran Canari*a. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Imprenta Valentín Sanz, 1940.

Ainsworth, William Harrison. *Jack Sheppard*. Vol. I. London: Richard Bentley, 1839.

Ainsworth, William Harrison. *Saint James's : or, The Court of Queen Anne. The Historical Romance*. London, 1850.

Ainsworth, William Harrison. *Boscobel: or, The Royal Oak. A Tale of the Year*. London, 1851.

Allingham, Margery. *Black'erchief Dick*. Garden City-New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1923.

Alonso, María Rosa. *San Borondón, signo de Tenerife. Artículos, notas, crónicas 1932-1936*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Valentín Sanz, 1940.

Álvarez Rixo, José A. *Historia del Puerto de Arrecife*. La Laguna: Centro de la Cultura Popular Canaria, 1982.

Álvarez Santos, Javier Luis. "Redes transfronterizas en un Atlántico dinámico: la inserción de la agencia portuguesa en América española a través de Canarias (1580–1640)". *Anuario Latinoamericano Ciencias Políticas y Relaciones Internacionales*, n.º 10 (2020): 203–218

Anaya Hernández, Alberto and Manuel Lobo Cabrera. "Lanzarote en el siglo XVIII". *Tebeto: Anuario del Archivo Histórico Insular de Fuerteventura*, n.º 6 (1993): 47-80.

Anchieta y Alarcón, José de. *Diarios*. Volume II. Edited by Daniel García Pulido. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Ed.Idea, 2011.

Anonymous. *The Honorable Actions of that Most Famous and Valiant Englishman, Edward Glemham, esquire, lateile obtained against the Spaniards, and the Holy League, in foure sundrie fightes*. London: William Barley, 1591.

Arozarena, Rafael. *Mararía*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Interinsular Canaria - Cabildo de Lanzarote, 2022.

Aznar Vallejo, Eduardo. *Documentos canarios en el Registro del Sello (1476.1517)*. La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1981.

Aznar Vallejo, Eduardo. "La vid y el vino en los nuevos espacios atlánticos La evolución del mercado canario". *Bajo Guadalquivir y Mundos Atlánticos*, n.º 03 (2003): 28-51.

Aznar, Eduardo and Dolores Corbella. *África y sus islas en el Manuscrito de Valentim Fernandes*. Madrid: Dykinson, 2021.

Aznar Vallejo, Eduardo, Dolores Corbella Díaz, Berta Pico Graña and Antonio Tejera Gaspar. *Le Canarien. Retrato de dos mundos. I. Textos (1402-1494)*. La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 2007.

Aznar Vallejo, Eduardo, Dolores Corbella Díaz and Antonio Tejera Gaspar. *Los viajes africanos de Alvise Cadamosto (1455-1456)*. La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 2017.

Bandini, Juan Bautista. *Lecciones elementales de Agricultura teórica, práctica y económica para las enseñanzas de sus discípulos en las islas Canarias*. La Laguna: Imprenta de Bazzanti, 1816.

Barlow, Edward. *Barlow's Journal of his Life at Sea in King's Ships, East & West Indiamen & Other Merchantmen from 1659 to 1708*. Transcribed from the original manuscript by Basil Lubbock. London: Hurst & Blackket, 1934.

Barreras Gómez, María Asunción. "La figura del vino en la obra de William Shakespeare". *Cuaderno de Investigación Filológica,* n.º 33-34 (2007-2008): 9-54.

Barry, Lording. *Ram-Alley: or, Merrie-Trickes. A Comedy diuers Times here-to-fore acted by the Children of the Kings Reuels*. London: 1611.

Beaumont, Francis and John Fletcher. *The Custom of the Country*. Vol. II. London: J. & R. Tonson and S. Draper, 1750.

Beaumont, Francis and John Fletcher. *The Dramatic Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*. Vol. V. London: Former Editions, 1778.

Beeckman, Daniel. *A Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo in the East-Indies*. London: T. Warner at the Black Boy, and J. Batley at the Dove, in Pater-noster-Row, 1718.

Bell, John. *Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia to various parts of Asia*. Edinburgh: William Creech, 1738.

Benzoni, Girolamo. *History of New World*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1857.

Bermejo, Ildefonso Antonio. *Viage ilustrado en las cinco partes del mundo*. Madrid, 1852.

Bernáldez, Andrés. *Historia de los Reyes Católicos. Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*. Tomo I. Seville: Imprenta que fue de José María Geofrin, 1870.

Bernier, François. *Voyages de François Bernier*. Paris, 1830.

Berthelot, Sabin. *Miscellanées canariennes (Histoire Naturelle des Îles Canaries*. Paris: Béthune éditeur, 1839.

Bertin, Antoine. *Poésies et œuvres diverses*. Paris: Au Bureau des Éditeurs, 1879.

Betancourt y Molina, Agustín. *Correspondencia de la familia Betancourt, 1815-1842*. Online resource edited by la Fundación Canaria Orotava para la Historia de la Ciencia. Available in this

link: https://fundacionorotava.es/pynakes/lise/betan_corre_es_04_1815/18/. Consultado el 1 de julio de 2022.

Bethencourt Massieu, Antonio. "Canarias e Inglaterra: el comercio de vinos (1650-1800)". *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos*, n.º 2 (1956): 195-308.

Bligh, William. *A Voyage to the South Sea. For The Purpose Of Conveying The Bread-Fruit Tree To The West Indies, Including An Account Of The Mutiny On Board The Ship*. Dublin: E. Fitzpatrick, 1792.

Boccaccio, Giovanni. *De Canaria y de las otras islas nuevamente halladas en el Océano Allende España (1341).* Estudio crítico de Manuel Hernández González. La Orotava: José A. Delgado Luis, 1998.

