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Pioneer Winemaker

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Résumé de l'article

Dans les années 1880, la région sud-ouest de l'Ontario, particulièrement le comté d'Essex et l'Île Pelée, a accueilli des vignerons pionniers. Alors que l'histoire des vignerons de l'Île Pelée est bien connue, fort peu fut écrit à propos des vignobles de la région frontalière de Windsor. Jules Robinet devint vigneron prospère au tournant du 20e siècle après qu'une série d'épreuves diverses causa l'élimination de la plupart de ses concurrents. L'entreprise de Robinet prit son essor avec la promulgation des lois de prohibition au Canada et aux États-Unis. Cet immigrant arrivé de Rougemont en France constitua un lien important de la chaîne migratoire d'ouvriers français et de cultivateurs de raisins qui s'étaient installés dans la région de la ville de Sandwich. Pour de nombreux immigrants français, il fut à la fois employeur, associé d'affaires, et défenseur des intérêts de la communauté qui avait ses origines dans la même région de France.

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The World of Jules Robinet:

Pioneer Winemaker

by Jack Cecillon

Introduction

The early story of French immigration to Ontario dates back to the founding of Detroit in 1701. Responding to the calls of the king and the governor, newly-arrived settlers embarked on a journey to the upper country to settle farms and partake in the fur trade with the First Nations.[1] Catholic missionary priests were already working in the area among the Huron and also began to serve the newly arrived French settlers. In order to provide for the spiritual needs of their congregations, local grain was milled into flour for bread and some of the Recollet, Jesuit, and Sulpician priests attempted to cultivate their own vineyards in the Great Lakes country to produce sacramental wines for the mass in the 1600s.[2]

Ontario's wine industry finds its roots among its pioneer farmers. Indeed, much of the road to the successful wineries that dot the province today can be traced back to a group of trailblazing immigrant winemakers more than a century ago. To date, there are few detailed histories of Ontario's early wineries, and most of them focus on the history of a local winery in the Niagara region or on Pelee Island.[3] None are based on a detailed personal account from a winemaker. This article is based on a short autobiography and the personal diaries of one of Ontario's pioneer viticulturists. Over the course of forty years, including the era of prohibition the diaries of Jules Robinet offer a unique perspective on an immigrant entrepreneur in the Wind-

[1] Lina Gouger, "Le peuplement fondateur de Détroit, 1701–1765," (PhD thesis, Laval University, 2002), 121–22.

[2] Nicholas Viel, a Recollet priest, makes reference to producing wine from local grapes in 1623 in Huronia. See Alan Hughes, "The Early History of Grapes and Wine in the Niagara Region", in *The World of Niagara Wine,* ed. by Michael Ripmeester et al, (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2012)

[3] For more information about the early Niagara and Pelee Island wineries consult : Richard Jarrell, "Justin de Courtenay and the Birth of the Ontario Wine Industry", *Ontario History* 103:1 (2011), 81-104; J. Shreiner, *The Wines of Canada (*McArthur and Company, 2005); Ron Tiessen, *The Vinedressers: A History of Grape Farming and Wineries on Pelee Island (*Pelee Island Heritage Centre, 1996).

Abstract

In the 1880s, the southwestern region of Ontario, including Essex County and Pelee Island, became home to a series of pioneering winemakers. While the story of the winemakers of Pelee Island has been told, far less has been written about the vineyards of the Windsor border region. Jules Robinet, emerged as a successful winemaker at the turn of the 20th century after a series of hardships wiped out most of his competition. In time, Robinet's business flourished with the enactment of Prohibition laws in Canada and the United States. An immigrant from Rougemont, France, Robinet served as a key link in the migration chain of French labourers and grape growers who settled in and around the Town of Sandwich. For French immigrants, he emerged as an employer, business associate, and advocate for the community that found its roots in the very same region of France.

Résumé: *Dans les années 1880, la région sud-ouest de l'Ontario, particulièrement le comté d'Essex et l'Île Pelée, a accueilli des vignerons pionniers. Alors que l'histoire des vignerons de l'Île Pelée est bien connue, fort peu fut écrit à propos des vignobles de la région frontalière de Windsor. Jules Robinet devint vigneron prospère au tournant du 20e siècle après qu'une série d'épreuves diverses causa l'élimination de la plupart de ses concurrents. L'entreprise de Robinet prit son essor avec la promulgation des lois de prohibition au Canada et aux États-Unis. Cet immigrant arrivé de Rougemont en France constitua un lien important de la chaîne migratoire d'ouvriers français et de cultivateurs de raisins qui s'étaient installés dans la région de la ville de Sandwich. Pour de nombreux immigrants français, il fut à la fois employeur, associé d'affaires, et défenseur des intérêts de la communauté qui avait ses origines dans la même région de France.*

sor border region. From these sources the reader gains a deeper understanding of the early challenges facing Ontario's fledgling wine industry and the daily life of the small French immigrant community of the Windsor border region.

The first documented evidence for the manufacture of commercial wine in Ontario dates to 1811 when Johann Schiller, a German mercenary in the 29th British regiment of foot, registered his vineyard in the Niagara region.[4] Schiller imported hybrid grapes from Pennsylvania to launch his own winemaking enterprise, which endured for more than fifty years. In 1864, an Englishman named Justin de Courtenay purchased the Schiller family vineyard and carried on the tradition. De Courtenay immediately introduced Gamay, Clinton and Isabelle grapes, producing wines under the Clair House brand. Three years after his takeover of the vineyard, the Gamay de Courtenay wine won a prize at the World Exposition in Paris.[5]

In the 1860s, the soil of the Wind-

[4] J. Shreiner, *The Wines of Canada* (McArthur and Company, 2005); Hughes, "The Early History of Grapes and Wine in the Niagara Region"; Robert Bell, "Wines of Canada", <http://www.winesofcanada.com/beginings.html>

[5] See Jarrell, "Justin de Courtenay," 81-104; Bell, "Wines of Canada".

sor border region and Lake Erie shores attracted the attention of a group of American winemakers from Kentucky. Thaddeus Smith, Thomas Williams and his brother D.J. Williams, purchased 30 acres of land on Pelee Island with the purpose of planting their own vineyard in 1866. In three short years, these American entrepreneurs organized the Vin Villa wine house, gathered their first grape harvest, bottled their first wine, and transported it to market in Ontario and the northeastern United States. Almost simultaneously, two English brothers, Edward and John Wardroper arrived and planted a second vineyard on the island, and launched their own operations under the name, Pelee Island Wine and Vineyard Company.[6]

According to the newspaper, the *Amherstburg Echo*, a French priest from Nantes, Pierre Dominic Laurent planted the first vineyard on the Essex County mainland in 1867 in Amherstburg, to prepare his own sacramental wines, and his successful trial encouraged others to do the same.[7] Hyppolite Girardot, the editor of one of Windsor's French language newspapers and a winemaker himself, credited a local French Canadian, St. Luc Ouellette as the founder of the first true vineyard in Essex County around 1870.[8] What is more certain is that several sources identify Adolphe Tournier, an immigrant and former vineyard operator from France, as the man who taught Hypollite's cousin, Théodule Girardot, the mayor of Sandwich, Ontario, and area school inspector, how to plant and operate one of the first successful vineyards on the mainland in 1877. Girardot's son forged a partnership with fellow Frenchman Pierre-Antoine Robinet shortly thereafter and began a winery.[9]

Following the breakup of the business partnership of the Compagnie Robinet et Girardot in the 1880s, Pierre and his son Jules Robinet continued to cultivate their own vineyard following the old ancestral traditions of their winemaking family back in France, but their production never matched the levels of production of the Girardot family, who produced 50,000 gallons of wine in a single year, and held as much as 150,000 gallons in their wine cellars by 1900.[10] Descended from a family

[6] Ron Tiessen, *The Vinedressers: A History of Grape Farming and Wineries on Pelee Island (*Pelee Island Heritage Centre, 1996); see also *Amherstburg Echo,* 1 December 1899.

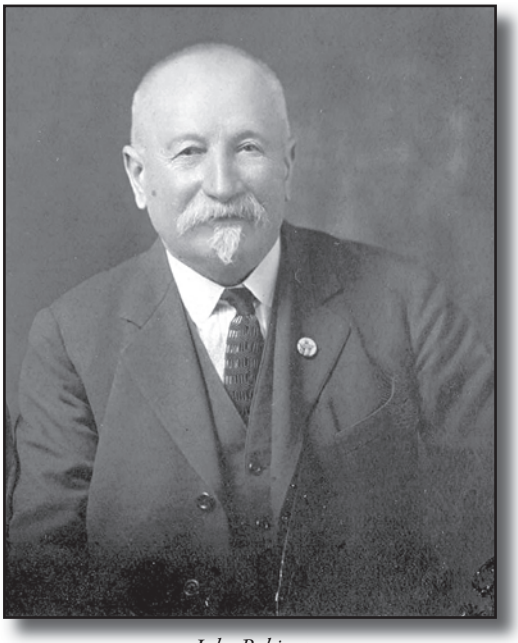
[7] *Amherstburg Echo,* 8 November 1901. Laurent later became domestic prelate to Pope Leo XIII.

[8] *Le Courrier d'Essex*, 8 août 1885 (heritage.windsorpubliclibrary.com/cdm/singleitem/collection/frenchNews); according to the *Canada Census*, 1871, Luke Ouellette of Malden township, 32, was a farmer from Malden township; a second Luc Ouellette, 59, lived in Sandwich West township with his wife Sophie 57, and four adult children. Both areas had soil conducive to vine growing.

