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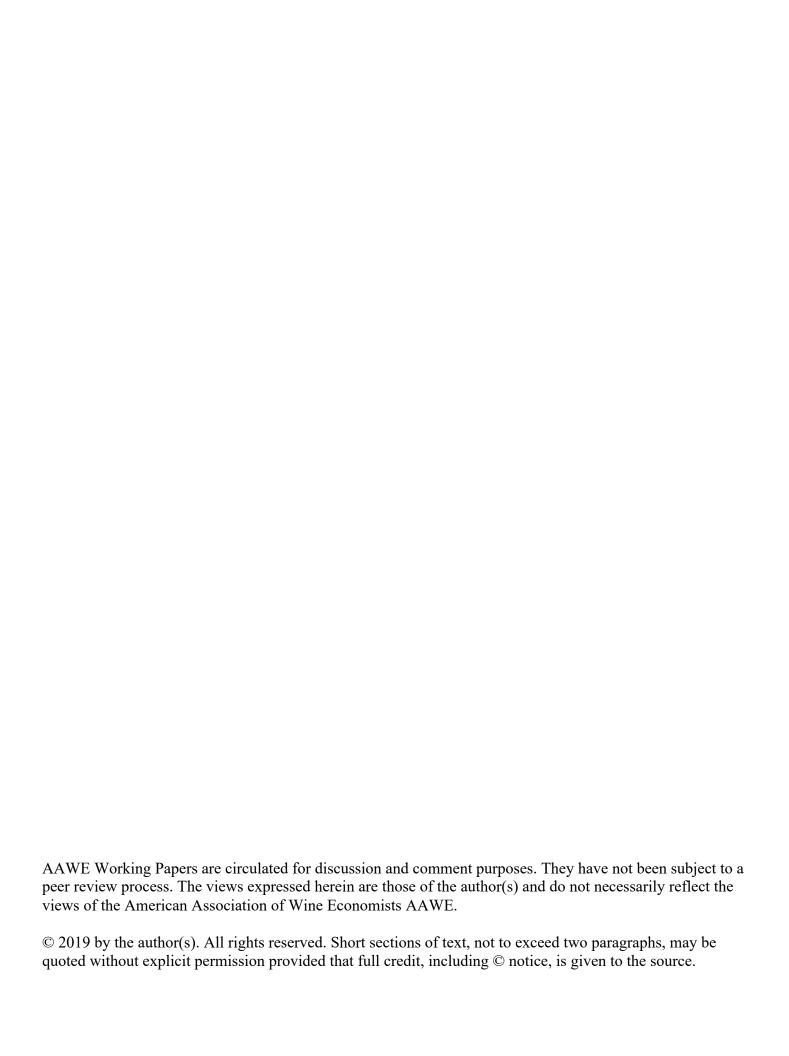
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BEFORE THE INVENTION OF THE "NEW WORLD" ARGENTINEAN AND CHILEAN WINES IN SWEDEN BEFORE 1950

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ABSTRACT

Before the new world became a concept related to the upswing of wines from Australia, Latin America, New Zealand, South Africa and the United States, occasionally, wines from these countries could be sold in countries like Sweden. One such point in time was during WWII, when importing wines from Europe became impossible and a very short window of trade opened-up between Argentina, Chile and Sweden. This paper partially describes this story, based on the scarce sources found at the archive of the former Museum of Wines and Spirits in Stockholm. The purpose of the paper is to shed light on the amount of wine imports from Argentina and Chile during the trade window between Sweden, Argentina and Chile caused by WWII. Some sources analyzed are sales statistics of the Swedish wholesale and import monopoly Aktiebolaget Vin & Spritcentralen, price lists of the regional alcohol monopoly in Stockholm (Stockholmssystemet) and by analyzing the labels of the wines found in the archive. Some of the questions to be answered are: How much wine from Argentina and Chile was sold during the studied period? Who were the exporters? Why was this trade window opened and closed?

Keywords: Swedish wine imports, wine labels, Argentinean Wines, Chilean wines.

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1. Introduction

Long before the "new world" became a concept related to the upswing of wines from Australia, Latin America, New Zealand, South Africa and the United States, occasionally, wines from these countries could be sold in remote Northern locations like Sweden. One such point in time was during WWII, when importing wines from Europe became impossible and a very short window of trade opened-up between Argentina, Chile and Sweden. This paper partially describes this story, based on the scarce sources found at the archive of the former Museum of Wines and Spirits in Stockholm (Now Spritmuseet). The purpose of the paper is to shed light on the amount of wine imports from Argentina and Chile before the 1950's by analyzing sales statistics of the Swedish wholesale and import monopoly Aktiebolaget Vin & Spritcentralen, price lists of the regional alcohol monopoly in Stockholm (Stockholmssystemet). As this paper is the result of a pilot study, it might be difficult to draw any theoretical conclusions departing from current sources. But publishing these results sources in Sweden can be made available for others. Some of the questions to be answered are: How much wine from Argentina and Chile was sold during the studied period? Who were the firms exporting wines? Why was this trade window opened and closed?

In the next section a full presentation of sources can be found. In the third section, a background on the reasons behind the emergence of the trade window will be presented and the consumption of wines in general and Latin American wines in particular will be presented in the fourth section. In the fifth section an account of the wines, companies and sales will follow, thereby in the sixth section the decline of sales of Latin American wines and the reasons behind this decline will be highlighted. Finally, a short concluding discussion and the end of imports from Latin America will finish the paper.

2. Sources

The Yearbooks of Aktiebolaget Vin och Spritcentralen ("V&S Yearbook"), the state-owned company formed to implement the monopoly and control of imports, gross sales and production of spirits and wine were drawn on extensively in the compilation of this manuscript. Even though the contents of the Yearbooks as well as the structure of the information they contain changed over time, they provide valuable data concerning import figures of gross sales of wines and spirits as well as prices and the main sources of imports of wine. From 1945 the Yearbooks also contain yearly harvest reports for the most important import countries and information on general trends of consumption in Sweden and they also provide insights into problems or trends in Europe. One problem with this material is that it only contains detailed information about the largest countries, thus sources of less importance are only visible in the statistics during a few years. In addition, there is more detailed information in the form of

internal reports for the period between 1938 and 1948. For the sake of simplicity these Yearbooks will be called V&S Yearbooks throughout the manuscript.