Borghesi di Mondovì, Giovanni. *Informe del viaje desde Tenerife hasta Pondicherry, en la costa de Coromandel*. Rome, 1704.

Bory de Saint-Vincent, Jean-Baptiste-Geneviève-Marcellin. *Essais sur les Isles Fortunées et l'antique Atlantide, ou Précis de l'histoire générale de l'archipel des Canaries*. Paris: Baudouin, 1803.

Brassey, Anna. *A Voyage in the 'Sunbeam'. Our Home on the Ocean for Eleven Months*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1878.

Bravo, Telesforo. *Geografía General de las Islas Canarias*. Vol. I. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Goya Ediciones, 1964.

Broadus, Edmund Kemper. *The Laureateship: a Study of the Office of Poet Laureate in England*. Oxford: OCP, 1921.

Brome, Alexander. *Songs and other Poems by Alexander Brome*. London: Henry Brome, 1664.

Brome, Richard. *A Jovial Crew: or, The Merrry Beggars*. London, 1652.

Browne, Daniel J. *Letters from te Canary Islands*. Boston: G. W. Light, 1834.

Burroughs, Edgar Rice. *The Outlaw of Torn*. New York: Cosimo Classics, 2005.

Burton, Richard F. *To the Gold Coast for Gold. A Personal Narrative*. London: Spottiswoode and Co., 1883.

Büttikofer, Johann. *Travel Sketches from Liberia, translated and edited by Henk Dop and Philip T. Robinson*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013.

Cadalso, José. *Anales de cinco días o carta de un amigo a otro*. Tomo III. Madrid: Editorial Repullés, 1818.

Cahen, Albert (ed.). *Lettres du XVIIe siècle. Lettres choisies de Voltaire, Mme Du Deffand, Diderot, Mme Roland et de divers auteurs*. Paris: Armand Colin et Cie, 1894.

Campillo Arnáiz, Laura. "La traducción histórica de los vinos españoles en las obras de Shakespeare". *Revista de Historia de la Traducción*, n.º 11 (2017): 1-10.

Casanova, Giacomo. *Mémoires de Jacques Casanova de Seingalt*. Vol IV. Paris: Ponthieu et Comp., 1827.

Casanova, Giacomo. *Mémoires de Jacques Casanova de Seingalt*. Vol I. Paris: Paulin, Libraire-éditeur, 1833.

Chandler Moulton, Louise. *At the Wind's Will. Lyrics and Sonnets*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1899.

Christ, Hermann. *Eine Frühlingsfahrt nach den Canarischen Inseln*. Basel, 1886.

Cioranescu, Alejandro. *Thomas Nichols. Mercader de azúcar, hispanista y hereje*. La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1963.

Clark, Donald Lemen. *John Milton at St. Paul's School. A Study of Ancient Rhetoric in English Renaissance Education*. New York: Archon Books, 1964.

Cleveland, John. *The Works of Mr. John Cleveland*. London, 1699.

Collier, John Payne. *A Book of Roxburghe Ballads*. Vol. VII. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1873-1874.

Cólogan Soriano, Carlos. *Tenerife Wine. El comercio de vinos. Siglo XVIII [1760-1797]*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Cajasiete - Mutua Tinerfeña - Cabildo Insular de Tenerife, 2017.

Coloma, Luis. *Retratos de antaño*. Madrid: Razón y Fe, 1895.

Commisariat, M. S., ed. *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*. London - Bombay - Calcuta - Madras: OUP, 1911.

Conan Doyle, Arthur. *Micah Clarke. His Statement as made to his three Grandchildren, Joseph, Gervas & Reuben, during the hard Winter of 1734*. London, 1912.

Conde de Fernán Núñez. *Vida de Carlos III*. Madrid: Librería de los Bibliófilos Fernando Fé, 1854.

Cook, James. *The Three Voyages of Captain James Cook round the World*. London, 1821.

Cooper, Irma Jame. *The Life and Public Services of James Logan*. New York, 1921.

Crockett, Samuel Rutherford. *The Grey Man*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896.

Crompton, Hugh. *Pierides: or, The Muses Mount by Hugh Crompton*. London: Charles Webb, 1658.

Crompton, Hugh. *Poems by Hugh Crompton, The Son of Bacchus, and God-Son of Apollo. Being A Fardle of Fancies: or, A Medley of Musick, stewed in four Ounces of the Oyl of Epigrams*. London: Rickaby, 1657.

D'Urfey, Thomas. *Wit and Mirth: or, Pills to Purge Melancholy*. Vols. III y V. London: Henry Playford, 1719.

Dampier, William. *A Voyage to New Holland, &c. In the year 1699*. Vol. III. London: James Knapton, 1729.

Darias Padrón, Dacio V. "El historiador Núñez de la Peña y su tiempo". *Revista de Historia*, XI (1945): 3 -25.

Davis, Robert, ed. *The Life of Marmaduke Rawdon of Yorke*. London: Candem Society, 1863.

De la Guerra y Peña, Lope Antonio. *Memorias*. Vol I. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: El Museo Canario, 1951.

De la Rosa, Leopoldo y Manuela Marrero. *Acuerdos del Cabildo de Tenerife V (1525-1533).* La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1986.

Debary, Thomas. *Notes of a Residence in the Canary Islands, South of Spain, and Algiers*. London: Francis & John Rivington, 1859.

Defoe, Daniel. *The Four Years Voyages of capt. George Roberts*. London: Bettesworth, 1726.

Del Arco Aguilar, María Mercedes, *et alli*. "El Menceyato de Icod en el poblamiento de Tenerife: D. Gaspar, Las Palomas y Los Guanches. Sobre el poblamiento y las estrategias de alimentación vegetal entre los Guanches". *Eres (Arqueología),* n.º 9, 1 (2000): 67-129.