[9] *Le Progrès,* 16 March 1882 (Windsor Municipal Archives); *Le Courrier d'Essex*, janvier 1885; *Amherstburg Echo,* 14 November 1890; see also Frederick Neal, *The township of Sandwich (past and present)* (Toronto: University of Toronto Library, Lowe-Martin Co. Ltd., 1909), 17. *Le Progrès* was a weekly newspaper published in Detroit and Windsor between 1881 and 1913. Théodule Girardot was invited to serve as a school teacher by French missionary priests Pierre and Nicolas Point in 1848. Girardot came with his wife.

[10] *Windsor Evening Record*, 15 December 1895; 7 August 1901; *Le Progrès,* 20 décembre 1895; *Amherstburg Echo,* 14 April 1899.

with neither a history nor experience in the winemaking craft, the Girardots had to depend on the talents of French immigrants for the success of their enterprise. A series of factors eventually created the conditions that permitted one of Girardot's rivals to become the predominant member of this small community. By virtue of his successful winery, Jules Robinet emerged as the vital link in the French migration chain to Sandwich as an employer, business contractor and service provider.



Jules Robinet

Background

After 1870, a small number of families from northeastern France immigrated to the Windsor border region. France's military defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, the prolonged occupation of its border regions by enemy troops, the imposition of a heavy war debt, and the annexation of Alsace and portions of Lorraine all served as push factors for those considering flight.[11] This sentiment was reinforced by the pervasive sense that France was plagued by decadence, degeneration, and corruption and supported by a Catholic clergy that deplored the return of Republican rule and its revolutionary aim to establish a truly secular state.[12] The events of the Paris Commune of 1870 targeting the property-owning classes, as well as the brutal suppression of the uprising were certainly other sources of anxiety. A third event, the Italian republican overthrow of the papal states likely shocked anxious French Catholics as much as these other dramatic events.[13] After 1871, the Third Republic focused increasingly on a policy of "la revanche" against the Prussians, and French lawmakers began to debate the necessity of compulsory military service.[14] It was in this tense atmosphere that French families and young men in mountainous regions near the German border weighed

[11] Annick Foucrier, "Les immigrants français aux États-Unis (1870-1914)" dans Éditions du E-Crini, (Université de Nantes, 2012), 1. Foucrier even notes that the French ex-patriot community of San Francisco raised 1.6 million francs in 1871 to accelerate the evacuation of Prussian troops. See also Gordon Wright, *France in Modern Times* (NYC: W.W. Norton and Company, Third Edition, 1981).

[12] Koenraad Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth Century France,* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964), 37-38.

[13] Swart, *Sense of Decadence,* 123

[14] Foucrier, "Les immigrants français," 3. Conscription also motivated young men in Germany and

their choices, with some opting for emigration. Thousands of French migrants chose the United States and, for many, the Midwest offered affordable fertile lands under the terms of the Homestead Act, while others preferred California.[15]

Jules Robinet Vineyard.

A modest wave of migrants residing near the Swiss-German frontier came to the Windsor border region of Ontario following the Franco-Prussian war to bolster the tiny French community that resided there. Claude Péquegnot arrived in 1872 from Théodule Girardot's native village of Athesans, Haute-Saune and married Girardot's daughter Olympe. Two years later, Adolphe Tournier and his cousin Pierre Antoine Robinet, winemakers from Rougemont, a hamlet a few kilometres away from Athesans, chose to immigrate to Canada with their families as well.[16] During the war, French and Prussian soldiers marching through this border village requisitioned all of the goods on the Robinet farm: livestock, wine, and the wheat harvest, leaving the family finances in ruins.[17] Enemy troops remained in the eastern border regions of France until the entire 5 billion franc war indemnity to Germany was redeemed at the end of 1873.[18]

Like immigrants elsewhere, Pierre-Antoine Robinet must have considered his children's futures and their safety when he abandoned his family's ancestral vineyards.[19] Whereas other French winemakers opted for the Napa Valley in California at this time, the Robinet family chose to move to southwestern On-

Russia to emigrate to the New World. See Walter Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations 1870-1914,* (Indianaopolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), 42. See also Wright, *France in Modern Times,* 306.

[15] Foucrier, "Les immigrants français," 4.

[16] *Canada Census*, 1891.

[17] Jules Robinet, "History of the Robinet Family," unpublished manuscript, (Windsor, Seguin Bros., 1936), 3.

[18] Wright, *France in Modern Times,* 225, 230

[19] By the 1870s, the steady subdivision of land due to rural overpopulation, put tremendous pressure on peasants when trying to provide an estate for their children. See Wright, *France in Modern Times,* 289. Bruce Elliott argues that Irish Protestant immigrant parents from Tipperary often chose to leave their farms and their homes to provide a secure peaceful start in life for their children in Upper Canada. See Bruce Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen`s University Press, 1988), 6.

tario.[20] In August 1874, Robinet[21] sold his farm, purchased trans-Atlantic tickets and brought his wife and four of his seven children to Sandwich with a plan to establish a new vineyard on the sandy soils of this border town.[22] Three of his sons, Joseph, Jules and Auguste would remain in France, since Pierre could not afford to pay the fares for all of his children. Upon their arrival in Canada, the Robinet family stayed with Claude and Olympe Péquegnot who now operated the town's general store.[23] The Robinets were also influenced by a key pull factor: the chance to relocate to a peaceful part of the world: "Alors mes parents ayant entendu parler du Canada comme un pays paisible et plein d'avenir, décidèrent d'y émigrer."[24]

Back in France, after eight months of selling tin dishes and glassware, and driving a shuttle coach from the Crown Hotel in Rougemont to the train station in Montbozon a few kilometres away, Jules Robinet sold his horse and cart in April 1875 to buy two trans-Atlantic tickets, one for his younger brother Auguste and the other for himself, with plans to join the family in Sandwich.[25] Two days after reuniting with his family in May 1875, Jules found employment on the

[20] Corinne Marache, "Vendre le Canada: la promotion du Canada en France dans les années 1870-1914," dans E-Crini, p. 1. Foucrier, "Les immigrants," 6. A growing body of literature aimed at enticing French farmers to move to Canada followed the conflict with Prussia. Ads promoting cheap farmland and immigration to Ontario forged the dual themes of Canada as a land of abundance and a destination for a better life. Canadian Catholic recruiters, such as Auguste Bodard, spread the news of an established French Canadian population in the Detroit-Windsor region by virtue of his newspaper and his writings. The *Canada Census*, of 1871 identified over 10,000 French-speaking residents in Essex County.

[21] According to Marcel Fournier, few individuals from either the departments of Haute-Saone or Doubs settled in Quebec during the period from 1840 to 1870. Sulpician priest Claude-Antoine Termet from Besançon, Doubs department spent a short stint in Montreal and Quebec districts from 1845 to 1860. Perhaps this priest encountered Pierre Robinet, Adolphe Tournier, Claude Pequegnot or a member of their families upon his return to his native department of Doubs. See Marcel Fournier, *Les Français du Canada,* (Montréal: Les Éditions Septentrion, 1995), 329.

[22] Robinet, "History of the Robinet Family," 6. The two winemakers may have had distant family ties with either Girardot or Pequegnot, or perhaps met at one of the village markets, annual fairs, or church festivals that were common in much of rural Europe. In Robinet`s diary, he recounts two visits to France where he returned to his hometown of Rougemont to dine with Sr. Marie Girardot, a local resident. Jules Robinet, "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 11 March 1922; 2 August 1925, unprocessed collection, University of Windsor Archives (UWA). For more on village fairs and social connections among rural dwellers, see Franc Sturino, "Italian Immigration: Reconsidering the Links in Chain Migration", in *Arrangiarsi: The Italian Immigration Experience in Canada,* ed. by Roberto Perin and Franc Sturino, (Montreal: Guernica Editions, 1989), 67-68. Similar soil conditions in California attracted a significant number of grape growers to the Napa and Santa Clara valleys. See Annick Foucrier, *Le rêve californien: Migrants français sur la côte Pacifique. (*Paris: Editions Belin, 1999), 9, 46, 52, 250.

[23] *Canada Census,* 1901, Town of Sandwich.

[24] Robinet, "History of the Robinet Family," 7. Translation: "And so, my parents, having heard that Canada was a peaceful country with a promising future, decided to emigrate there."

[25] According to Jules Robinet, he and his brother Auguste left on the *S.S. Polynesian* on the 25 April 1874 on what was supposed to be a ten-day journey to Quebec City from Havre and Liverpool. Due to a prolonged freeze on the St. Lawrence River, the ship only arrived in Quebec City on 10 May 1874. "History of the Robinet Family," 3. Travelling by steamship was a whole new reality after 1870, when the

estate of Dr. Charles Casgrain as a horse groomer.[26] By 1880, after a stint as a tinsmith, Robinet opened a general store, hardware, and butcher shop in the small French Canadian town of Tecumseh, Ontario. It was at this same time that his father Pierre-Antoine Robinet entered a business partnership with Ernest Girardot, Theodule's son, to form the Compagnie Robinet et Girardot of Sandwich to make table wines.[27] Jules took over his father's role and parted ways with the Girardot family shortly thereafter.