Since 1920 Aktiebolaget Vin och Spritcentralen (hereafter called V & S) also published a serie of documents called "meddelande från katalogredaktionen" (or translated, announcements from the catalogue editors). This periodical includes price lists with more precise information about new brands, required offers from foreign companies and information about changes in the stock. The data offers an opportunity to ascertain information about the supply of Latin American wines that were available at the wholesale level in the period between 1920 and 1955. Documents also contain the name of the brands and from which wineries the wines were purchased. One problem encountered was the inconsistency of the availability of product information. For instance, some products such as communion wine the country of origin is not always included. Another problem was that only significant changes in the supply were noted. But even though there is no information about how much wine from the Southern cone was consumed, the information in "Meddelanden från katalogredaktonen" offers the opportunity to, at a later stage, to determine the exact contents from the firms from which the wine originated. V & S also has detailed unpublished import statistics for several years. In this case relevant information was found for the period between 1938 and 1955.

Additional documents with information over items sold in Sweden during 1907 to 1955 and 1916 to 1955 are the regional retail monopoly's price lists. These are Göteborgssystemet (Gothenburg based retail monopoly) and Stockhomssystemet (Stockholm based retail monopoly). Göteborgssystemet and Stockholmssystemet were two of the 40 local retail monopolies created as a result of the state monopolization of alcohol retail. The price lists contain the name of the products sold by the companies. These have been used as a complement to the V&S Yearbook series, because they contain information about wines available for sale and also the consumer price for them.

There are statistics about the total domestic consumption from 1880 until today. Before 1968 information about the consumption of wines per country is not precise, but it is possible to get a general idea of the amount of wines imported from Latin America by following the development of the size of the category "övriga lättviner" (other light wines), which was the category in which Latin American wines were accounted for before 1968.

Finally, some labels were found at the archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits in Stockholm. These labels also contain important information about the origins of the wine and the companies that produced them as well as the design aspects needed to analyze design language. Sources are to the

extent that it is possible, accounted for and included in the paper to make them available for researchers in other countries.

3. Why did this trade window emerge?

3.1 The Swedish perspective

Alcohol consumption can be motivated from many different perspectives. Some scholars argue that social determinants are crucial behind alcohol consumption, some argue that there are some links between personality and moderate or heavy consumption (Mitchell, et. al., 1990), while others argue that attitudes and disposable income might influence a higher or lower consumption (see for example Ramstedt, 2010). In the case of early consumption in Sweden there is a wide consensus that social class was an important determinant. Working class consumed vodka, while it was the nobility and the well-off parts of the population that consumed wine (Johansson, 2008; Knobblock, 1995). Thus, consumption patterns were well established and there was a clear class divide between vodka and wine.

As the number of economically affluent people in Sweden at that time was limited, consumption of wines in general was quite low. Before 1917 statistics of consumption were estimations. There has been a vivid discussion about the quality of early statistics on alcohol consumption and there seems to be a consensus that figures were most likely exaggerated in previous times (Nycander 1996), however, in the case of wine, even though the estimations are contested, there is no doubt that consumption was comparatively marginal.

What we call wine today, was then called light wines (lättviner). Fortified wines made up the lion's share of consumption and the main part of all fortified wines sold in Sweden originated from Madeira at the beginning of the century. The dominating part of the light wines imported until 1955 originated from European countries, and especially from France. (V&S Yearbooks 1917-1955) The wealthy population of the main cities, such as Gothenburg and Stockholm, were the main target market. During the Middle Ages wine was reserved only for royalties, the nobility and the church and it was first when Sweden started to become industrialized that wines became more spread to a rising middle class. The relative price of wine was quite high and it is therefore assumed that the price difference stalled the adoption of wine in Sweden. (Walberg et al 2005:20-21)

Problems with imports from France, especially during the late 1920's, during parts of the 1930's and again during the Second World War (V&S Yearbooks 1920-1945), are likely to have contributed to imports from Latin America. Although wine consumption was quite modest, the demand for wine was

composed by the wealthiest and most influential part of the population (See for example Hagar, 1967; Johansson, 2008 a and b), therefore V & S' willingness to make the effort to import wines from South America was probably high.

3.2 The Latin American perspective

Why did wine producers from the Southern Cone make the effort to export wines to a remote market like Sweden? In the case of Chile the answer is simple. During the outburst of the phylloxera crisis¹ in Europe during the late 19th Century, the Chilean wine industry had invested heavily in targeting exports to Europe by investing the state-of-the-art technologies and by spreading the European vines imported in the 1850's. The expansion and modernization and in some sense the industrialization of the wine sector in Chile was based mainly on the opening of the economic window created by the phylloxeracrisis in Europe and by the short economic window experienced by export agriculture during the late 19th century². The domestic market in Chile did not have the purchasing power needed to absorb the expensive bottled "modern" wines that resulted from the modernization of the wine industry., therefore, when the European production started to recuperate, Chilean wine makers had an installed over capacity and there was a need to find new markets (Morel-Astorga, 2002).

While the Chilean wine industry needed to rely on the few opportunities offered by the international market, the Argentinean wine market was based on the domestic market and the continuing expansion of the population³. According to Basualdo (2001) the construction and expansion of the railway became an important vehicle for linking the production sites with the large cities, and in particular Buenos Aires. The area under vine expanded with 15 percent per year between 1887 and 1895, with 5.6 per cent between 1896-1910 and with 2 per cent between 1910 and 1930 (Azpiazu & Basualdo, 2001:8; Richard-Jorba, R., 2000). Economic fluctuations in general seem to have affected the sector and efforts were made to stabilize the market. But in spite of all ups and downs domestic consumption in Argentina was constantly increasing (Azpiazu & Basualdo, 2001:9). In contrast to the lack of purchasing power in Chile, the market conditions in Argentina were much better. Not only was the population larger, but the incipient process of industrialization that Argentina had experienced, created a higher

¹ The sanitary crisis which affected the wine industry during the latter part of the 19th Century is well known. See for example Unwin (1996).

