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# **Un estudio longitudinal del empresariado vinatero en el Condado Onubense**

## ***A Longitudinal Study of Wine's Entrepreneurs in the Huelva's Condado***

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### RESUMEN

Los vinos del Condado pueden presumir de una larga experiencia comercial en los mercados exteriores desde finales de la Edad Media. Pero será a partir de la segunda mitad del XIX, coincidiendo con la primera globalización del vino, cuando Huelva viva una fase de expansión internacional. Un grupo de emprendedores, organizados en redes nacionales e internacionales, fueron los responsables de la industrialización del sector. Este artículo tiene como objetivo abordar la evolución y estrategias de dos generaciones de viticultores en Huelva desde 1850's hasta 1930's. En este contexto, se plantea una doble pregunta de investigación: ¿cuáles fueron las estrategias de colaboración y competición que desarrollaron?; y, desde una perspectiva inclusiva y sociocultural, ¿cuáles fueron las interacciones entre los empresarios, la empresa y el medio?

### ABSTRACT

Condado's wines can boast of a long business experience in foreign markets from the late Middle Ages. From the second half of the 19th c., coinciding with the first wine globalization, when Huelva experiences a phase of international expansion. A group of entrepreneurs, organized in national and international networks, were responsible for the industrialization of the sector. This article addresses the evolution and strategies of two generations of winegrowers in Huelva from 1850's to 1930's. In this context, two main

questions arise: Firstly, what were the collaboration and competition strategies they developed? And, secondly, from an inclusive and sociocultural perspective, what were the interactions between businessmen, firms and the environment like?

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

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Viticulture is a traditional activity in the southwest of the Iberian Peninsula. Winemaking in the Huelva's Condado can boast of a long business experience in foreign markets. Its wines have been known in Europe from the Middle Ages, achieving a new momentum with the conquest of America: it is not surprising that they have been recently been recognised by the Consejo Regulador as "the Wines of the Discovery". But the emerging industrialization of the sector had been taking place since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. For this, the role of a group of entrepreneurs, organised in national and international networks, was a crucial factor. Even if it never achieved the success of the winemaking bourgeoisie, as the one in Jerez, with which it shared several ties, this was a Small and Medium-size Business (SMBs) with a relevant adaptation and resilience capacity. For a scholar from Bordeaux, Huelva –with Cadiz- was "la patrie des vins blancs" (Sempé, 1882: 68). However, despite its personality and quality (Belda, 1929: 313), researchers have paid limited attention to these wines (Montañés, 2011: 127)<sup>1</sup> and to the entrepreneurs who made possible the renaissance of the sector, until recently (Infante, 1996; López, 2010; Ramírez, 2010a, 2010b; Pérez, 2011). This research focuses on analysing the work carried out by this group of innovators entrepreneurs, who were able to revolutionize and change the Huelva's wine sector. The reason for carrying out this research has been, on the one hand, the few works on this subject in the province of Huelva, and of Huelva wines and above all the relevance and importance that the sector had for years; as evidenced by awards, international exhibitions, innovation, etc., as well as export volumes. This is even more striking if the province's leadership, in terms of volume, in the Spanish wine table exportations is taken into account: from 1907 to 1921 they occupied

1 However, there are some exceptional references that includes a little section on the Condado's wines. Vid, for example, Hidalgo, 1871; Vizetelley, 1876; González, 1878; Vincenti, 1888; Navarro, 1890; Babrius, 1898; Belda, 1929.

at least one of the four first positions in the national ranking (Estadística, 1861-1921/1930-1934).

The methodology used has been to link a case study with empirical data, specifically export volume, production of must and vineyard area. For an adequate context, from a qualitative point of view, an analysis of the current bibliography and contemporary sources on Huelva's wine business has been carried out. The article has been divided into two sections: in the first, Problem Statement, is done a first theoretical approach to the subject; in the second the study of cases is deepened. We have subdivided this section into two stages: the first one that includes from 1850s to 1890s, which we have called "The Phase of Expansion", and where we have included the first generation of entrepreneurs, the pioneers; and a second from 1900s to 1930s, called "The Phase of Consolidation", in which we will analyse the next generation of winemakers. The work ends with some final reflections on the complex relationships of the wine business with the provincial economy and the advantages and disadvantages of opening their products abroad.