Employer

Robinet's businesses employed labourers from the French immigrant community in Sandwich which, between 1881 and 1901, grew to more than 10 families. Several Frenchmen worked for his winery, and in his vineyards, fields, and gardens.[28] The eleven that set up families in Sandwich already had ties to the Robinets. In fact, much of the employment activity of this tiny French community was linked to the Robinet family businesses after 1901.[29]

In all of his ventures, Robinet showed a preference for hiring workers from within his extended family. Louis and Auguste, Jules's brothers, sold wine all over Essex County, especially during the holidays. All twelve of Jules's children tended the vineyards, participated in the harvest, worked in the cellar, and handled customers in the family store. Jules's daughters in particular participated in the family business, tending the fields while the boys worked at Robinet's brickworks. Lucille worked the books and even met with bankers on her

White Star Line introduced the *Oceanic* as a means to transport passengers more quickly and affordably. For more information on the great trans-Atlantic crossings by Europeans of this era see Walter Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), 31. See also, Foucrier, *Le rêve californien,* 17, 28, 279.

[26] "History of the Robinet Family," 7

[27] Moosberger, "Jules Robinet" (M.A. thesis, University of Windsor, 1983), 12. Few North American historians have identified French immigrants who have become successful entrepreneurs. Donatien Frémont noted that Célestin Thomas, a native of Biamont (Moselle) France, launched a successful brewery in Winnipeg in the 1880s. He also highlighted that Pierre Paris, a Vancouver shoemaker, established a successful leather goods industry and store employing hundreds of employees and amassing more than a million dollars in capital. Donatien Frémont, *Les Français dans l'Ouest Canadien.* (Saint-Boniface: Les Éditions du Blé, 1980), 2, 148. Annick Foucrier`s work on French migrants in California acknowledged an array of entrepreneurs that including the emergence of a small group of highly successful winemakers. This population formed a far more substantial French community than that of Sandwich Ontario, numbering in the thousands.

[28] Jack Cecillon, *Prayers, Petitions and Protests: The Catholic Church and the Ontario Schools Crisis in the Windsor Border Region, 1910-1928,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen`s University Press, 2013), 27, see Table 1.4. There were actually 137 people identified in the census if one includes the migrants and their children. In the 1911 census, 10 Frenchmen reported that they were working for the brick works in Sandwich. *Canada Census*, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911 (Town of Sandwich).

[29] For another example of a Windsor border region entrepreneur who housed and employed European immigrants and developed social ties, consult Ron Hoskins, "A Historical Survey of the Town of Walkerville, 1858-1922, Including an Evaluation of the Influence of Hiram Walker and His Sons in the Growth and Development of the Town Until 1922," (M.A. Thesis, University of Windsor, 1969).

father's behalf.[30] Daughter Julia's labour was mentioned more than any other. In the spring, Julia attached the vines and prepared them for the growing season. In the summer and autumn, she harvested cherries, grapes, and then apples on her father's properties even in the blazing sun when necessary. In the autumn, she prepared orders in the wine cellar then proceeded to make deliveries all over Essex County. Julia even chauffeured workers to and from the harvest in the family's Model A Ford.[31]

Even Jules's nephew Rene, took his turn as a field hand at the harvest. A number of French immigrants from Robinet's home region came to settle in Sandwich in the late 1880s and in the early 1890s. Auguste Bodard informed those French interested in emigrating that farmers and servants had the best chance of obtaining gainful employment.

> *Les salaires ne sont pas plus élevés qu 'à Paris, et généralement, les ouvriers du pays suffisent. Nous ne conseillons donc pas aux ouvriers de venir au Canada, à moins qu 'ils aient quelque argent pour acheter une petite ferme qu 'ils cultiveraient tout en exerçant leur métier...Il n 'y a d 'avenir certain que pour les cultivateurs...Les servantes et les cuisinières sont très recherchées, les premières depuis 20 jusqu 'à 40 francs par mois, les seconds depuis 30 jusqu 'à 50 francs, tout en aidant au ménage. Les employés de commerce et de bureau ainsi que les gens sans métier n 'ont aucune chance de succès.*[32]

Those immigrants who clustered near Robinet's vineyards all seemed well-versed in agriculture and viticulture,[33] most notably Claude Gobey, Dieudonné Merit, Francois Lamotte, Louis Salive, Joseph Obron, Clément Guénot, Albert Guénot, Emile Isabey and Monique Soucy, who tended the vines and picked cherries, pears, peaches, plums, raspberries, and strawberries on Robinet's properties. Clément Guénot, who had managed Ernest Girardot's cellar in 1891 for an annual salary of $150, likely left his employer when the winegrower faced growing financial troubles. According to the census, by 1901, Guénot was boarding with Jules Robinet, where he worked for a salary of $15 a month at both his brickworks and his winery, depending on the season.[34] In winter, Guénot and fellow French immigrant Joseph Obron repaired the fences, stables and chicken coops on Robinet's farm. In 1909,

[30] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 11 July 1916, 4 December 1916, 11 December 1916 (Lucille); Lucille even worked with Julia for their father`s construction business, carpeting new houses, on one instance just 5 weeks after Lucille delivered her first baby! *Ibid*., 14 May 1918.

[31] 29 September 1916; 20 December 1916; 23 April 1918; 8 October 1918; 30 October 1918; 30 August 1920; 1 September 1920. See also *Windsor Star,* 4 September 1985.

[32] "Salaries are no higher than in Paris, and generally there are already enough labourers. We do not recommend that labourers come, unless they have some money to bring with them to buy a small farm while plying their trade... the only reliable trade is farming... domestic servants and cooks are also in demand, with the former earning from 20 to 40 francs a month, while the latter earn from 30 to 50 francs a month, while helping with the cleaning. Office workers and labourers without a trade have little chance of success." Bodard, *Le Canada et l'emigration Francaise: conseils dun compatriote*, 5

[33] Paul Masson also hired a considerable number of French immigrants to work his vineyards in California. See Foucrier, *Le rêve californien,* 321.

[34] *Canada Census*, 1891, 1901, (Town of Sandwich)

Guénot left Robinet's employment to work for the school board as a custodian at an annual salary of $250.[35]

Many French immigrants to the Windsor border region changed their jobs frequently throughout their working years. Few struggled as much as Clément Guénot's brother, Albert Guénot. Albert arrived in Canada in 1890 at the age of 27, from Pompierre-sur-Doubs, a year after his bachelor brother Clément. At first, Albert worked as a vineyard labourer in Sandwich for the Girardot family, his brother's employer. By 1901 he was fighting his former employer for $500 in unpaid wages, as he worked for a local brewery at an annual salary of $250, upon which he supported his wife Julia and their six children. From 1901 onwards, Albert also laboured simultaneously for Jules Robinet at a number of odd jobs. By 1911, Robinet's diaries and the census reported his employment at the brickworks.[36] In addition, Guénot also worked digging out the foundations of several houses at his employer's construction sites. Over the years, Robinet would report that Albert Guénot guarded his vineyards from thieves, fixed fence posts, tended the vines, harvested the grapes and bailed hay.[37] By 1919, Guénot and his brother Alfred were both working full time as labourers at Frederick Stearns & Company, a manufacturer of pharmaceutical products, toiletries and perfumes in the city of Windsor.[38] During his off hours, however, Guénot continued to do odd jobs for Robinet and tended to his vineyards well past his seventieth birthday. In 1937, upon the death of his wife Julia, despite his large family and perhaps for the purpose of easing the distance to his place of employment, Albert Guénot moved into Jules Robinet's home and lived as a boarder.[39]

With twelve children of their own, Jules and Marie Robinet consistently employed French Canadian domestic help in the household to aid the couple with the daily burdens of childrearing and meal preparation. However, Jules's parents, Pierre-Antoine and Jeanne Robinet kept a French woman in their employ as a servant. Immigration recruiters noted the varying demand for women interested in domestic service:

> *...la demande pour les filles de service et de métier, qui trouveront de bons emplois, bien rémunérés, non seulement dans les fermes mais aussi comme couturières, filles de chambres ou cuisinières dans les hôtels, encore que les salaires soient moins élevés que quelques années auparavant...*[40]

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[35] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 24 October, 1906; 5 November 1909; *Canada Census* (Town of Sandwich), 1891, 1901, 1911.

[36] *Canada Census*, 1891, 1901, 1911, (Town of Sandwich). Guénot successfully sued Girardot when the latter refused to honour a promissory note for $500. *Le Progrès,* 2 October 1902.

[37] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 10 April 1911; 28 August 1911; 25 April 1914; 1 September 1921; 10 September 1932; 29 May 1934.

[38] *Vernon 's City Directory*, Windsor and Sandwich Ontario, 1919.

[39] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 10 March 1936; 17 April 1936; 2 December, 1937

[40] Translation: "...the demand is for service girls, who will find good paying work, not only on farms but as seamstresses, domestic servants or cooks in hotels, even though such salaries are less than they were

The Jules Robinet winery.