² During the late 19th century there was a strong international demand for wheat and other agricultural products. Chile managed to participate in this trade during a short number of years. Of course, Chile had no chance to compete with the great settler economies Argentina and Australia. But this economic window led to some accumulation of capital and export experiences. (Bauer 1975)

³ These results were presented to Argentinean wine historians (such as Patricia Collado and Richard Jorba) at the Latin American conference of wine history held in Montevideo in 2009. They claimed that the export history of Argentinean wines is unknown and that these exports must be the result of a temporary demand. However, it is known from sources in larger estate archives in Sweden that Argentinean grains and Chilean seed cakes for feed and saltpeter were recurring commodities at least in the 1930's and 1940's.

purchasing power and much more wealth than in any other part of the Latin American continent (Rostow 1960).

There is reason to believe that the Chilean wine industry was dependent on all export opportunities opened up by the international market, while Argentinean wine firms only had the need to export wines during periods of economic crisis or temporary over production. Thus, Argentina was less dependent on the international market.

In economic theory, the study of substitution of one good over the other is connected to consumer perceptions, it might be related to the price of the product and consumer's income level, but none of that is possible to apply in this case. During the studied period the international wine market, as well as the Swedish wine market were dominated by European wines, and especially French ones. The temporary window of trade between Argentina, Chile and Sweden has nothing to do with economic behavior as it emerged because of the need to substitute European supply during the war.

4. Consumption and sales of wine

4.1 General trends in wine consumption

According to available estimations, per capita consumption was only one liter per inhabitant for the period between 1881 and 1920. Public statistics for what we normally define as wine and fortified wines are mixed during the first decades of the 20th century, therefore the numbers used here are those presented in the V & S Yearbooks where different products are accounted for separately. The statistical series shown above commences in 1919 has been divided into consumption of "other light wines", that is the category under which consumption and sales of Latin American wines can be found and "total wine consumption". Statistics over total consumption contain detailed information about the main product groups, French and German wines are divided by regions, Spanish wines were sold initially as just Spanish wines, South African wines were called Cape wines, and all smaller product groups were accounted for under the category "other light wines".

In Chart 1 (below) a full overview of wine annual sales at the wholesale level is shown. As alcohol was regulated during this period, wholesales numbers are a rather exact indicator of the amount of wines sold each year. In total, consumption of wines was quite low in 1919 and remained at a low level during this period, even though a slight increase can be observed from 1925 and onwards. Some

⁴ The word wine is used for wines with an alcohol content below 14% of alcohol. In Swedish the word wine during that period denominated wines, champagne and fortified wines

important reasons are of course that wine was relatively more expensive than vodka and that since wine was imported, there was no real general tradition of wine consumption. Another reason behind the extremely low consumption figures at the start of the period is the inflation that affected wines as an aftermath of the First World War. For Bordeaux wines for example the price increase between 1914 and 1919 was 600%, for Bourgogne wines it was 500%, for Port wines inflation was more than 300% and Madeira wines increased by more than 350%. Another important reason behind the low consumption levels is that consumption of wines was dominated by fortified wines. In 1919 for example fortified wines accounted for 81.4%, "light⁵" wines for 12,8% and sparkling wines for 5,8% of total consumption (V&S Yearbook 1919). In the chart below, Latin American wines can be found in the darker part of the chart, in the category "other light wines" between 1926 and 1955. Between 1943 and 1947 the share of Latin American wines sold increased dramatically and between 1945-1947 they were a dominant part of all sales. After 1947, sales of Latin American wines were composed by remaining stocks and the slight increase that can be observed from 1951 and onwards composed by Algerian wines (V&S Yearbooks, 1919-1955)

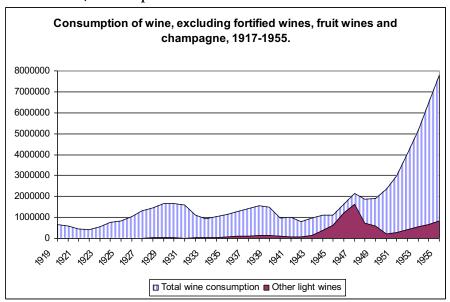


Chart 1. Sales/consumption of wines 1917-1955 in liters

Sources: V&S Yearbooks 1917-1955. Statistics disclose only total consumption of wine, excluding fortified wines, fruit wines and champagne.

An interesting pattern in Chart 1 is that consumption shows four waves of increasing consumption, the first started out in the 1920's and was abruptly interrupted in 1932, which can be interpreted as a direct effect of the financial crisis that had its outburst during the outset of the decade. Still, consumption recovered slowly during the 1930's, but the increase was again interrupted in 1939 and followed by a decrease. And the positive trend was resumed again and reached a peak in 1948. Thereafter we can

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⁵ Swedish consumption was divided into fortified wines (starkviner) and Light wines, which is wine with an alcohol level below 14% and is what we today denominate as wine.

see a short drop in consumption that was followed by a substantial increase in consumption. This last upward trend became sustained during the outset of the century.

The fluctuations in sales especially between 1929 and 1947 can be explained by the economic crisis during the early 1930's, the outburst of WWII and supply problems in Europe. The only exception in the variation of consumption is the short-lived decline in wine consumption between 1947 and 1951. This particular change can be explained by a temporary higher supply of vodka which during a few years influenced wine consumption negatively (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 1950).

4.2 The sales of Latin American wines

The first Latin American wine that was sold in Sweden was "Vino de Chile", produced by Vinos de Chile S. A. and bottled in Sweden. This wine was available at Göteborgssystemet in 1926 (Göteborgssystemet, 1926). It is impossible to determine the exact amount of this wine sold. We know about its existence through this consumer price list from 1926. But from the V& S Yearbook of 1926 we can see that this Chilean wine was not listed by itself, therefore it was listed under the category of "other light wines". The entire category totaled 14,151 liters (V& S Yearbook 1926:24-25). Thus, the amount of Chilean wine sold that year even in the best of cases can not have been higher than 1.3 per cent of total consumption. Although it is most likely that it was much lower.

Picture 2. The first label for product number 2144, Vino de Chile



Source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits in Stockholm.

During the 1930's consumption and imports of wine were affected by price instabilities. In addition, the economic depression during the 1930's had a considerably negative impact both on the Swedish economy departing from 1932 and onwards⁶, but also on Latin American economies.