Del Arco Aguilar, María del Carmen. "Del vino y la vid en Canarias durante la Antigüedad. Contexto teórico y arqueológico para su estudio". In *Jornadas Históricas Canary Wine. Universidad de La Laguna – DOP Islas Canarias. I Edición 2017 y II Edición 2021,* coordinated by Carlos Fernández Hernández, Gabriel Santos García and Javier Luis Álvarez Santos, 44-55. La Laguna: FGULL, 2021.

Del Castillo, Pedro Agustín. *Descripción histórica y geográfica de las Islas de Canaria*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Imprenta Isleña, 1848.

Delaporte, Joseph de. *Le voyageur françois ou La connoissance de l´ancien et du nouveau monde*. Paris: L. Cellot, 1770.

Diston, Alfred. *Los trajes canarios de Alfred Diston*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Herederos de Dª María del Pilar de Lorenzo Cáceres de la Torre, 2018.

Du Cane, Florence and Ella Du Cane. *The Canary Islands*. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1911.

Dumas, Alexandre. *Grand dictionnaire de cuisine.* Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, éditeur, 1873.

Dyce, Alexander, ed. *The Works of Thomas Middleton*. Vol. IV. London: Edward Lumley, Chancery Lane, 1840.

Edwardes, Charles. *Rides and Studies in the Canary Islands*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1888.

Ehrmann, Theophil Friedrich. *Geschichte der merkwürdigsten Reisen welche seit dem zwölften Jahrhunderte zu Wasser und zu Land unternommen worden sind*. Vol. 11-12. Frankfurt, 1794.

Ellis, Alfred Burdon. *West African Islands*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1885.

Espinosa, Alonso de. *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Candelaria*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Goya, 1952.

Fajardo Spínola, Francisco. "Vino, velas y cañones. Nuevos datos y consideraciones sobre la navegación con Canarias en la Edad Moderna". *Anuario de Estudios Canarios*, n.º 50 (2004): 395-429.

Fanshawe, Anne. *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe.* London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1830.

Feijoo y Montenegro, Benito Jerónimo. *Cartas eruditas y curiosas*. Volume V. Madrid: Real Compañía de Impresores y Libreros, 1770.

Fernández Duro, Cesáreo. "Canarias en el siglo XVI". *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid*, Madrid, XV, 2º (1883).

Fernández de Enciso, Martín. *Suma de Geographia*. Seville: Juan Cromberger, 1530.

Feuillée, Louis. *Voyage aux isles Canaries, ou journal des observations physiques, mathématiques, botaniques et historiques, faites par ordre de Sa Majesté, par le R. P. Louis Feuillée, religieux Minime, mathématicien et botaniste du Roy. 1724*. Manuscript kept at Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Fonteneau, Jean. *La cosmographie avec l'espère et régime du soleil et du nord*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1904.

Frutuoso, Gaspar. *Descripción de las Islas Canarias*. La Laguna: Centro de la Cultura Popular Canaria, 2004.

García Bernal, Manuela Cristina. "Los navíos de permisión tras el Reglamento de 1718: una valoración cuantitativa (1720-1730)". In *V Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana*, coordinated by Francisco Morales Padrón, vol. I, 749-792. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1982.

García Pulido, Daniel. "Sobre la literatura de viajes y los viajeros. Olivia M. Stone: aproximación a una biografía desconocida". *Revista de Filología,* n.º 39 (2019): 201-212.

Gautier, Théophile. *The Complete Works of Théophile Gautier.* New York: Bigelow, Smith & Co., 1910.

Gautier, Théophile. *Partie carrée*. Paris: G. Charpentier et Cie. éditeurs, 1889.

Gautier, Théophile. *The Works of Théophile Gautier: Avatar. Jettatura. The water-pavillion. A history of romanticism*. New York, 1902.

Gifford, William, ed. *The Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley*. London, 1833.

Glas, George. *The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands*. London: J. Dodsley, 1764.

Godwin, Francis. *The Strange Voyage and Adventures of Domingo Gonsales, to the World in the Moon.* London: H. Batchellor, 1768.

Goldoni, Carlo. *La locandiera. Commedia*. Monaco: Giorgio Franz, 1848.

Goldoni, Carlo. *La buona muoglie*. Florence, 1765.

Goldoni, Carlo. *La buena casada*. Translation by Fermín de Laviano. Barcelona, 1796.

González Lemus, Nicolás. "La Producción vitivinícola en Tenerife y el viaje del enólogo británico Henry Vizetelly en 1877". *Vinaletras* 2 (2009): 32-45.

Goulding, Meredith."'A Case for the Epigram: Ben Jonson's Inviting a Friend to Supper'". *Sydney Studies in English,* n.º 8. (1982): 15-25.

Gualzetti, Giacomo. *Gli amori di Comingio,* Milan, 1829.

Guimerá Ravina, Agustín. *Burguesía extranjera y comercio atlántico. La empresa comercial irlandesa en Canarias (1703-1771)*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Consejería de Cultura y Deportes del Gobierno de Canarias - Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985.

Hakluyt, Richard. *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*. London: G. Bishop, R. Newberie, and R. Barker, 1599.

Halliwell, James. *The Loyal Garland: or, A Choice Collection of Songs Highly in Request, and Much Esteemed in the Past and Present Times*. Vol XXIX. London: Percy Society, 1850.

Harcourt, Robert. *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana by Robert Harcourt, 1613*. London: Routledge, 1928.

Hartmann, Moritz. *Der Gefangene von Chillon*. Stuttgart, 1873.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *The House of the Seven Gables*. London, 1907.