In 1891, Selina Lamotte, 25, performed domestic service for her cousins Pierre Antoine and Josephine Robinet, the parents of Jules.[41] One French widow, Rose Pétignez, figures prominently in Robinet's diary, working as a nurse or midwife for Marie during the birth of the Robinet's last son, Petit Jules. According to the 1901 census, Pétignez's principal occupation was actually that of a farmer.[42] Another young French woman, Clémence Méline joined her brother Felix in the Windsor border region in 1891, at the age of 23; she worked as a maid in the house of tobacconist Francis Girardot of Sandwich. Ten years later, she was married to another French immigrant, Francis Savreux, a gardener in Sandwich East township, just east of Windsor. Eventually, the couple purchased a small vineyard and sold their grapes to Robinet's winery.[43]

Winemaker and Business Associate

Without a doubt, Jules Robinet was best known for his winemaking enterprise. Descended from a long line of French grape growers and wine makers in Rougemont going back 500 years,[44] Robinet purchased his father's shares in the Compagnie Robinet et Girardot in

a few years ago." Cited in the work, `What Women Say of the Canadian Northwest`, in Courville, *Immigration, colonisation, et propagande : du rêve américain au rêve colonial.* (Montréal : Éditions Multimonde, 2002), 465.

[41] *Canada Census*, 1891. (Town of Sandwich)

[42] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 1-7 October 1904; *Canada Census*, 1901, Township of Sandwich West.

[43] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 18 April 1936.

[44] According to the local newspaper *Le Courrier d'Essex,* a number of French Canadians possessed small vineyards and made wine for sale: Climaque Janisse, Napoleon Piché, and Eugène LeBoeuf of Sandwich; none could compare to Frenchman Jean Giraud who reportedly had at least 45,000 vines and produced 10,000 gallons of wine in 1886. *Le Progrès,* 13 May 1886. According to the 1891 census, aside from the Robinet and Girardot families, only three Frenchmen in Essex County identified themselves as winemakers: Claude Pequegnot, John Girond (sic-Jean Giraud) and Adolphe Tournier. Ironically, Jules' father Pierre Antoine and Ernest Girardot identified themselves merely as farmers. *Canada Census*, 1891, Sandwich (Town). Jean Giraud would die in April 1892.

[45] "History of the Robinet Family", 18.

The Jules Robinet Brick Company.

1882.[45] In the 1880s, the Windsor border region witnessed a proliferation of amateur English and French Canadian winemakers, many of whom employed skilled vineyard labourers from France and Italy. Most of the entrepreneurs in question established wine terraces and cigar shops for their middle class cross-border clientele on the Detroit River.[46] French immigration recruiters had already noticed the fledgling wine industry in the Windsor border region.

> *une autre grande qualité du pays réside dans sa fertilité : ses sols sont non seulement riches et profonds, ce qui est le cas notamment dans les Prairies, mais ils autorisent les plus belles récoltes, de céréales, de légumes, de fruits et même de raisin, qui poussent en abondance sur les rives du lac Érié.*[47]

Several of these amateur winemaking operations competed for supremacy, dependent on the know how of their labourers. In time, expertise and experience in the industry would prove pivotal in allowing Jules Robinet to succeed where other winemakers would fail. In 1880, he married a French Canadian, Marie Séguin from Tecumseh. The couple moved to Sandwich in 1883 to tend to his new brickyard and winery. In short order, Jules broke away from his partnership with the Girardot family winery to establish Jules Robinet et Compagnie, which he managed alone with the financial assistance of two partners, John Curry and Alexander Cameron of Windsor.[48] From time to time, Robinet and other growers faced the realities of the climate when a late spring or an early autumn frost could devastate the year's prospects. In May 1891, Mayor Ernest Girardot of Sandwich complained that the late frost in Essex County personally cost him three quarters of his grape harvest and wine production.[49] Robinet's vineyards experienced similar hardships.[50]

[46] *Le Progrès*, 12 July 1888 (Eugène Leboeuf), 30 August 1888 (Charles Montreuil); *Windsor Evening Record*, 9 January 1893 (Magdel Guindon).

[47] "Another great quality of the land resides in its fertility: the soil is rich and deep, not only on the prairies, and allows for bountiful harvests of grains, vegetables, fruits and even grapes which grow in abundance on the shores of Lake Erie". Cited in Serge Courville. *Immigration,* 444.

[48] *Windsor Evening Record,* 25 July 1893 also noted in Moosberger, "Jules Robinet," 96.

[49] *Toronto Daily Mail,* 22 May 1891. Like his father Théodule, Ernest Girardot served as mayor of Sandwich from 1891 to 1892 and again from 1894 to 1902.

[50] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 11 October 1906; 16 October 1911; 10 October 1915; 11 April 1921; 10 May 1923; 27 April 1926.

The Girardot Wine Company.

When virtually all of the area's winemakers ran into trouble following the collapse of grape prices during the Panic of 1893, Jules Robinet slowly emerged as the Windsor border region's sole successful vintner. This economic depression, which included a brutal drop in the price of commodities, would require years for markets to rebound. In the midst of major losses, Robinet depended on his brickworks to stay afloat financially. In an effort to reduce his personal exposure to risk, Jules added his brothers and cousins as shareholders in his winery in 1897 and renamed his operation La Compagnie Robinet-Frères.[51] During this time, Robinet also cultivated close relationships with several local grape growers. This strategy appeared to work for Robinet; a local newspaper trumpeted in late 1902 that, "*La Compagnie Robinet-Frères de Sandwich... est composée des principaux viticulteurs du comté d`Essex, propriétaires de 200 arpents du meilleur vignoble du comté.*"[52] By the first decade of the twentieth century, Robinet had secured arrangements with several small grape growers to purchase their harvests, notably, Louis Salive, Francis Savreux, Emile Isabey, and Auguste Lamotte all of whom were French immigrants.[53] This strategy expanded the company's access to vineyard holdings of 200 acres.[54] In a period when other winemakers suffered significant financial losses, Jules Robinet posted annual profits in excess of 20 percent.[55] Robinet even convinced the Girardots` mentor, vintner Adolphe Tournier, to begin selling his grape harvest to his winery instead of to Girardot.

The ascendancy of the Robinet winery can be traced to the troubles facing its chief competitor. The Girardot winery's plans for a major expansion including a

[51] *Le Progrès*, 4 December 1902.

[52] Translation: "the Robinet Brothers Company consists of the principal grapegrowers of Essex county, owners of more than 200 acres of the best vineyards in the county." *Le Progrès,* 4 December 1902.

[53] Robinet would also purchase the harvests of French Canadian and English grape growers as well.

[54] *Le Progrès,* 4 January 1902.

[55] *Le Progrès,* 8 August 1901. French Canadian winemakers Luc Montreuil, Eugène Leboeuf, and Magdel Guindon all suffered major financial losses on their vastly expanded enterprises which included wine terraces, cellars and in the case of Leboeuf, a riverboat cruise ship. Louis Belfort`s winery in Windsor was devastated by a fire that destroyed the new wine cellar and about 6,000 gallons of wine. *Windsor Evening Record,* 18 January 1894.

casino and larger riverside wine terrace involved the addition of shareholders to finance the endeavour.[56] This costly project coupled with the persistent depression in grape prices and the vine fungus outbreak of the late 1890s led the winery to overextend its credit.[57] In time, given the continued deflation in grape prices following the Panic, Ernest Girardot, a relative newcomer to the wine industry, could no longer pay French-born grape growers under contract like Louis Salive, or French vineyard workers with the know-how to tend his fields like Clément Guénot. Both men sued Girardot to recoup their money.[58] To compound matters, the winery lost an appeal to the Town of Sandwich in 1901 regarding a tax assessment against its store of 150,000 gallons of wine.[59] The family eventually became embroiled in a power struggle with its board of directors who successfully ousted Ernest Girardot in 1903. By December 1905, the company was crippled with loans of $60,000 and mounting interest payments.[60] In 1906, Ernest Girardot left the Windsor area to work for the Canadian team for international exhibits at the annual World's Fair, and gradually withdrew from the winemaking industry, leaving the field open for Robinet to become the leading member of the small French immigrant community.[61]

Unlike Ernest Girardot, Jules Robinet managed his winery astutely, avoiding grandiose schemes and constantly aiming to make modest improvements to increase sales. For example, Robinet promoted his wines quite aggressively. Windsor newspapers often featured prominent advertisements for Robinet's wines during the Easter and Christmas seasons. In time, to expand his growing clientele, Robinet even added a door-to-door delivery service for his wines.[62] To facilitate these deliveries and expand his market, Robinet established storage depots among a number of French Canadian farmers and merchants in Windsor and throughout the communities of Essex County to expand his local market.[63] Robinet also made innovations to improve production and the profitability of his wine business. Initially, he pressed his grapes in the cellar of his home for the production of both red and white wines. Then he expanded his business and moved some of the production from

[56] *Detroit Free Press,* 11 June 1899.

[57] Ernest Girardot`s casino and wine terrace plan included an underground series of wine cellars that cut deeply into the bed of the Detroit river. This ambitious plan experienced serious cost overruns at a time when grape prices had yet to recover, eventually leaving the winery insolvent. *Le Progrès*, 7 September 1899; *Detroit Free Press,* 11 June 1899, 28 September 1899.

[58] Both of these French immigrants possessed the vineyard skills that the Girardot family itself likely needed. *Le Progrès,* 24 July 1902, 2 October 1902; *Windsor Evening Record,* 20 July 1902.

[59] *Windsor Evening Record,* 7 August 1901; *Detroit Free Press,* 7 August 1901.

[60] *Detroit Free Press,* 11 July 1899, 18 January 1903, 10 February 1903, 5 December 1905.

[61] *Windsor Evening Record,* 21 July 1906.

[62] *Windsor Evening Record,* 17 December 1913.