⁶ Total consumption of wines decreased during 1932, the drop for light wines was 31,6 % and for fortified wines it was 26,6%, but it hit hardest on the consumption of champagne that dropped with 53%. One surprising event is that efforts were made to substitute foreign wines, even champagne with Swedish fruit wines (V&S Yearbook 1932:7). In fact V & S invested heavily in the production of these new fruit wines and launched several brands in 1934 (V&S Yearbook 1934).

There are no records about Argentinean wines during the early 1930's, but some additional information about imports of Chilean wines can be found in the national newspapers⁷. The Chilean Consul in Sweden made a public complaint in 1932 about trade imbalance to the disadvantage of Chile. The complaint was answered by V & S through a note in one of the largest national newspapers in the following way:

"...Spritcentralen wishes to announce that imports of Chilean wines were taken up in August last year and to date amounted to 15,000 liters to a value of slightly more than 200 pounds. Since all wine consumption has now declined substantially and Spritcentralen considers that, for various reasons, it should limit imports to goods for which demand is reasonably considerable, the imports of Chilean wines has been stopped until further notice. To Mr. Olanders remarks about the significant export of Swedish products to Chile it must be noted that according to information from exporters payment for sold goods cannot freely be disposed but is retained by blocking measures in Chile" (Dagens Nyheter, 12th November 1932, pp. 6)

Just like most of the world, Chile suffered from a severe financial crisis between the end of the 1920's and the early 1930's. In Chile the crisis led to restrictions in the use of foreign currency and made it difficult for Chilean firms to pay for their imports (Glaser Schmidt, 1995; Palma, G. 1984). This was an additional obstacle that had a negative impact on the Swedish imports of Chilean wines.

During the second half of the 1930's there was a slight increase in the category "other light wines". Consumer preferences during the 1930's show a slightly different pattern when compared to the 1920's. Spanish wines became very popular and increased their market share until the Spanish Civil War made it impossible to import these wines. South African and Turkish wines became more popular.

From a document found in a file that concerns trade during the 1930's we can find out that the increased imports and sales of Spanish wines are the result of V & S conscious efforts to increase the consumption of Spanish wines. In addition, it is possible to establish that consumption of Spanish wines was larger than the statistics show before 1917, because Spanish wines were often registered as Madeira wines by the authorities (Archive document 11). It is possible that V & S made efforts to import wines from other countries, which might explain why imports from Latin America started in the first place. The first Argentinean wine was sold in 1938, it was a wine from Mendoza named "Reserva Tomba Extra Blanco", from the company Bodegas y Viñedos Domingo Tomba S.A(Göteborgssystemet 1938-1947; Stockholmssystemet, 1926-1947).

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⁷ There are no records about Argentinean wines in newspapers during the 1930's

Between 1940 and 1949 consumption of wines doubled and the category "other light wines" was quite high between 1944 and 1948. The main reason behind the increased volume in size of this category of wines was the war in Europe that made it difficult both to purchase and transport wines. As early as 1943 the sales of French wines decreased considerably. A small part of the demand could be satisfied with Swedish fruit wines, but the lion's share of the substitutes had to be imported from other countries. The following sentences express the situation of the times:

"The difficulties of importing French light wines, this group's most important wine, at the same time that imports from other countries with satisfactory quality has been successful, has given the latter an advance at the expense of the former" (V&S Yearbook 1944:16).

"Mostly red wines from Spain, Hungary, Italy and Chile, that until now amounted to a few percent or were practically unknown for Swedish consumption, have taken the leading role during 1943 and even more in 1944". (V&S Yearbook1944:17)

Table 1. Consumption of Argentinean and Chilean wines 1944-1948 (in liters)

	Argentina	Chile	Other light wines
1944	Na	Na	1,092,806
1945	134494	287344	613,701
1946	506985	199405	1,209,477
1947	Na	Na	1,642,205
1948	Na	Na	721,787

Sources: V&S Yearbook 1944-1948

The only years in which there are exact numbers of the sales of Argentinean and Chilean wines are 1945 and 1946. Chilean wines are mentioned in the Yearbooks of 1944-1947 and the Argentinean wines are mentioned from 1945 to 1947. As can be seen both from Table 1 and 2, the category "other light wines" was quite important during large parts of the 1940s, even during the years immediately before and after the peak Southern Cone wines probably played an important role. In this sense the War opened up a temporary market window that is illustrated by the contents of Appendix 1, where the available wines from the Southern Cone are listed.

It would perhaps be an interesting exercise to analyze the relative price of Latin American wines in relation to similar wines from Europe. However, since we have no knowledge about the actual quality of the wines it would be impossible to select points of comparison.

Picture 1. Pricelist from 1944.

	År-			Pris	pr	
Nr	gång	Importerade på buteljer	1/1 1	out.	1/2 1	out.
		Utan årgång				
6845		Königsmosel, Maas, Nathan & Co	6	65	3	95
6700		Bernkasteler	6	30		
6968		Zeltinger Leiden, D. Leiden	5	90	3	50
6862		Koch's Mosel-Sonne, A. Koch Söhne	5	90		
6860		Moselblümchen	5	10	3	15
		Härtappningar				
6994		Zeltinger	4	90	2	65
6992		Cueser	4	50	2	45
		Diverse lätta viner				
		Rött Chilenskt				
		Härtappning				18
7386		Vino de Chile	2	55		10
		(Nie de les cales de gangarper per des all de				
		Franska				
		Röda				
		Härtappningar				
7021		Côtes du Rhône, Rouge		-		
7007		Royal-Kebir (Algerievin)		85		
7022		Vin Rouge Ordinarie	2	40	1	35
		Vita				F
		Vouvrayviner		15		
				100		
		Importerade på buteljer	5	90		1
7049		Vouvray (pärlande vin), Ch. Moncontour J.M. Monmousseau	5			
7050		Ch Vanassour		90		
7051		" " ", Ch. Vavasseur		1		
		Härtappning				1
7061		Vin Blanc Ordinarie (halvtorrt)	2	55	1	40
		Elsassviner				
		Importerade på buteljer				
7076		Dopff Grande Réserve Traminer		95		1
7073		Dopff Gewürztraminer	100	45		1
7071	Mark.	Traminer, Grand Vin, Schlossberg	100	45		1
7072		Sylvaner Schlossberg	5	-		1

The pricelist on the left is the first in which a Southern Cone wine gets its own banner. It is a list from 1944 and belongs to Stockholmssystemet. The exact text says "Various light wines, Red Chilean, Bottled here, Vino de Chile"

5. Wines, producers and sales

This chapter offers a detailed presentation of the Latin American wines sold in Sweden before 1955. The ambition has been to present the wines, the wine makers, and when possible the importers.