Head, Richard. *The English Rogue: described in the Life of Meriton Latroon, a Witty Etravagant*. London: Henry Marsh, 1665.

Hernández González, Manuel. "La pugna entre los cosecheros y los mercaderes canarios por la introducción de aguardientes y vinos tintos peninsulares para el tráfico con el Caribe y Estados Unidos". *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos*, n.º 47 (2001): 339-368.

Hernández González, Manuel. "Algunos aspectos del cultivo de la vid en el Valle de La Orotava y la isla de Tenerife en el Antiguo Régimen". *El Pajar. Cuaderno de Etnografía Canaria*, n.º 7 (2002): 26-33.

Hernández González, Manuel. *Estados Unidos y Canarias. Comercio e Ilustración. Una mirada atlántica*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Ed. Idea, 2016.

Herrick, Robert. *The Hesperides & the Noble Numbers*. Edited by Alfred Pollard, prefacio de A.C. Swinburne. London-New York: Lawrence & Bullen, 1898.

Herrick, Robert. *Selected Poems*. Edited by David Jesson-Dibley. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Heylin, Peter. *Mikrokosmos. A Little Description of the Great World*. Oxford: John Lichfield and William Turner, 1612.

Heywood, Thomas and William Rowley. *Fortune by Land and Sea: A Tragi-Comedy*. London: John Sweeting & Robert Pollard, 1655.

Hindley, Charles. *The Roxburghe Ballads*. Vols. I-II. London: Reeves & Turner, 1874.

Holberg, Ludvig. *Jeppe paa Bjerget, eller Den forvandlede bonde*. Copenhague, 1861.

Holberg, Ludvig. *Holbergs Comedier i Eet Bind*. Copenhague, 1876.

Holberg, *Jeppe on the Hill*. Translation by Martin B. Ruud. North Dakota, 1906.

Holman, James. *Travels in Madeira, Sierra Leone, Teneriffe, St. Jago, Cape Coast, Fernando Poo, Prince's Island*. London: George Routledge, 1840.

Hopkins, Kenneth. *The Poets Laureate*. London, 1954.

Howell, James. *The Familiar Letters of James Howell*. London: J. M. Dent, 1842.

Hughes, Terence McMahon. *Revelations of Spain in 1845*. London: Henry Colburn, 1845.

Hugo, Victor. *Les miserables*, translation by Lee Fabnestock and Norman MacAfee. New York: New American Library, 1987.

Humbdolt, Alexander von. *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America, during the year 1799-1804* London: Bohn, 1852.

Hunt, Leigh. *The Companion*. London: Hunt and Clarke, 1828.

Hutchinson, William. *Songs of the Vine*. London, 1904.

Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Royal Commentaries of Peru*. London, 1688.

Jonson, Ben. *The Devil is an Ass*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1905.

Jonson, Ben. *Ben Jonson and the Cavalier Poets*. London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1974.

Jonson, Ben. *Bartholmew Fayre: a Comedie, acted in the yeare, 1614*. London: Robert Allot, 1631.

Jonson, Ben. *The Works of Ben Jonson*. London: Thomas Hodgkin, 1692.

Jonson, Ben. *Selected poetry*. London: Penguin Books, 1992.

Jonson, Ben. *The Staple of News*, ed. Anthony Parr. Manchester-New York: Manchester University Press, 1999.

Jordan, Thomas. *Bacchu's Festival: or, A New Medley being a Musical Representation at the Entertainment of his Excellency the Lord General Monck*. Oxford, 2008.

Jordan, Thomas. *Tricks or Youth: or, The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon with the Humours of Woodstreet-compter a Comedy*. London, 1663.

Jordan, Thomas. *A Royal Arbor of Loyal Poesie consisting of Poems and Songs*. London, 1664.

Kant, Immanuel. *Critique of Aesthetic Judgement*. Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1911.

Keats, John. *The Complete Poems*. London: Penguin Books, 1988.

Kindersley, Jemima. *Letters from the island of Teneriffe, Brazil, the Cape of Good Hope and the East Indies*. London, 1777.

Kingsley, Charles. *Westward Ho!*. Philadelphia: Collins Clear Type Press, 1920.

Kuprin, Aleksandr. *El brazalete de rubíes*. Madrid: Calpe, 1920.

Lacy, John. *Sir Hercules Buffoon: or, The poetical squire a comedy, as it was acted at the Duke &s Theatre*. London: Jo. Hindmarsh, 1684.

Lamb, Charles. *The Poetical Works of Charles Lamb*. Philadelphia: E.H. Butler, 1858.

Latimer, Isaac. *Notas de un viaje a las islas de Tenerife y Gran Canaria. (Un clima de verano en invierno)*. La Orotava: Ayuntamiento de La Orotava, 2002.

Leal Cruz, Pedro Nolasco. "Las Palmas de Gran Canaria según las catorce ediciones de la obra del escritor inglés de viajes Alfred Samler Brown (período de 1889-1932)". In *XX Coloquio de Historia canario-americana*, coordinated by Elena Acosta, 505-524. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 2014.

Leal Cruz, Pedro Nolasco. "El término Canary en inglés. Análisis del uso de Canary, Sack y Malmsey en William Shakespeare". *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos,* n.º 61, 18. 2015: 1-12.

Leclercq, Jules. *Voyage Aux Iles Fortuneés, le pic de Téneriffe et les Canaries*. Paris: E. Plon et Cie., 1880.

Ledru, André-Pierre. *Voyage aux Iles de Ténériffe, La Trinité, Saint-Thomas, Sainte-Croix et Porto-Ricco*. Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1810.

Lefebvre, Hippolyte and Jacques Lambert. *Une vengeance de Pierrot*. Paris: 1865.