[63] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 13 December 1904. Robinet set up depots in Windsor, Belle River, St. Joachim, Stoney Point, Tilbury, and McGregor.

his home to a modest wine shop he built in downtown Sandwich. By 1905, Robinet negotiated a contract to use the street railcar network between the border cities to transport tons of grapes from nearby Amherstburg to Sandwich for pressing. In 1910, Robinet expanded his operations again, purchasing tons of grapes from the nearby Pelee Island vineyards and importing more Concord grape vines from California while continuing to make his traditional Catawba wines.[64]

With the disappearance of most of the other local wineries,[65] Robinet took two more steps to consolidate his predominance over Essex County's grape growers. First, in 1909, he began scouting out a series of small but stable vineyards in the Amherstburg area, most notably the Scott, Ouellette, and Livingston farms. His plan soon became clear: to purchase these vineyards to consolidate his control over the region's wine production. On 7 April 1911, Robinet sold the Scott Farm and then proceeded to remove the 500 or so vines on the property. A few months later, in December 1911, he secured an option to buy the Ouellette vineyard in Amherstburg. The following year in April, his company purchased the Livingston vineyard for $10,000.[66] In the span of just three years, he persuaded all three vintners to abandon the craft. In 1914, he increased his importation of Concord grapes from California while still making Catawba and Port wines.[67] Robinet's initial experiment with Concord grapes was quite modest, with the purchase of a mere 500 vines. However, he wasted little time once he was satisfied with the result, purchasing 14,000 vines in April 1915, another 14,000 vines in April 1916, and finally buying 10,000 vines from a fellow grape grower in Amherstburg in September 1917 for a mere $50.[68]

Robinet used his vast social contacts with the church to increase his wine sales as well. A devout Catholic, Robinet hosted scores of priests and nuns at his dinner table over the years. He often donated money to several church causes and exploited his close relations with prominent priests and nuns to advance his business. Aside from his multiple attempts to secure a lucrative but elusive long term contract producing sacramental wines for the area's churches, he successfully convinced the Holy Names Sisters

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[64] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 16 January 1914; *Windsor Star*, 4 September 1985.

[65] Walkerville`s Charles Montreuil retired from winemaking in November 1908 after years in decline; *Windsor Evening Record,* 7 November 1908. In the town of Sandwich, winemaker Magdel Guindon`s business also failed and on 8 September 1905 and he began working for Robinet during the harvest; Guindon signed a contract to sell wine for Robinet on 2 April 1907 for $50 a month and a third of all profits from his trips around Essex and Kent County, London and Montreal; this arrangement collapsed over a dispute regarding unpaid wages, "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 6-11 November 1907. On the 17 October 1910, Robinet actually harvested the grapes on the Guindon farm, clearly indicating the latter`s abandonment of the craft: "*Nous avons fini de vendanger chez Guindon.*" *Ibid*., 10 October 1910.

[66] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 7 April 1911; 26 December 1911; 28 April 1912.

[67] *Ibid*., 16 January 1914; *Windsor Star*, 4 September 1985.

[68] *Ibid*., 16 January 1914 (500); 8 April 1915 (14,000); 13 April (14,000); 15 September 1917 (10,000).

of Amherstburg to rent a considerable tract of their convent lands at a nominal rate for the establishment of a vineyard in 1915. A few years later, Robinet expanded his Amherstburg vineyards to include the properties of the old Provincial Sanatorium.[69] He would later boast that he was one of the largest purchasers of grapes in the entire region: "Our yearly grape harvest allowed me to produce between 5,000 and 25,000 gallons of wine a year."[70] At its peak, Robinet claimed that he was shipping up to 35 freight cars of grapes every harvest, with each car containing 2,500 ten-pound baskets.[71] He even convinced the CPR to establish a depot adjacent to his Sandwich vineyard for the purposes of shipping; it was later dubbed the Robinet Siding.

The Robinet winery of Sandwich, Ontario, experienced long-term success because its proprietor Jules Robinet was always experimenting and looking for new markets for his products. At harvest time, he would sell his grapes to several producers, most notably the United Fruit Company, E.D. Smith of Stoney Creek, one of the country's largest jam producers, as well as two Quebec-based producers of sacramental wines for the Catholic church: Brother Chrystologue of Iberville, and Brother Pélerinus of Montreal.[72] In 1909, when E.D. Smith refused to give Robinet the price he requested for his grapes, he sought out other markets, such as the daily produce market in downtown Detroit. During yearly festivals, Jules Robinet's children would sell his grapes and grape juice at the Windsor fair, the Detroit fair, and even the Michigan State Fair.[73] He even donated cases of his wine to the annual Assumption parish picnic to market his products to his fellow parishioners. Indeed, Robinet even nurtured and raised grape vines for sale to potential grape growers.[74] Had it not been for customs officials, his winery would have imported vines from France;[75] however, when this initiative failed he changed tactics and began to import hundreds of gallons of French wine and Vichy water both for sale and personal consumption.[76] In June 1926, Robinet recruited another Frenchman, Edouard Féron, for the production of sparkling wines.[77] It would, however,

[69] *Ibid*., 14 April 1915; 30 July 1921.

[70] "History of the Robinet Family", 18

[71] *Ibid*.

[72] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 26-27 September 1904; 8 September 1904 (United Fruit Company); 26 September 1904 (Frère Chrystologue d`Iberville); 1 September 1905 (Les Frères du Sacré-Cœur d`Athabaska); 9 September 1905; 27 septembre 1922; 27 octobre 1926 (E.D. Smith); 19 octobre 1911 (Brother Pélerinus).

[73] *Ibid*., 20 September, 1909, 1910; 22 September 1910

[74] *Border Cities Star,* 13 May 1920.

[75] In California, a number of winemakers successfully imported grape vines from France, notably, Jean-Louis Vignes, Pierre Klein and Paul Masson. See Foucrier, *Le rêve californien,* 52; 250; 320.

[76] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 8 August 1911; 2 August, 1912

[77] *Ibid*., 4 and 5 June 1926. Similar attempts were made by French immigrant winemakers in California with mixed results. See also, Foucrier, *Le rêve californien*, 52-53, 260, 322. .

take a number of years before Robinet would perfect, market and distribute this product, and only with the help of yet another French winemaker, Gaston Dugas of Montbozon, a town just a few kilometers from Robinet's native village of Rougemont.[78] Throughout his life, Robinet worked hard to improve his winery through a variety of innovations.

Robinet was not adverse to using the courts to protect his winery's interests as well. In 1908, A. Carpenter of Winona ordered and then cancelled his purchase of three railway carloads of grapes on the pretext that they were too green. Robinet sued him for breach of contract.[79] In June 1920, the Canadian Pacific Railway could not account for a delivery of forty missing industrial-sized bags of sugar from the Robert Crooks Company of Montreal valued at $890. He took both companies to court and fought with them to split the cost of the losses.[80]

In March, 1918, provincial liquor laws changed and the Ontario Temperance Act banned the sale of alcohol. The following year, the Act was amended to spare domestic wines from prohibition.[81] At this time, Robinet's last major competitor in the area, the Pelee Island Winery, transferred its wine production off the island to Toronto under the direction of its owner J.S. Hamilton.[82] Jules Robinet and Sons was one of just six established wineries still operating in Ontario at that time.[83] Since the prohibition law banned the sale and consumption of wines and spirits containing more than two- and-a half percent alcohol content, Robinet announced changes in the production of his wines.[84] In spite of these changes, and reinforced in large part by an increasingly thirsty cross-border American clientele from Detroit facing a stricter ban, Robinet sold more wine than ever before. Between 1918 and 1920, Robinet violated provincial laws by discreetly meeting American clients in remote areas near Sandwich for the pickup of larger quantities of his wine. Robinet wrote in

[78] Gaston Dugas first appears in Robinet`s diaries on 21 August 1906. Dugas and Robinet would reunite in France and in Sandwich throughout the years. In 1933, Jules and his son Petit Jules undertook to produce 20 cases of sparkling wine for the first time. Gaston Dugas is the name of a renowned French cognac. "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 26 May 1933, 27 June 1933, 18 September 1934; See also <www.dugas.fr> .

[79] *Detroit Free Press*, 11 June 1908.

[80] *Border Cities Star,* October 10, 1922.

[81] In the United States, French immigrant winegrowers were faced with a total ban, which compelled some to turn to contraband and even led some to outright bankruptcy. See Foucrier, *Le rêve californien,* 321-322.

[82] *Windsor Evening Record,* 13 March 1918.

[83] "The Wineries and Wine Behind Winemaking in Canada" www.winesofcanada.ca: "The Ontario Temperance Act was a law passed in Ontario in 1916 to prohibit the sale of alcohol, a period known as Prohibition. In 1919 it was amended to exclude domestic wines. There were only six established wineries in Ontario at that time; Barnes (est. 1873), T.G. Bright, Jules Robinet and Sons (est. 1882), National Wine Company (est. 1894), Turner Wine Co. (1885) and Stamford Park Wines (1890)."