5.1 Wines from Argentina

The material presented below is scarce, but it represents a small part of the export of alcoholic beverages from Argentina to Sweden during the Second World War and the immediate post war period. The imports from Argentina started in June 1943 and grasped both wines and also different types of strong spirits (Archive document 6). The imports of strong spirits surpassed by far the imports of wines. In the next page a total accounting of wines listed can be found.

Table 2. Overview of imports of wines from Argentina 1938-1947.

Producer	Year	Liters	Import value*	Trading agent
n.a.	1939		88	
Sinclair & Cia Soc resp Ltda	1944	9492	25210	A Giron
Fruticola Argentina Soc Resp Ltda	1944	5628	13205	David Rapp AB

Troja Hnos	1944	2730	8708	C. A. Wallenbor & Son
Florio y Cia A	1944	1848	5586	Th. Schiött AB
Pollak F G	1945	20160	70846	Na
Pollak F G ^o	1945	253748	204625	Na
Sinclair & Cia Soc resp	1945	26040	68148	A Giron
Ltda	19 10	200.0	00110	II Onon
Florio y Cia A	1945	18228	55923	Th. Schiött AB
Fruticola Argentina Soc Resp Ltda	1945	19320	50064	David Rapp AB
Riba & Cia	1945	5880	21127	AB Teat
Polledo S.A.C.G. Casimiro	1945	3600	8736	AB Transfer
Rio Negro SA, Baron del	1945	1680	3453	AB Teat
El Globo Ltda SAº	1946	306329	241510	Na
Pollak F. G.	1946	60480	251256	Export AB Nor den
Pollak F. G. º	1946	298449	274513	Export AB Nor den
Fruticola Argentina Soc Resp Ltda	1946	82572	240402	David Rapp AB
Riba y Cia	1946	55440	191467	AB Teat
Florio y Cia A	1946	14658	44681	Th. Schiött AB
Arizu, Viñedos y Bodegas	1946	10920	21454	Ivar Möller Im- portaktiebolag
El Globo LTDA SAº	1947	99906	117609	Na
Riba & Cia	1947	28560	113505	Alex Tegnér & Son AB
Arizu, Viñedos y Bodegas	1947	22092	53226	Ivar Möller Im- portaktiebolag
Sinclair & Co Soc Resp Ltda	1947	8820	24755	A Giron
Pollak F. G. o	1947	20000	19368	Na
Florio y Cia A.	1947	2520	8856	Th. Schiött AB
Benegas Hnos & Cia Ltda	1947	3360	8359	Export AB Nor den
Hudson Ciovini & Cia	1947	1680	6214	Na Na

Sources: Archive documents 1-10. ø= barrel.

As can be seen above at least a few of the wines were sold in considerable quantities and only five wines were imported in barrels. This is an indication that the bottled wine might have been of higher quality. 1945 and 1946 seem to be the top years for Argentinean wines and a few of the companies stand out as important suppliers, Pollak F G and El Globo Ltda S.A. with quite high sales in 1945 and 1946 and some less sales in 1947.

5.2 Wineries and products

An important source for understanding the products and the producers, as well as to try to identify if these producers still exist are wine labels. Today the content of the label will in most cases have a

^{*} import values in nominal Swedish crona.

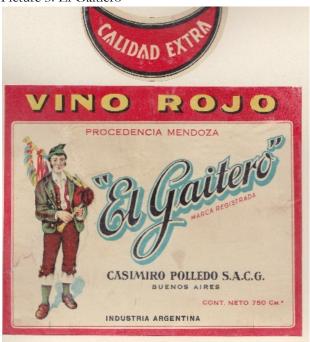
^{**} It is very likely that this is an imported sample of bottled wines (because of the value). Sources clearly show that the first wine listed in retail lists is "Reserva Tomba Extra blanco", from the company Bodegas y Viñedos Domingo Tomba S.A in 1938.

content that complies with legislation and with the message that the producer wants to send to its consumer. In the early 20th Century, only the latter was important. But, nevertheless, labels have a lot of information that is useful to understand the product and the producer.

a) El Gaitiero

Product 2010, El Gaitiero Casimiro Polledo SACG, price 6,50 scr. The label is stamped 1945, which indicates that sales started in 1945 and as there are no more recors, the product was probably sold until the stock was emptied.

Picture 3. El Gaitiero



Source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits

b) Mendoza Argentino Cuba Reservada

Product 2015 Mendoza Argentino, Company A. Florio y Cia, price 6,25 scr for 1/1 bottle and 3,75 scr for ½ bottle. Trade agent Th. Schöitt AB.

Picture 4. Mendoza Argentino Cuba Reservada



Picture source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits

c) Cuevas de Vera and Pinar del Rio

From the company Vitivinícola Escorihuela we can find two wines. The first is product 2020, Pinar del Rio, price in 1944 7,25 scr, in 1950 8,75 scr, in 1951 5,50 scr and in 1952 5,25 scr. The wine was only listed between 1944 and 1952. Trade agent unknown.

The second is product Nr 2008 Cuevas de Vera, Vitivinicola Escorihuela. Nr 2008 Cuevas de Vera, Vitivinicola Escorihuela (8,75 resp 4,75) 1951, 2008 Cuevas de Vera, Vitivinicola Escorihuela 8,50 resp 4,60 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955. Thereafter there are not records of the wine.

Picture 5. Pinar del Rio



Picture source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits

Picture 6. Cuevas de Vera



Picture source: Archive of the Museum of wines and spirits

d) Uvalegre

Product 2030, Uvalegre, producer Establecimiento Fruti-Vitivinicola Ingeniero Hto. Canales, Colonia Gral Roca, Rio Negro, price 5,75 for 1/1 bottle and 3,75 scr for ½ bottle. In addition, as can be seen from the second picture of Uvalegre, there is a label for a half bottle in 1949 on which a price of 6 scr was written. There is however not possibility of confirming this information. Trade agent unknown.