Leubelfing, Johann von. *Ein schön lustig Reisbuch Vozniemals in Truck kommen Darinnen Begriffen in was gestalt die Herzen Staaden der Vnirten Niderländischen Provincien, ein Armada zugericht und auff dem Meer die Insulen in Hispanien und West Indien besuchen lassen*. Elm, 1612.

Linschoten, Jan Huyghen van. *The voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1875.

Lobo Cabrera, Manuel. *El comercio del vino entre Gran Canaria y las Indias en el siglo XVI*. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Ediciones del Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1993.

Lobo Cabrera, Manuel, *et alli*. *Textos para la historia de Canarias*. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Ediciones del Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1994.

Locke, John. *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest, and Raising the Value of Money. In a Letter Sent to a Member of Parliament*. London, 1691.

Lorenzo-Cáceres, Andrés de. *Malvasía y Falstaff. Los vinos de Canarias*. La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1941.

Love Peacock, Thomas. *Maid Marian*. London, 1891.

Mac-Gregor, Francis Coleman. *Die Canarische Inseln*. Hannover, 1831.

Macías Hernández, Antonio M. "Colonización y viticultura. El caso de las Canarias, 1350-1550". *DOURO - Estudos & Documentos* VII (13) (2002), 285-296.

Macías Hernández, Antonio M. "El paisaje vitícola de Canarias. Cinco siglos de historia", *Ería* 68 (2005): 351-364.

Mackay, Charles, ed. T*he Cavalier Songs and Ballads of England. From 1642 to 1684*. London: Griffin Bohn and Co., 1863.

Mandelslo, Johann Albrecht de. *The Voyages and Travels of Johann Albert de Mandelslo into the East Indies*. London, 1669.

Marín de Cubas, Tomás Arias. *Historia de las siete islas de Canaria*. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País de Gran Canaria, 1986.

Markham, Clements R., ed. *The Hawkin's Voyages during the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth and James I.* London: Hakluyt Society, 1878, 8-64.

Marston, John. *John Drum's Entertainment*. London, 1601.

Marvell, Andrew. *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Andrew Marvell*. Vol. I. London, 1872.

Mascart, Jean. *Impressions et observations dans un voyage à Ténérife*. Paris: Ernest Flammarion Éditeur, 1911.

Maynard, Theodore, ed. *A Tankard of Ale. An Anthology of Drinking Songs*. London, 1919.

Mayne-Reid, Thomas. *The Ocean Waifs, a Story of Adventure on Land and Sea*. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1872.

McShane, Angela. "Drink, song and politics in early modern England". *Popular Music*, 35: 2 (2016): 166-190.

Melville, Herman. *Bartleby & Benito Cereno*. New York: Dover Publications, 1990.

Merry Drollery. Compleat bring Jovial Poems. Boston, 1855 [1691].

Middleton, Thomas. *A Mad World my Masters*. London, 1640.

Minutoli, Julius von. *Die Canarischen Inseln, ihre Vergangenheit und Zukunft*. Berlin, 1854.

Montépin, Xavier de. *Les marionnettes du diable*. Paris, 1860.

Monterrey Rodríguez, José Tomás. "The castalian liquor: goce y mitificación del vino canario en la literatura inglesa". In *Estudios de filología inglesa: homenaje a la Dra. Asunción Alba Pelayo,* coordinated by María Teresa Gilbert Maceda, Laura Alba Juez and María Asunción Alba Pelayo, 459-469. Madrid: UNED, 2008.

Montesdeoca Medina, José Manuel. "Las islas Canarias en los islarios (I)". *Fortunatae*, 18 (2007): 107-124.

Montesdeoca Medina, José Manuel. "Las islas Canarias en los islarios (II)". *Fortunatae*, 19 (2008): 101-126.

Montesinos, José L. "La estancia en Tenerife de André-Pierre Ledru". In José M. Oliver Frade and Alberto Relancio, eds., *El descubrimiento científico de las Islas Canarias*. La Orotava: Fundación Orotava de Historia de la Ciencia, 2007.

Moore, Thomas. *Life of Lord Byron: with his Letters and Journals*. Vol. II. London: John Murray, 1854.

Morales, Jacob; Rodríguez, Amelia y Henríquez-Valido, Pedro. "Agricultura y recolección vegetal en la arqueología prehispánica de Canarias (siglos III-XV d.C.): la contribución de los estudios carpológicos". In *Miscelánea en homenaje a Lydia Zapata Peña (1965-2015)*, coordinated by Fernández Eraso, Javier *et alli*, 189-218. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2017.

Morales, Jacob. *El uso de las plantas en la prehistoria de Gran Canaria: alimentación, agricultura y ecología*. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo Gran Canaria, 2011.

Morales Lezcano, Dacio V. *Relaciones mercantiles entre Inglaterra y los archipiélagos del Atlántico ibérico. Su estructura e historia*. La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1970.

Morales Padrón, Francisco. *El comercio canario-americano (siglos XVI- XVII y XVIII)*. Seville: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1955.

Morales Padrón, Francisco. "Méritos, servicios y estado de las Canarias en 1761". *El Museo Canario*, n.º 21 (1960): 39-58.

Morales Padrón, Francisco. "Canarias en el Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla". *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos*, n.º 7 (1961): 238-339.

Morales Padrón, Francisco. *Cedulario de Canarias*. Vol. I. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Ediciones del Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1970.

Morales Padrón, Francisco. *Ordenanzas del Concejo de Gran Canaria (1531)*. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1974.

Morales Padrón, Francisco. *Canarias: crónicas de la conquista*. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: El Museo Canario, 1978.

Murray, Elizabeth. *Sixteen Years of an Artist's Life in Morocco, Spain, and the Canary Islands*. London: Hurst & Blackett, 1859.