[84] Marty Gervais, *The Rumrunners: A Prohibition Scrapbook,* (Emeryville, Ontario: Biblioasis, 2010), 36; "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 14 March 1918.

his diary, "*Nous avons livré 40 douzaines de bouteilles de vin aux Américains à Ojibway.*"[85] With a relaxation of restrictions on wine, and to foster sales, Robinet, like many other Ontario wine producers, eventually increased the alcohol content in his product by adding large quantities of sugar. According to the winemaker's grandson Ed Robinet, "My grandfather's wine used to test out at anywhere from 17 to 19 and 20 percent."[86] On October 4, 1921, licensing officials visited Robinet's wine cellar and warned him to stop selling wine to strangers.[87] During these early years of Prohibition, Robinet's yearly sales increased dramatically, by no less than 400 percent.[88]

Other clues suggest Robinet's role as a rumrunner. In April 1920, his construction company agreed to do extensive renovations for Henri Hébert on Abar's Island View Hotel, a tavern located on the shores of the Detroit River facing the American metropolis, and widely suspected to be the most infamous liquor trafficking centre of the region.[89] Robinet also had his construction workers excavate to expand the size of his own wine store cellar, which he later referred to as "*la cave derrière le magasin*."[90] Later diary entries suggest the secretive purpose of this second cellar: "*Les ouvriers sont à mettre la couverture sur la cuverie et les maçons sont à poser le ciment dans le passage entre les bâtisses.*"[91] Then on September 22, 1920, Robinet noted a massive night time delivery to the new cellar: "*les garçons ont livré 50 douzaines la nuit passé, 25 douzaines aujourd'hui et 25 douzaines de bouteilles de port pour cette nuit prochaine. Clovis et Primo ont cimenté le passage entre les deux caves...*"[92] These diary entries are particularly telling

[85] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 8 June 1920. Ojibway was a rather secluded, wooded area on the shores of the Detroit River.

[86] *The Windsor Star,* 3 September 1985.

[87] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 4 October 1921.

[88] In his diary entries in 1918 and 1920, Robinet recorded a dramatic increase in his daily sales of wine during the pre-Christmas period, and his weekly sales of wine year-round. Interestingly enough, Robinet kept a diary for forty years, from 1902 to 1942. Only one year, 1919, is missing. This was just after the imposition of prohibition in Ontario and shortly after his business sales skyrocketed. After 1920, Robinet no longer recorded his sales figures in his diary, leading one to believe that he intended to hide his real figures from revenue officials in Toronto and Ottawa.

[89] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 14 April 1920; see also Gervais, *The Rumrunners*, 38, 40-41. Abar`s Island View Hotel was a favourite drinking spot for baseball legend Babe Ruth and players on the Detroit Tigers. Robinet also served as Hébert`s real estate agent selling a fifty-acre tract of his land located due south of downtown Windsor. Such dealings suggest a relationship of trust between the men, and the possibility that the purchase and sale of such properties might have been a method of laundering profits from illicit trade in alcoholic beverages. For additional details on the reputation of Abar`s Island View Hotel see also *Border Cities Star*, 4 November 1927.

[90] Translation: "the cellar *behind the store,*" "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 15 July 1920.

[91] Translation: "The workers are putting covers on the vats and the masons are pouring concrete in the passage between the buildings." "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 17-18 September 1920. In the USA, police seized and raided an operation making whisky in a secret grotto in Los Angeles. *Los Angeles Times,* 6 August 1926, as cited in Harmon, "Bootlegger Era...," 343.

[92] Translation: "the boys delivered 50 dozen last night, 25 dozen today and 25 dozen of port tonight.

J. Robinet's grocery and hardware store.

for they indicate the existence of a second secret wine cellar attached by a hallway that could store a significant quantity of bottles that were delivered under cover of darkness. The purposes of this cellar leave the reader to wonder whether it was an attempt to circumvent the liquor laws, an attempt to conceal revenues from the tax man, or both.

Further evidence suggests Robinet's involvement in the illegal traffic of alcohol. If the winemaker's diary is to be believed, he and his family began trafficking an undetermined quantity of whisky, an illegal product, for his friends John Dugal and William McKee of Windsor. Indeed, Robinet even noted, "*J'ai livre 8 caisses de whisky au père Côté.*" Fathers Louis Semande and Arthur Côté of Sandwich were two clients who received their whisky via Montreal by way of the Grand Trunk and the Canadian Pacific Railways![93] Other sources corroborate Robinet's role as a whisky trafficker. On 1 October 1920, Jules's son Francis was arrested by Windsor police for being in possession of empty whisky barrels. When interrogated by police, it was reported that he refused to cooperate.[94] Six months later, on 7 April 1921, Louis Bécigneul, Robinet's son-in-law, was robbed in the Windsor suburb of Ford City of $3000 worth of alcohol. A

Clovis and Primo cemented the passage between the two cellars." "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 22 September 1920. Other rumrunners had secret cellars, see Gervais, *The Rumrunners*, 23.

[93] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 21 March 1918; 10 April 1920; 22 April 1921. Translation: "I delivered 6 cases of whiskey to Father Côté." Robinet also order cases of Seagram`s whisky and anisette from Montreal: "J`ai commandé 5 caisses de Seagram et une caisse d`anisette de Montréal," 15 January 1920. Other researchers note the use of the railway for smuggling; Gervais, *The Rumrunners*, 27. Some historians have noted the public suspicion of the privileges of priests and rabbis in the management of ceremonial wines and their freedom from surveillance and the potential for the breach of such a trust. See Wendell Harmon, "The Bootlegger Era in Southern California," *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly,* 37:4, (December 1955), 344-45. Others have noted that persons disguised as priests trafficked whisky over the border in their vestments. Susan Cheever, *Drinking in America: Our Secret History,* (New York City: Twelve Hatchett Book Group, 2015), 143.

[94] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 1 October 1920.

further passage suggests that Robinet's business profited from whisky deliveries via the CPR for Bécigneul from Lac Mégantic, Quebec.: "*L'après midi, je suis allé avec Clovis chercher 8 caisses de whisky au CPR pour Louis Bécigneul*".[95]

Robinet would not be the only member of his family to enter the world of business. Jules's younger brother Victor operated his own small vineyard as well as a successful hardware and grocery store in Tecumseh.[96] Jules's sons Francis, Clovis, Joseph, and Emile Robinet operated two new wine cellars in Oldcastle and Windsor from 1928 to 1935 with their father's guidance. Robinet even helped three of his daughters with businesses.[97] For example, with help from her father's construction business with renovations, Anna Robinet briefly operated a candy store in Sandwich in 1906 and 1907 with her friend Marie Bécigneul.[98]

Service Provider

As a result of his accumulated wealth as a successful winemaker, Robinet also provided shelter and legal and financial support to French immigrants in need in Sandwich. For example, in an early diary passage Robinet wrote of a loan he arranged for his cousins, "*je suis allé chez cousin Binet et Obron pour les faire signer un hypothèque.*"[99] Shortly thereafter, in 1906, when Eugene Bécigneul, a native of Nantes, France, returned to Sandwich to work as the manager of his wine cellars, Robinet opened his home to the entire family while his construction company renovated their apartment.[100] On another occasion, when a French count, Guillaume des Nétumières, fled to Canada during the First World War with his wife, Robinet opened his home to the couple. Eventually, he even financed a loan for $5,000 to him to purchase a farm in Lapeer, Michigan.[101] Lastly, when Eugène Bécigneul the owner of the Paris Refreshment Company pop shop died suddenly, Jules Robinet negotiated with creditors of the bankrupt establishment to salvage the widow's meagre estate.[102]

Having been involved in countless legal transactions and a number of court battles, Robinet offered his experience to

[95] Translation: "This afternoon, I went with Clovis to secure 8 cases of whiskey from the CPR for Louis Bécigneul," *Ibid*., 7 April 1921; 22, 23, 27 April 1921. For more details on the Bécigneul family, consult See Marcel Fournier, *La Compagnie Nantaise*.

[96] Jules`s son Emile would later open a brick making business, while Petit Jules attempted to operate a golf course and later a service station.

[97] Jules helped Lucille and her husband start a grocery store in 1922. In 1923, he helped Julia and her husband purchase and operate a shoe store. Both businesses failed.

[98] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 10 December 1906.

[99] *Ibid*., 3 January 1903. Translation: "I went to the homes of Cousin Binet and Obron to have them sign the mortgage loan."

[100] *Ibid*., 16 July 1906; 17-25 August 1906; 8 October 1906.

[101] *Ibid*., 5 March 1928; *Border Cities Star,* 6 March 1928.

[102] *Ibid*., 19-20 April 1920; Robinet also negotiated with creditors to protect his daughter Lucille and her husband Louis Bécigneul in 1923 following the collapse of their grocery store; and in 1924, when son-in-law Gustave Jaquot and his daughter Julia faced the bankruptcy of their shoe store.