Uvalegre could also be purchased in a 1/1 bottle (in this case 700 ml). This label also reveals that the company was of limited responsibility and the capital of the owner summed up to \$3000000 (which we assume stands for a value in Argentinean currency)



Picture 7. Label for Vino Uvalegre in 1/1 bottle.

Picture source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits





Picture source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits

e) Cordon Verde and Semillón Arizú
From the company Sinclair y Cia, S.R.L. Buenos Aires, there are two wines listed, the first is product
2007 Cordon verde from Pinot Blanc grapes, price 6,25 scr, under 1946. It is likely that this wine also

was sold under the name "Reserva de la Vieja Abadía" (Label, Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits). The second product is number 2066, Semillon Arizú, from Semillon grapes, produced in the province of Mendoza. It was listed in 1948 and unfortunately there is no price for this wine.

There are two possible agents that imported wines from Sinclair & Cia, the first appears in the internal statistics of AB Vin & Spritcentralen in 1944 and it is an agent named A. Giron that sold 26040 liters at a total value of 68148 scr. The second is a bit unclear. In 1946 there is a record of a producing company named Arizu and the agent is Ivar Möller Import Aktiebolag. The amount of wine in this occasion was 10920 liters at a cost of 21454 scr. Since there is no other wine listed with the name of Arizú it is possible that the statistics contains the name of the wine instead of the company. The wine labels indicate that Arizú wine was produced by Sinclair y Cia, S.R.L.

Picture 9. Label for Reserva de la Vieja Abadía



Picture source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits.

Picture 10. Label for Semillón Arizú

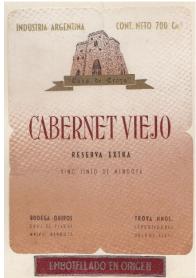


Picture source: Archive of the Museum of wines and spirits

f) Cabernet Viejo

This wine is only known by its label. There are no records of it in any of the lists. It was produced by Bodega Quiros I Cruz de Piedra in Mendoza and the name of the general agent for the wine was Troya Hermanos.

Picture 11. Label Cabernet Viejo Reserva Extra



Picture source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits

g) Vino tinto - Baron de Rio Negro

This wine was produced by Baron de Rio Negro. The wine is only called "vino tinto" (red wine). According to the label the wine has received prices in competitions in Rio de Janeiro 1923, Argentina 1924 (the Argentinean Industrial price), in Bolivia 1925, and in Sevilla in 1926. The wine is not listed in any pricelists. However, there is a record in the internal statistics of V & S. The amount of wine purchased summed up to 1680 liters at a total cost of 3453 scr. The agent involved was called AB Teat. Even though we don't know the exact location of the vineyard we can from the label see that the wine comes from the province of Rio Negro.

Picture 12. Label of Baron de Rio Negro



Picture source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits

h) Rincon Famoso

The product 2022 Rincon Famoso, from Bodegas y Viñedos José Lopez e Hijo appeared at first in the price lists in 1941. This wine was estate bottled and the price the first year was 5,50scr for a 1/1 bottle and 3,50 for a ½ bottle. In 1950 the price was 6,30 scr for 1/1 bottles and 3,85 scr for ½ bottles. From the labe we can also see that the imported wine was harvested in 1938 and that it originated from Maipu, in the province of Mendoza.

Picture 13. Rincón Famoso



Picture source: Archive of the Museum of wines and spirits.

i) Rodas Extra Reserva and Trapiche Derby

These two wines originate from a winery that was owned by one of the Argentinean wine pioneers, Benegas Hnos from San Rafael in Mendoza. The first wine, product number 2024 Rodas Extra Reserva, Cuadro Benegas was found in the price lists of Stockholmssystemet in 1948 and the price was 7,60scr in 1950.

The second is product number 2028 (below) is first found in the sources in Lilla katalogen, prislista Stockholmssystemet between 1948 and 1952. It was sold in 1/1 bottles and the price was 5,70 scr between 1948 and 1952. Only one shipment from Benega Hnos was found in the internal import statistics of V & S, it was 1947, when a total of 3360 liters were bout at a total amount of 8359 scr.

Picture 13. Label for Rodas Extra Reserva



Picture source: Archive of the Museum of wines and spirits.

Picture 14. Label Trapiche Derby Vino Tinto



Picture source: Archive of the Museum of wines and spirits.

The winery was started by Tiburcio Benegas, who also was the governor of Mendoza in 1887. Mr Benegas bought an estate that was to become his first winery in 1883. The estate was located in Godoy Cruz in Mendoza and the winery was called El Trapiche. According to the web page of the company, Benegas also founded a bank in 1886 and embarked in the construction of infrastructure with foreign loans. The company Benegas Hermanos was founded by Tiberio Benegas sons Pedro and Alberto Benegas in 1908.

The company was dissolved at the beginning of the 1970's and the Trapiche winery was demolished. The vineyards were divided and sold. The Pulenta family winery (one of the well-known Argentinean

wine families) bought the wine brands and Seagram's bought the brands of sparkling wines. The current Bodega Benegas is owned by one of the Benega family members, but is not the original company. (Bodegas Benegas, 2010).

j) Mendoza Tinto

The last Argentinean wine label found at the archive of the museum is Mendoza Tinto. W product that is well remembered even today because it was imported in bulk for many years, mixed and bottled in Sweden and marketed by the wholesale monopoly and it also became quite popular among the Swedish population.

Picture 15. Label for Mendoza Tinto, probably the first Label.



Picture source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits

Picture 16. Label for Mendoza Tinto, probably the first Label.



Picture source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits

Label nr 15 was the first label used for Mendoza Tinto and number 16 is the label used when imports of this wine were resumed in 1968.

Besides the wines presented above, there were other imports from Argentina for which there are no labels left. Some of these wines were imported in barrels and bottled in Sweden.

5.3 Wines from Chile

The wine sector in Chile became industrialized (in terms of the organization of a trade and the use of state of the art technologies) at the same time that the phylloxera crisis in Europe destroyed a vast amount of vineyards during the late 19th century. A lucky coincidence led to the start of the modernization of Chilean wine production just before this sanitary crisis in Europe opened an enormous window of export opportunities for Chilean wine makers. The effects of phylloxera presented a substantial economic and scientific challenge, turning the wine sector into an international business. But when the industry in Europe recovered, it had become stronger and new quality rules were adopted that dramatically changed the possibility for non-European producers to compete in Europe. In addition, the other important export market for Chilean agricultural products, the United States, adopted a policy of prohibition of production, distribution and sales of alcohol in 1920. This left the Chilean wine industry with an enormous potential for producing high quality, bottled wines that could hardly be afforded by the domestic market (Morel-Astorga, 2002). It is therefore no surprise that Chilean wines were found in the records available in Sweden during the early 20th Century.