Mützelburg, Adolf. *Fata Morgana*. Berlin, 1851.

Nabbes, Thomas. *Covent Garden: A Pleasant Comedie*. London: Richard Oulton, for Charles Greene, 1638.

Nabbes, Thomas. *Tottenham-Court Fair: A Pleasant Comedy*. London: James Robert, 1718.

Nava y Grimón, Alonso de. *Escritos económicos*. Introduction by A.M. Bernal and A.M. Macías. La Laguna: Universidad de La Laguna, 1988.

Nicholas, Elizabeth. *Canarias*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Ed. Idea, 2004.

Nougués Secall, Mariano. *Cartas histórico-filosófico-administrativas sobre las Islas Canarias*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Salvador Vidal, 1858.

Noyes, Alfred. *Collected Poems*. Vol. 2. New York: Frederick A. Stockes Company, 1913.

Núñez de la Peña, Juan. *Conquista y antigüedades de la isla de la Gran Canaria y su descripción, con muchas advertencias de sus privilegios, conquistadores, pobladores y otras particularidades en la muy poderosa isla de Tenerife, dirigido a la milagrosa imagen de Nuestra Señora de Candelaria*. Libro III. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676.

Old English Plays being a Selection from the Early Dramatic Writers. London: Whittingham and Rowland, 1815.

Ontoria Oquillas, Pedro, Luis Cola Benítez and Daniel García Pulido. *Fuentes documentales del 25 de julio de 1797.* Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Ayuntamiento de Santa Cruz de Tenerife - Museo Militar Regional de Canarias, 1997.

Ostini, Friedrich Freiherr von. *Arme Seelen : Geschichten und Schnurren*. Stuttgart, Verlag von Adolf Boz, 1910.

Padrón Fernández, Rafael. *José Viera y Clavijo. Diario de viaje a Francia y Flandes*. La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 2008.

Palma, Ricardo. *Tradiciones peruanas*. Vol. II. Barcelona: Montaner y Simón editores, 1894.

Pasquils palinodia, and his progresse to the tauerne where after the suruey of the sellar, you are presented with a pleasant pynte of poeticall sherry. London: Thomas Snodham, 1619.

Payne Collier, John, ed. *A Book of Roxburghe Ballads*. London: Longman, 1847.

Pégot-Ogier, Eugènne. *Les Îles Fortunées: ou Archipel des Canaries*. Paris: A, Lacroix, 1869.

Peloso, Silvano. "La spedizione alle Canarie del 1341 nei resoconti di Giovanni Boccacio, Domenico Silvestri e Domenico Bandini". In *VI Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana,* coordinated by Francisco Morales Padrón, 813-827. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1979.

Peppergrass, Paul. *The Spaewife: Or, The Queen's Secret. A Story of the Reign of Elizabeth*. Vol. II. Baltimore: Kelly & Piet, 1865.

Percy, Thomas. *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. Vol I. London: Henry B. Wheatley, 1876.

Pérez Armas, Benito. "La tierra y el poeta". *Siglo XX. Semanario de ciencias, literatura y artes*, n.º 5, 10 de agosto de 1900.

Pérez Samper, María Ángeles. "La alimentación en la corte española del siglo XVIII", *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna. Anejos,* n.º 2 (2003), 153-197.

Pharmacopoeia Londinensis. London, 1682.

Piazzi Smyth, Charles. *Teneriffe, An Astronomer's Experiment: or, Specialities of a Residence Above the Clouds.* London: Lovell Reeve, 1858.

Pico, Berta and Dolores Corbella. *Viajeros franceses a las Islas Canarias*. La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 2000.

Pommer-Esche, Katharina von. *Las Islas Canarias*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Ed. Idea, 2009.

Prévost, Antoine F. A. *Abrégé de l'Histoire Générale des Voyages*. Vol. I. Paris, 1820.

Prévost, Antoine F. A. *Canarias en el "viagero universal", "El viajero francés" e "Historia general de los viajes"*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Ed. Idea, 2009.

Proust, Louis and Charles Joseph Pitard. *Les Îles Canaries: Description de l'archipel*. Paris: E. Guilmoto, éditeur, 1908.

Purchas, Samuel. *Purchas his pilgrimage, or, Relations of the world and the religions observed in all ages and places discovered, from the creation vnto this present*. London, 1626.

Pyle, Howard. *The Merry Adventures of Robin Hood.* New York, 1892.

Quincy, John. *Pharmacopoeia Officinalis Extemporanea: or, A Compleat English Dispensatory*. London: A. Bell, 1729.

Quintana Andrés, Pedro C. "Las catástrofes volcánicas y la transformación del paisaje agrario en Canarias durante la edad moderna: Lanzarote 1730-1750". *Revista de Historia Moderna,* n.º 23 (2005), 233-259.

Regnard, Jean-François. *Voyage de Normandie*. Paris: E.A. Lequien, 1820.

Richardson, Samuel. *Pamela: or, Virtue rewarded in a series of Familiar Letters from a Beautiful Young Damsel, to her Parents*. Vol. II. London, 1785.

Richardson, Samuel. *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*. Vol. I. Dublin, 1870.

Richardson, Samuel. *Historia del caballero Carlos Grandison*. Tomo I. Madrid: Imprenta de Josef López, 1798.

Richardson, Samuel. *Pamela Andrews ó la virtud premiada*. Tomo II. Madrid: Pedro Pereyra, 1799.

Robbins, Robin, ed. *The Complete Poems of John Donne*. London-New York: Routledge, 2008.

Rodríguez, Leoncio. *Estampas tinerfeñas*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 2016.

Rodríguez de la Torre, Francisco. "Recolección. o cosecha de todas las citas de vinos españoles en las obras de William Shakespeare". *Revista de Folklore,* n.º extra 1 (2012): 3-21.