French immigrants who lacked the confidence and the skills to navigate the Canadian legal system. Former employee Claude Gobey and cousin Adolphe Tournier, held Robinet in such high esteem that they named him as the executor of their wills rather than their own children.[103] Robinet also offered assistance to wine merchants Emile Isabey and François Lamotte when they needed help with their government applications and their Income Tax Reports.[104] Mrs. Elie Girard depended on Robinet's experience when she asked him to accompany her when meeting her English-speaking lawyer while fighting to secure her late husband's life insurance. Later she turned to Robinet to translate for her in the court room during the lengthy trial[105] Albert Guénot put his faith in Robinet's language skills as well when he found himself charged for having fired his rifle upon a few teenaged vineyard thieves. Louis Guillemin also turned to Robinet as an advocate and interpreter during his legal troubles involving accusations of arson and insurance fraud.[106] In contrast, when Monique Soucy sought to become a Canadian citizen, Robinet, at age 80, helped her with her naturalization papers and accompanied her to the immigration office.[107]

After the First World War, Robinet continued to provide support for his compatriots in need especially when it came to real estate transactions. Clément Guénot relied on Robinet to complete the necessary paperwork to purchase his home.[108] When Louis Guillemin was arrested a second time in December 1922 for selling illegal whisky, he resolved to return to France with his family. He entrusted his vineyards to Robinet's management for five years until he sold them in 1928 using Robinet as his real estate agent.[109] When Emile Isabey also chose to return to France, Robinet accompanied him to the French consulate in Detroit: "*L 'après-midi, je suis allé à Détroit avec E. Isabey au bureau de l 'émigration.*"[110] Robinet even opened his home to Isabey's family for lodgings, just prior to their departure in 1923: "*Chez Emile Isabey sont venus rester à la maison en attendant leur départ pour la France.*"[111] Indeed, he

[103] *Ibid*., 2 May 1912; 1 August 1923.

[104] *Ibid*., 6 July 1919; 16 April 1920; 29 April 1920.

[105] Robinet successfully fought for the fire insurance payment on a Dance Hall, Rainbow Gardens, which he had built but which had burned down shortly thereafter in 1928. *Ibid*., 19 February 1931, 4 March 1931; 7 April 1931; 21, 23 December 1931; 1-15 December 1932. For more on the court battle between Robinet and his insurance company see *Amherstburg Echo,* 30 August 1929; *Border Cities Star,* 4 March 1931, 17 April 1934, 31 October 1934.

[106] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 24 June 1918; 4 November 1927; 28 May 1928.

[107] *Ibid*., 8 January 1938.

[108] *Ibid*., 30 March 1910; 27 November 1923.

[109] *Border Cities Star,* 5 December 1922; "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 23 April 1923; 12 December 1928. Guillemin relied on Robinet to rent his properties until he finally sold them in 1928.

[110] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 19 June 1922.

[111] *Border Cities Star,* 1 August 1923; For similar stories, Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1947), 108.

even agreed to manage Isabey's vineyard for four years before selling his property on his behalf, in similar fashion to Louis Guillemin's.[112] Jules Robinet drew importance from his role as a provider of property, financial and legal services for members of the French émigré community.

Jules Robinet: A Key Link in the Migration Chain

After their arrival in the region, most of the French migrants to Sandwich grouped themselves in houses around the residences of the Girardot and Robinet families. According to the 1901 census, two thirds of these newcomers to the town of Sandwich concentrated their settlement on a series of adjacent lots for social, economic or family reasons. The Girardot and Robinet families consistently employed many of these settlers. Virtually every Frenchman heading a household in Sandwich had an economic tie to one of the two French winemakers in the town. While some did seasonal labour for the Girardot and Robinet families, others committed to longer term employment, most notably, Cyrille Maître, who would work on countless construction projects for Jules Robinet, and often tended to his fields as well. Unlike the French migrant community of California, which could trace its roots to all regions of France, nearly all of the newcomers in the Windsor border region had family from the departments of Doubs and Haute-Saone.[113] Evidence from Robinet's diary entries during his visits back to his hometown in Rougemont, France, suggest that the Lamotte, Tournier, Isabey, Obron, Girardot, Savreux, Guillemin, and Bontront families all had members in the French village of Rougemont and in the Windsor-Sandwich area exemplifying a classic case of chain migration.[114] The Guénot brothers hailed from neighbouring Pompierre-sur-Doubs. With the exception of the Girardots and Pequegnots, all of these families migrated to the region after the Robinet family launched its brick making business and winery. Indeed, Marc Bontront of Ford City, François Lamotte of Windsor, and Joseph Obron and Adolphe Tournier of Sandwich, were all Jules Robinet's cousins. These men also became business associates holding shares in Robinet's winery, making real estate transactions with him, or selling their grapes to him.[115]

It is noteworthy to mention that many of these Frenchmen linked to Robinet came to Canada in the 1880s and 1890s with their wives. During this period a number of publications in France extolled the virtues of emigrating to Canada. Auguste Bodard, in his manual for French

[112] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 30 March 1927, 21 April 1927. Robinet offered the same service to his nephew Léon Robinet. *Ibid*., 17 February 1921; 8-9 March 1921; 5, 18 April 1921.

[113] See Foucrier, *Le rêve californien,* 112.

[114] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 6-14 March 1922; 13 July 1925. For a classic explanation of chain migration consult *John and Leatrice MacDonald, «Chain Migration Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks,» The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, 42 (1964), 82–97.*

[115] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 12-30 September 1904.

emigrants provided the following advice:

> *Vous faites mieux de venir au Canada avec votre famille, si vous avez de l'argent. ...la femme lui est indispensable pour l'aider à surmonter les difficultés qu'il rencontre... L'émigration en famille est celle qui donne le plus de satisfaction aux émigrants.*[116]

Between 1874 and 1892, at least twelve French couples in Sandwich came from France, with at least eight of these couples bringing children.[117] According to historian Robert Painchaud, Auguste Bodard targeted regions of France with higher birthrates bordering the mountainous regions of Switzerland, like Rougemont. Bodard believed that inhabitants from these regions were more receptive to Canada, "*car nos montagnards sont accoutumés au froid; ils habitent un pays stérile, auprès duquel le Canada sera une terre promise; ils sont énergiques, persévérants, travailleurs*."[118] This French recruiter, while primarily promoting the vast prairie expanses, was no stranger to the Windsor border region. Indeed, in the mid-1880s, Bodard actually lived in Windsor and gained a certain prominence as the founder of a Conservative newspaper, *Le Courrier d'Essex*. Even in 1884, Bodard's newspaper aimed to attract French immigrants: "*Donner aux colons et à tous ceux qui veulent émigrer, des renseignements vrais et impartiaux, faire connaitre notre pays et ses ressources à l'étranger.*"[119] Upon his departure, he met with priests and bishops in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories before heading to France to recruit immigrants for Canada.

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[116] Translation: "You would do better to come to Canada with your family, if you have the money... a wife is indispensable for a husband trying to overcome the struggles he will encounter... How many times have we seen the wife, left in France, refuse to come alone, and the husband, forced to return and bring her, spending a small fortune that could easily have been used to build a beautiful house. Emigrating as a family gives far greater satisfaction to emigrants." Bodard, *Le Canada,* 19.

[117] *Canada Census,* 1901, Sandwich (Town). According to the census data, Pierre and Josephine Robinet came with four of their children in 1874 accompanied by cousins Adolphe and Amélie Tournier. Hippolyte and Philomène Girardot came in 1880 with their six children. Claude and Francis Gobey came with their daughter Mary in 1882, and Eugene and Winegathe Robinet came in 1883. Louis and Marie Salive came in 1888 with their two-year-old son Alphonse. Albert and Julia Guénot came in 1890 with their two children. Emile and Stephanie Isabey came in 1892 as did Joseph and Alphonsine Obron; François and Aline Robinet came in 1890 with their daughter Josephine. Ann Champion came with her husband and her daughter Jeanne in 1891. Lastly, Dieudonné Merit came with his wife and two children in 1891.

[118] Translation: "Our mountain people are accustomed to the cold. They live in a barren country, compared to which Canada will appear to be the promised land: the people are energetic, persevering and hard working." R. Painchaud, *Un rêve français dans le peuplement de la Prairie,* (Saint-Boniface: Editions des Plaines, 1987), 182; for more on the "promised land" see Courville, *Immigration*, 439.

[119] Translation: "Give the colonists and all those who wish to emigrate a true account of the country and its resources..." *Le Courrier d'Essex,* 8 August, 1884. Bodard only remained at the helm of this newspaper for a few issues, before handing it to immigrant Hyppolite Girardot a teacher and farmer. This rare collection of newspapers, about a dozen in total can also be found in the Windsor Municipal Archives. Much of the French language press west of Quebec was actually launched by French immigrants. See Paul-André Linteau, "Quatre siècles d'immigration française au Canada," dans *France-Canada-Québec : 400 ans de relations d'exception,* (Montréal : Les presses universitaires de Montréal, 2008), 176.

As elsewhere across Canada, the stream of French immigrants entering southwestern Ontario remained but a trickle. One possible reason was the fear expressed by Catholic leaders in the 1880s, notably Quebec bishops, that French immigrants would have a negative impact on the faithful: "*...il n' y a rien de pire que les Catholiques avaries par la révolution- c 'est une race qui n 'a ni foi, ni loi, et qui ne peut que scandaliser nos bons fidèles.*"[120] The reluctance of Quebec's bishops and Canada's reputation for cold weather, combined with the growing opposition of the French state to any Canadian efforts to recruit immigrants, might help to explain the small number of French families seeking opportunity or adventure across the Atlantic.[121] Many of the French immigrants to Sandwich were likely motivated to move by their close ties to the Robinets.