Table 2. Records of V & S imports from Chile 1938-1947.

Product	Producer	Year	Liters	Total	Trade/transport	
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				Price	Agent
Barrel	Na	1938	Na	507*	Na
Barrel	Chadwick	1939	4909	358usd	Na
Barrel	Wagner Chadwich & Cia	1940	5000	1533	Na
Barrel	Errásuriz & Cia Ltda	1943	15414	11653	Paul Drews
Barrel	Errásuriz & Cia S T	1944	128145	108826	Paul Drews
Barrel	Errazuriz & Cia S T	1945	552315	442008	Paul Drews
Barrel	Convic Ltda Ex- portadora de Vinos	1945	175278	115690	Na
Bottle	Broquaire Jorge	1945	3948	18556	Lindman & Co
Na	, 0	1946		136806	
Bottle	Tomic & Errázuriz	1947	3780	9630	Holmberg, Fassbender & Co
Barrel	Tomic & Errázuriz	1947	50200	39043	Holmberg, Fassbender & Co
Barrel	Convic Ltda Ex- portadores De vinos	1947	50140	38808	
Bottle	Broquaire Jorge	1947	9324	37562	Lindman & Co
Bottle	Grace y Cia	1947	2100	7803	Na
Bottle	Santa Rita Soc Exp. SA	1947	1680	3960	Ragnar Lind- berg

Sources: Archive documents 1-10.

Convic Ltda is the export company for Viña Ochagavia. The vineyard was founded in 1806 and the founder, Silvestre Ochagavia is considered as one of Chile's most prominent wine pioneers. The vineyard had 92 hectares and was located at Llano de Maipo in the province of Santiago. Their bodega had in 1947 a capacity of four million liters, therefore it is likely that they also purchased grapes from other estates. Their export was mostly focused towards Latin America. It is very likely that they exported bulk wine to Sweden. However, it would be very difficult to establish which wine they actually sold to Sweden. From an advertisement from 1947 we can find out that two of the prominent brands of Convic (Consorcio Vinicola de Chile SA) were Gran Vino Ochagavia Borgoña and Gran Vino Ochagavia Rhin (León, 1947: 304).

Tomic y Errazuriz Ltda was an export company, probably founded by the Errazuriz family together with a partner to take care of the Errazuriz and other wineries exports. It is however impossible to be absolutely certain based on current sources.

^{*} It is most likely that this particular import was of Vino de Chile, the only brand that is present in the retail sources before 1938.

There is limited information about Jorge Broquaire. This company was probably both trader and exporter of wines. The small piece of information about this company was found in an advertisement from 1947 and under a list of wine exporters. The information says that the company was founded in 1862 and that they had offices in Antofagasta in the North of Chile and in Valparaiso (León, 1947:330-332). Due to the years in which Jorge Broquaire exported wine to Sweden it is likely that the wine exported was Undurraga Cabernet. The years add up and also the fact that the wine was estate-bottled.

a) Vino de Chile

The first Chilean wine found the in the Swedish sources is Vino de Chile, found in Meddelanden från katalogredaktionen already in 1926. This wine was imported in barrels and bottled in Sweden. It was a bit difficult to locate the exact vineyard for this wine, but it is most likely that it comes from Viña Errazuriz Panquehue, from the Department of San Felipe in the Aconcagua valley. In the records of purchases from Chile there are several deliveries from Errazuriz y Cia and in 1938 there is also information of a company called Wagner Chadqwick. The Errazuriz and Chadwick families have been related to each other for several generations. In addition, these two companies are the only exporting to Sweden before 1945, and the only Chilean wine before 1945 was Vino de Chile. The vineyard was founded in 1870 by Maximiano Errazuriz Valdivieso. It is difficult to get thorough information about the size of the vineyard. In a book edited by Sindicato Nacional Vitivinícola, it is stated that the number of hectares amounted to 120 hectares in 1947. However, on the homepage of the vineyard, the descendents state that the original number of hectares ascended to 300 hectares and was later increased to 700 hectares (León, 1947:217; Errazuriz, 2010).

Picture 17 and 18. Labels for Vino de Chile red and white





Picture source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits

Picture 19 and 20. Labels for Vino de Chile red and white (second generation labels)





Picture source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits

As Vino de Chile was imported in bulk, the four labels above were designed by V & S.

b) Santa Elena

Santa Elena was produced by Concha y Toro and appears in the price list of Göteborgssystemet for the first time in November 1947, it was listed by Stockholmssystemet until 1952. The product number 2128 for the red wine and 2151 for the white wine. The price was 5,90 scr for both the red and white 1/1 bottle and 3,35 for both red and white ½ bottle. This wine was estate bottled. The wine was produced at the Concha y Toro estate of 350 hectares is located the Maipo Valley in the province of Santiago. The vineyard was founded in 1883 by the Duke Melchor Concha y Toro and later transformed into a company of limited responsibility, Viña Concha y Toro S.A. Their export activities targeted the United States and were performed through Viñex and Centro y Sudamericano (León, 1947:215).

Picture 21. Label for 1/1 bottle of Santa Elena



Picture source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits

Picture 22. Label for Santa Elena for ½ bottle



Picture source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits.

It is important to state that this wine Santa Elena has nothing to do with a wine that is sold today under the name of Santa Helena. The latter is produced by the San Pedro Winery.

c) Santa Rosa del Peral och Planella Gran Vino

Product number 2130 Santa Rosa del Peral red från Planella Hermanos was listed At Göteborgsssystemet och Stockholmssystemet between 1948 and 1955 and the price was 8,10 scr for a 1/1 bottle. In 1952 the price fell to 7,75 scr. The information about this winery is quite fragmentary, a peculiar piece of information was provided by the wine historian José del Pozo, he found that during 1945, right before wine was exported to Sweden, the winery had a trade union under formation (del Pozo, 1998:225). Another piece of information is provided by the label, namely that the winery was located in La Florida in the Province of Santiago. The location of this vine-yard that once was part of the "green circle" around the city of Santiago is now completely urbanized. Of the wines illustrated below, the first (picture 23) was listed in pricelists, the only information found about the latter is this label.