Rodríguez Mesa, Manuel. *Un canario al servicio de Carlos III: José de Bethencourt y Castro*. La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1988.

Rodríguez Rodríguez, Julio. *La vid y los vinos de Canarias*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Goya Ediciones, 1970.

Rodríguez Yanes, José Miguel. *Tenerife en el siglo XVII*. La Laguna: Ayuntamiento de La Laguna - Centro de la Cultura Popular Canaria, 1992.

Ruiz y Aguilar, Ricardo. *Estancia en Tenerife: 1866-1867.* Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Cabildo Insular de Tenerife, 2000.

Rumeu de Armas, Antonio. *Piratería y ataques navales contra las Islas Canarias*. Vol. I. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1947.

Rymer, James Malcolm. "Ada, the Betrayed; or, The Murder at the Old Smithy. A Romance of Passion", *Lloyd's Penny Weekly Miscellany of Romance and General Interest*. London: Lloyd, 1843.

Samler Brown, Alfred. *Madeira and the Canary Islands with the Azores. Practical and Complete Guide for the use of invalids and tourists*. London, 1901.

Samler Brown, Alfred. *Madeira and the Canary Islands, with the Azores*. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1901[6].

Sánchez Bernalt, Mathías P. *Semihistoria de las fundaciones, residencias o colegios que tiene la Compañía de Jesús en Canarias. Origen y progresos y estado presente de ellas*. Introduction by Francisco Fajardo Spínola. La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 2008.

Santa Cruz, Alonso de. *Islario general de todas las islas del mundo*. Madrid: Patronato de Huérfanos de Intendencia é Intervención Militares, 1918.

Sarmiento Pérez, Marcos. *Las Islas Canarias en los textos alemanes (1496-1865).* Doctoral thesis directed by Luis Acosta Gómez and Manuel Lobo Cabrera. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 2004.

Schedel, Johann Christian. *Neues und vollständiges Handbuch für Weinhändler, Kommissionaire, Speditoers und alle Weinliebhaber überhaup*. Leipzig: A. F. Böhme, 1790.

Scott, Walter. *Peveril of the Peak*. Vol. II. Philadelphia, 1823.

Scott, Walter. *Kenilworth*. Tomo I. Translation by Vicente Pagasartundúa. Bordeaux: Imprenta de don Pedro Beaume, 1831.

Scott, Walter. *The Fair Maid of Perth: or, St. Valentine's Day*. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1863.

Scott, Walter. *The Fortunes of Nigel*. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1871.

Scott, Walter. *Ivanhoe*. Tomo II. Barcelona: C. Verdaguer, 1883.

Scott, Walter. *Kenilworth*. Boston: Dana Estes & Co., 1893.

Scott, Walter. *The Antiquary*. London-Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1893.

Scott, Walter. *Woodstock*. London, 1897.

Scott, Walter. *Old Mortality*. London: MacMillan & Co., 1913.

Scott, Walter. *The Bride of Lammermoor*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1966.

Scott, Walter. *Ivanhoe*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 2004.

Schnabel, Johann Gottfried. *Die Insel Felsenburg*. Berlin: B. Behr's Verlag, 1902.

Sebek, Barbara. "Canary, Bristoles, London, Ingleses: English Trades in the Canaries in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries". In *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: Literature and Culture in the Era of the Expansion, 1500-1700,* ed. by G. Singh, Jyotsna, 279-293. Washington: John Wiley & Sons-Blackwell, 2021.

Serra Rafols, Elías. *Acuerdos del Cabildo de Tenerife I (1497-1507).* La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1939.

Serra Rafols, Elías. *Acuerdos del Cabildo de Tenerife III (1514-1518).* La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1965.

Serra Rafols, Elías and Leopoldo De la Rosa. *Acuerdos del Cabildo de Tenerife IV (1518-1525).* La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1970.

Serra Rafols, Elías. *Las Datas de Tenerife*. La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1992.

Sewall, Samuel. *Diary of Samuel Sewall. 1674-1729*. Boston, 1878.

Shakespeare, William. *Henry IV. Part I & part II*. London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2011.

Shakespeare, William. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. New York: Modern Library, 2011.

Shakespeare, William. *Henry V*. Harlow: Longman Press, 1966.

Shakespeare, William. *Major plays and the Sonnets*, edited by G.B. Harrison. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948.

Shirley, James. *Poems & c*. London: Princes Armes in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1646.

Soriano, Manuel. *Los emparedados: juguete cómico en un acto y verso*. Madrid: R. Velasco, 1893.

Spillmann, Joseph. *The Wonderful Flower of Woxindon*. Saint Louis: Herder, 1896.

Sprat, Thomas. *The History of the Royal-Society of London*. London, 1667.

Steckley, George F. "The Wine Economy of Tenerife in the Seventeenth Century: Anglo-Spanish Partnership in a Luxury Trade", *The Economic History Review*, n.s. 33, 3 (1980): 335-350.

Stevenson, Robert Louis. *The Black Arrow : A Tale of the Two Roses*. London: Cassel & Company, 1888.

Stone, Olivia. *Tenerife and Its Six Satellites, or The Canary Islands Past and Present*. Vol. I. London: Marcus Ward & Co, 1887.

Sue, Eugène. *Le Morne-au-diable ou l'aventurier*. Paris: Gosse, 1842.

Sue, Eugène. *Deux Histoires. Aventures d'Hercule Hardi (1772) et Le Colonel de Surville Histoire du temps de l'Empire (1810)*. Paris, 1860.

Tachard, Guy. *A Relation of the Voyage to Siam Performed by Six Jesuits*. London, 1688.