Conclusion

Robinet's winery faced only a few minor difficulties during the era of Prohibition. Surprisingly, it was only with the end of Prohibition in Ontario that Robinet's wine operations actually encountered serious trouble with law enforcement officials. In June 1927, the provincial government introduced the *Ontario Liquor Control Act*, by which the province took control of the sale and distribution of wines and spirits in the province, imposing taxes. The new laws strictly regulated the production and distribution of beer, wine, and hard liquor.[122] In order to continue the family business, Jules Robinet was compelled to purchase a provincial license in July 1928. That same year, the provincial government ordered him to pay $3,200 in back taxes.[123] In 1933, the end of Prohibition in the United States forced Robinet to petition provincial officials to transport his wine legally across the border; the government denied his request, impacting his business revenues.[124] Robinet's lobbying efforts give credence to allegations that his winery was heavily involved in Prohibition era cross-border rum-running.[125]

In the 1930s, Jules Robinet encountered a series of financial difficulties. Overextended with the banks for his real estate purchases, and faced with a growing number of tenants unable to pay their rent on his investment properties, he suffered serious losses. Much of Robinet's wealth was tied to his real es-

[120] Translation: "There is nothing worse than Catholics corrupted by the Revolution; this is a people without faith, without laws, who could only scandalize our faithful." See Painchaud, *Un rêve français,* 169.

[121] For more information on the official French opposition to any emigration of their population to Canada, see Painchaud, *Un rêve français,* 198-201; Bruno Marnot, "Le cadre réglementaire et le mouvement de l`émigration vers le Canada à partir de deux sources officielles, " in E-crini, Université de Nantes, 2012, 1-8; and Françoise Le Jeune, "Migration française vers la Colombie Britannique (1870-1914), une présence furtive", in E-crini, Université de Nantes, 2012, 8, 13.

[122] Gervais, *The Rumrunners*, 29-30.

[123] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 11 December 1928.

[124] *Ibid*., 13 May 1933.

[125] Interview, Kim Watson, Oshawa, 2 June 2010; *Windsor Star,* 4 September 1985.

tate and construction interests and the increasing severity of the Depression hit his tenants hard, with many of them failing to pay their rent. Forced to reconcile his accounts with the banks, Robinet surrendered the title on several properties to avoid bankruptcy.[126] Tough times forced his daughter Julia and her husband Gustave Jacquot to move in to the family homestead with their children. In spite of the harsh times, the Robinet winery continued to make enough profit to steer the family through rough waters.

In January 1935, at the age of 77, Jules Robinet met with Fred Marsh regarding the possible sale of Robinet and Sons. After a few days of negotiations, Robinet agreed to sell his company, wine barrels, and store to the Fred Marsh Winery for $14,000. As part of the sale, Robinet surrendered his liquor license to Marsh.[127] After this transaction, Robinet continued to sell wine from his own cellar without a license. On 15 August 1935, his son-in-law, Gustave Jacquot was summoned to appear in court for the illegal sale of wine. Jacquot paid a fine of $83, but Robinet's name was kept out of the newspapers.[128] On 10 November 1939, at the age of 82, Robinet opened his family home to officers of the Ontario Provincial Police who conducted a search of his premises.[129] In his diary, Robinet wrote, "*L'après-midi, les provinciaux sont venus saisir tout notre vin, environ 4000 galons tout de première qualité. C'est une grosse perte pour moi.*"[130] The OPP constables seized all 4,000 gallons of wine that they had found in the cellar:

> The seizure, one of the largest in the district's history, was made in the Robinet home at 559 St. Antoine street Ward Five.... Authorities refused to give out any details regarding the raid, but the officers... made no effort to remove the huge vats of spirits found in the basement. Five gallon jugs and bottles of the wine were picked up by the squad. The remainder of the alcoholic beverage is held under seizure in the accused's home. Instructions for the raid are reported to have been given the local provincial police from the Toronto headquarters. Although the raid was conducted within the city limits, Windsor police were not called in and did not know anything of the seizure. [131]

In the midst of Robinet's personal troubles, the Ontario Liquor Control Board announced an aggressive strategy against the bootlegging of homemade wine.[132]

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[126] *Ibid.*

[127] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 4 February 1935; Nancy Plumridge to Michael Moosberger, 18 February 1981, Canadian Wine Institute Files, Toronto, Ontario, as noted in Moosberger, "Jules Robinet," 31, 98.

[128] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 16 August 1935.

[129] In Florida, local authorities preferred to hand over to federal officers the responsibility for arresting bootleggers so as to avoid the wrath of voters. See James A. Carter III, "Florida and Rumrunning during National Prohibition," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* 46:1 (July 1969), 54.

[130] Translation: "In the afternoon the OPP came and seized all of our wine, around 4000 gallons of the best quality. It is a great loss for me." "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 10 November 1939.

[131] *Border Cities Star,* [Windsor], 16 November 1939.

[132] I*bid.,* 16 November 1939; also noted in Moosberger, "Jules Robinet," 31.

Interestingly enough, the Windsor police force, which had never conducted a search of the Robinet homestead, knew nothing about the OPP investigation, lending credence to family claims of a carefully cultivated friendship between Robinet and certain high ranking municipal authorities.[133]

Jules Robinet appeared before a judge on 3 January 1940, at the age of 82, and was ordered to pay a fine of $200 for selling wine without a provincial license and possessing more than the legal limit of 100 gallons of wine for personal consumption.[134] In spite of this setback, Robinet would re-launch his bootlegging business just a few months later with the help of his sons: "*J'ai repris la vente des vins...Emile a pris 200 galons pour sa part, et moi j'ai pris le reste, environs 700 galons.*"[135]He would defiantly produce wine until the sale of his house and vineyards in 1942. Just days before the closing date on their home, Robinet fell ill and the entries in his diary came to an end. He died on 10 December 1942, at the age of 84.[136]

Robinet's success as a pioneer winemaker could be attributed to his willingness to try new strategies to grow his business if his first attempts failed. His know-how and resiliency proved critical to the survival of the winery. When other amateur winemakers made elaborate business plans, Robinet kept his feet on the ground and focused on growing grapes. In the 1890s, when the region's vineyards were devastated by a vine fungus and collapse in grape prices, Robinet's ability to keep his winery profitable was a testimony to his family's lengthy experience in the winemaking business. Guided by his father, Pierre Robinet and the 500-year family tradition of tending vineyards in France, it is not surprising that the family emerged from the 1890s as one of the only profitable winemakers. During this time of upheaval for local wineries, Jules Robinet focused his energies on his largest competitor. Seizing upon the disillusionment with the insolvent Girardot winery, he recruited most of the struggling French immigrant grape growers to work his vineyards, farm, and garden when they could.

Over the years Robinet would experiment with fermenting different fruits from his orchards, like apples and pears for cider, as well as adding varied com-

[133] Marty Gervais identifies the accusations of corruption and the ineffectiveness of the Sandwich police force when it came to enforcing the Prohibition laws. Gervais, *The Rumrunners*, 190. Owen Carrigan identifies examples in other Canadian cities, where traffickers carried on with little police interference. See Owen Carrigan, *Crime and Punishment in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991), 135. The American Coast Guard struggled against the corrupt behaviour of some of its own officers in the Sault Sainte-Marie area. Andrew Lefebvre, "Prohibition and the Smuggling of Intoxicating Liquors Between the Two Saults", *The Northern Mariner, 11:*3 (July 2001), 40. *Border Cities Star,* 4 January 1940

[134] *Border Cities Star,* 4 January 1940. In the 22 July 1920 edition of the *Detroit Free Press*, journalists called attention to the ineffectiveness of Sandwich police in enforcing prohibition.

[135] Translation: "I have started to sell wine again... Emile took 200 gallons for himself, and I took the rest, around 700 gallons." "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 5 October 1940, 16 December 1940, 22 December 1940.

[136] *Border Cities Star,* 12 December 1942; *La Feuille d'Érable,* 10 décembre 1942.

binations of ginger, honey, gooseberries, currants, peaches, cherries, raspberries, rhubarb, and strawberries to his grapes for his wines.[137] None of these products experienced much success. Nevertheless, by 1927, Robinet grew eleven different varieties of grapes in his vineyards. All of these efforts eventually paid off in the depths of the Great Depression; Robinet's diversified production line of new brands, including dandelion wine, sparkling wine and cider bolstered his business's profits in 1934.[138] While his production levels would never match those of the Girardot winery in its heyday, Robinet's winery never found itself at the mercy of creditors or shareholders.

For more than forty years, French immigrants living in Sandwich depended upon winemaker Jules Robinet as a vital link in the migration chain, through his roles as an employer, business associate and service provider. Unlike the French immigrant community in California, nearly all of these migrants came from the same region of north-eastern France as the Robinets, near the Swiss border. The vast majority of these immigrants depended at one time or another upon Jules Robinet for their daily bread as employees or business associates. Some even turned to him for shelter, financial support or legal advice. Entrepreneur, business associate, employer, real estate agent, creditor, legal advocate, and bootlegger, Jules Robinet drew much of his importance from serving the French immigrant population, as is amply illustrated in his personal diaries. He embodied much of what is complex about the human spirit. For many residents of the Windsor border region, he represents one of the leading rum-running legends associated with the Prohibition era.

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[137] A number of California wine makers, such as Louis Bauchet, also tended their own orchards of fruit-bearing trees. See Foucrier, *Le rêve californien*, 51-52, 250.

[138] "Les mémoires de Jules Robinet," 11 May 1934; 10-12 October 1934; 31 December 1934. The Sainsevain brothers of California conducted similar experiments. See Cleve Kindall, "Southern Vineyards: The Economic Significance of the Wine Industry in the Development of Los Angeles, 1831-1870", *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly,* 41:1 (March 1959), 33. Federal law enforcement officers complained of the inaction of local police. Wendell Harmon, "The Bootlegger Era in Southern California", *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly,* 37:4 (December 1955), 336.