Picture 23 and 24. Labels of Santa Rosa del Peral and Planella Gran vino





Picture source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits.

d) Santa Rita

Product number 2129 Santa Rita Especial superior tinto from D. Fernandez. was only listed in pricelists in 1948 and appears in the import statistics from V & S in 1947. The vineyard was founded in 1880 on an estate that had

vineyards already during the 18th Century and located in Buin, in the province of Santiago. This winery that was founded by Don Domingo Fernandez Concha is still active. In 1947 the number of hectares summed up to 485 hectares.

Picture 25. Label Santa Rita Especial Superior



Picture source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits.

e) Viña Undurraga Cabernet

The product below, product 2135 Viña Undurraga Cabernet, was first listed by Göteborgssystemet and Stockholmssystemet in 1949. The starting price was 7,75 scr for a 1/1 botthe and 4,25 scr for a ½ bottle. The price of this wine decreased over time, in 1951 it fell to 5 scr for a 1/1 bottle and 2,85 scr for a half bottle, in 1952 it fell again to 4,75 scr for a whole bottle and 2,75 for a half bottle. The last bottles of this wines were sold in 1955 at a price of 2,75 for a half bottle.

Picture 26. Label for Viña Undurraga Cabernet



Picture source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits.

The vineyard was founded in 1888 by D Undurraga y Vicuña in Talagante, Province of Santiago, where the vineyard is still located. The initial vines were imported by the founder from France and Germany and consisted of Cabernet Sauvignon, Sauvignon Blanc, Merlot, Pinot Noir, Riesling and Gewürztraminer. The export venture of this company started already in 1903, when the first shipments were

made to the United States and in 1947 exports targeted all of Latin America, the UK, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Luxemburg (León, 1947; Undurraga, 2010).

f) Vino Corriente

Product number 2143 Vino Corriente red was listed by Stockholmssystemet och Göteborgssystemet in 1947 and 1948. The price was 3 scr for 1/1 bottle and 1,75 scr for a ½ bottle. The label indicates that the wine was bottled in Sweden. There are no records about the producer, even though it is reasonable to conclude that this wine probably was produced by Convic (Consorcio Vinicola de Chile SA).

Picture 27. Label of Vino Corriente



Picture source: Archive of the Museum of Wines and Spirits.

6. Why was the trade window closed down?

Reading V & S Yearbooks it becomes clear that there was a desire to restore the assortment of V & S to the pre-war contents and in 1948 the sales from Europe had been restored. The V & S board expressed its satisfaction for the "return to the pre-war order" (V&S Yearbook 1948:14). In the V&S Yearbook for 1948 there was no mention of Latin American wines.

The reason why imports of wine from Latin America was found in one of the larger national Newspapers, Aftonbladet. The article says:

"American whiskey and south American wines soon gone" "The fine Argentinean and Chilean wines that have become so esteemed here at in Sweden will soon be erased from the pricelists of Systembolaget and the same is the case for the American whiskey, that also has experienced vivid sales. This is all the blame of the import-restrictions – neither South American wines nor American whiskey has been purchased since this spring" (Aftonbladet the 4th of December 1947)

Even if restrictions were adopted in 1947, Argentinean and Chilean wines were sold in Sweden until 1955. Between 1943 and 1950 imports of alcoholic beverages were carefully regulated through trade agreements and import licenses. There are no specific notes about Argentinean and Chilean wines,

probably because of the marginal importance of these countries compared to other countries (Import-licenser 1943-1950). Import and export licenses were issued at first by the National Agrarian Council or by the National License trade board. Later it was Statens handelskommission (The State Tradecommission) and Statens livsmedelskommission (The State Food Commission) that issued licenses. The goal of these licenses was to control the trade with goods in accordance with existing trade agreements. (SOU 1999:20, pp 186-187).

Thus, imports of wines from Argentina and Chile ended for two complementing reasons. One was the desire of V & S to focus on imports from Europe and the other was trade policy and restrictions in the post-war period.

Although the information above answers the question of why imports from Latin America ceased, it still does not say much about how and why decisions on import licenses were made. Had V & S any influence over import licenses over alcohol? Or are there other political concerns behind decisions? It might be possible to get a more thorough answer through a thorough investigation of the archives of the National Board of Trade.

7. Concluding remarks

This article has illustrated imports and consumption of Latin American wines in Sweden between 1917 and 1955. The amount of wines was considerable especially between 1943 and 1947 when sales of Latin American wines was almost equal to total consumption. From the few contextual sources found it is possible to conclude that trade was heavily regulated, dependent on trade agreements and quotas before the war, but also after the war. This conclusion is however only based on a partial analysis and there is much to learn about trade policy before 1950 by looking closer at import licenses and at the archives of Statens handelskommission (The State Tradecommission). In addition, it seems that challenges experienced by various countries during the World recession in the 1930's took many expressions as countries were affected differently, thus studying wine trade during the 1930's can be a fruitful strategy to learn more of the consequences of the recession on the wine industry.

The trade window opened by the Second World War offered the opportunity for firms in Argentina and Chile to export their products. Most of the Argentinean products were bottled, while products from Chile were mostly exported in bulk. By the end of the war a combination of trade restrictions and the desire of V & S to return to the former European assortment finally closed down this window of opportunity.

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Archive document 4. PM Angående Aktiebolaget Vin- & Spritcentralens import av viner och spritdrycker under 1941

Archive document 5. PM Angående Aktiebolaget Vin- & Spritcentralens import av viner och spritdrycker under 1943

Archive document 6. PM Angående Aktiebolaget Vin- & Spritcentralens import av viner och spritdrycker under 1944

Archive document 7. PM Angående Aktiebolaget Vin- & Spritcentralens import av viner och spritdrycker under 1945

Archive document 8. PM Angående Aktiebolaget Vin- & Spritcentralens import av viner och spritdrycker under 1946

Archive document 9. PM Angående Aktiebolaget Vin- & Spritcentralens import av viner och spritdrycker under 1947.

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