Täger Pérez, Catherine Magdalena. "El Canary Wine en la literatura anglo-alemana. Una historia de amor encerrada en los libros". In *Jornadas Históricas Canary Wine. Universidad de La Laguna – DOP Islas Canarias. I Edición 2017 y II Edición 2021,* coordinated by Fernández Hernández, Gabriel Santos García and Javier Luis Álvarez Santos, 33-42. La Laguna: FGULL, 2022.

Taylor, John. *The Pennyles Pilgrimage: or, The Money-lesse Perambulation*. London, 1618.

Tessier, Henri-Alexandre. "État de l'agriculture des Isles Canaries". In *Mémoires de l'Institut National des Sciences et Arts*. Paris: Baudouin, 1798.

Thamara, Francisco. *El libro de las costumbres de todas las gentes del mundo y de las Indias*. Antwerp, 1556.

The Merry Milkmaid of Islington; or, the Rambling Gallants defeated. London: W. Mears, 1735.

The Travels of Certain Learned Missioners of the Society of Jesus into Divers Parts of the Archipelago, India, China, and America. London, 1714.

Thévet, André. *La singularité de la France Antarctique*. Paris: Maurice de la Porte, 1558.

Thévet, André. *Le grand Insulaire et pilotage d'André Thevet, Angoumoisin, cosmographe du Roy, dans lequel sont contenus plusieurs plants d'isles habitées et deshabitées et description d'icelles*. Manuscript kept at Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Torriani, Leonardo. *Descripción de las Islas Canarias*. Introducción y notas de Alejandro Cioranescu. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Cabildo Insular de Tenerife, 1999.

Tous Meliá, Juan. *Descripción geográfica de las Islas Canarias (1740-1743) de D. Antonio Riviere*. Madrid, 1997.

Trapero, Maximiano and Manuel Lobo Cabrera. *Un capítulo desconocido de la historiografía de Canarias: el "epítome de la crónica de Juan II" de J. Martínez de la Puente (1678)*. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Ediciones del Cabildo de Gran Canaria, 1994.

Velázquez Ramos, Cirilo. "La isla del vino. Breve reseña histórica de un cultivo esencial: cinco tiempos de la vid y el vino en Tenerife". In *Semillas y letras. Exposición bibliográfica y documental*, coordinated by Delfina Galván Alonso, 51-87. La Laguna: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de La Laguna, 2002.

Venner, Tobias. *Via recta ad vitam longam*. London: R. Bishop, 1638.

Verne, Jules. *Jules Verne, Seconde patrie*. Paris: Bibliothèque d'Éducation et de Récréation, 1900.

Verneau, René. *Cinq années de séjour aux Iles Canaries*. Paris: A. Hennyer, 1891.

Viana, Antonio de. *Antigüedades de las islas afortunadas de la Gran Canaria: conquista de Tenerife y aparición de la Santa Imagen de Candelaria en verso suelto y octava rima*. La Laguna, 1905.

Viera y Clavijo, José. *Diario é itinerario de mi viaje, Francia y Flandes*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Imprenta, Litografía y Librería Isleña, 1777-1778.

Viera y Clavijo, José de. *Diccionario de historia natural de las Islas Canarias*. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Imprenta de la Verdad, 1868.

Viera y Clavijo, José de. *Historia de Canarias*. Vols. I-IV. Edición de Manuel de Paz Sánchez. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Ed. Idea, 2016.

Vizetelly, Henry. *Facts about Port and Madeira*. London: Ward, Lock &Co., 1890.

Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire: Théatre. La Henriade. La Pucelle. Poésies*. Vol. II. Paris: Chez Furne, 1835.

Warwick Bond, R., ed. *The Complete Works of John Lyly*. Vol II. Oxford: OCP, 1967.

Watkins, John. *Characteristic Anecdotes of Men Learning and Genius, Natives of Great Britain and Ireland, during the Last Three Centuries*. London: James Cundee, 1808.

Wells, H. G. *Tono-Bungay*. London: Collins, 1953.

Wells, H. G. *Experiment in Autobiography*. London-Boston: Faber and Faber, 1934.

Whithall, John. "A letter written to M. Richard Staper by John Whithall from Santos in Brasil, the 26. of June 1578". In Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*. Vol. XI. London, 1599.

Wieland, Christoph Martin. *The Adventures of Don Sylvio de Rosalva* (London: Routledge, 1904), 319.

Wood, George B. and Bache Franklin, *The Dispensatory of the United States of America*. Philadelphia: Grigg & Elliot, 1836[3].

Woodfall Ebsworth, Joseph, ed. *The Roxburghe Ballads*. Parte XX, Volumen VII. London: The Ballad Society, 1890.

Wyss, Johann R. *The Swiss Family Robinson*. New York-London: Harper & Brothers, 1909. Translated by H.B. Paull.

Zurita, Amado. *Ligeros apuntes sobre el estado general de la agricultura en Canarias y mejoras que pueden introducirse*. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Imprenta isleña, 1893.

Canary WINE

centuries of winemaking tradition
landscape-integrated cultivation
natural elaborations
exclusive varieties
expression of terroir
family-owned wineries
phylloxera-free
small wineries
craftsmanship
natural cultivation
minerality
volcanic

Gobierno de Canarias
Instituto Canario de Calidad Agroalimentaria

GOBIERNO DE ESPAÑA
MINISTERIO DE AGRICULTURA, ALIMENTACIÓN Y MEDIO AMBIENTE

FEADER
Fondo Europeo Agrícola de Desarrollo Rural: Europa invierte en las Zonas Rurales

WINEinMODERATION.eu
Art de Vivre
El vino solo de disfruta con moderación

ISBN 978-84-09-44823-4
9 788409 448234