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## 2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

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Spanish historiography accepted as a general assumption in the past that Andalusian (and Spanish) Industrial Revolution happened later and were more irregular because of the lack of entrepreneurs.<sup>2</sup> However, current research is discovering the existence of a considerable number of skilled business people in the 19th century or even before in this region. A more complex interpretation emphasizes the interactions between exogenous factors, such as the resource endowments, the institutional framework, or the human capital, and the business fabric (Parejo, 2011: 12-14). There is a long tradition of studies that insists on the relevance of the environment in order to understand entrepreneurship (De Jong et alia, 2015: 5). In this context, this article addresses the relation between the entrepreneur, the firm and the environment in the long-term from an inclusive and socio-cultural perspective (Valdaliso and López, 2007: 22).

2 Three approximations to this controversial question can be found in: Parejo (2006), Bernal-Puntas-Martínez (2010: 143-146) and Rubio (2014: 259-265).

An efficient relation between social and human capital is essential for the success of a business. There is a positive correlation between human capital and the discovery, formation and exploitation of new business (Shane, 2000). Academic training and experience favours the search for opportunities and minimizes uncertainty. In addition, human capital can help build professional relations and business networks (Pruthi and Wright, 2019: 45).

In fact, entrepreneurs don't work in the vacuum, isolated. The lack of social embeddedness and the need for lowering transaction costs and uncertainty, especially in the first phases of economic modernization, boost entrepreneurial networks.<sup>3</sup> Once these networks, be geographical, political, familiar, formal or informal, consolidated, innovations grew and the cost of information was reduced (Granovetter, 1992; Casson, 2010). As in other cases (Casson and Della Giusta, 2007: 222), the complex chain of relations that entrepreneurs in the Huelvas's Condado established with the points of production, commercialisation and consumption could be considered from different point of views according to three geographical areas. Within an international context, the globalized wine market in the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> c., and in a territory with serious infrastructure problems, entrepreneurs had to associate to build efficient distribution chains and avoid logistic problems; if we consider this in its provincial context, the coordination with the network of provincial entrepreneurs, located in the city of Huelva and those related with the emerging Industrial Revolution and the "mining boom," was ever difficult, but necessary; in a local context, despite the dispersion of the growers and producers in the Condado, the majority of entrepreneurs and networks gathered in the three most important wine centres: Moguer, La Palma and Bollullos.<sup>4</sup>

These professional networks are connected also with some of the most relevant national and international wine regions. As a matter of fact, several family businesses has arrived to Moguer from La Rioja in the second part of the 18th c. Attracted initially by cities like Sevilla o Cádiz, the American colo-

3 The new entrepreneurial history pays special attention to this type of organizations (Wadhvani-Lubinski, 2017: 778). These professional networks are studied in Andalusia by Rubio and Garrués (2017).

4 The wine regions reproduce some characteristics of a cluster (Becattini, 2002). But, for the Condado wines region, it is preferable to use the term "Embrionic" cluster (Dana-Winstone, 2008: 2177), since it was not able to create a complex framework of ancillary industries (vid infra).

nies' ports, very soon these entrepreneurs came to understand the business opportunities offered by the wines of the Huelva (Hidalgo, 2015). From the middle of 19th. c., with the expansion of the wine local market, La Palma was the destination for a heterogeneous network of entrepreneurs with close relations with Jerez. Foreign businessmen, like the German Loewenthal or Carlos Mauricio Morales from Granada, or the native Nicolás Gómez were responsible for the transformation of a traditional wine sector. The intense relation with France, the main market for the wines of the Condado, fostered the arrival of French entrepreneurs to La Palma and Bollullos (Fourneau, 1973: 66-67).

Finally, some formal institutions became a "network of networks". As in other wine areas, the phylloxera originated initiatives which combined public and private interests to confront its effects, but also tried to prevent wine adulteration and guarantee its quality (Simpson, 2011, 107-190; Pan-Montojo, 1993). For this purpose, two new institutions were founded: the Estación Enológica (1914) and the Consejo Regulador de la Denominación de Origen (1933) (Infante, 2011).

In practice, the capacity of these entrepreneurs and networks to transfer knowledge, information, innovation or credit in order to reproduce success cases (Jerez, Burdeos, etc) was a double-edged sword. On the one hand, this intense collaboration allowed to lay the foundations of the modern wine industry in the Condado. But, in a globalised market, experience taught that competition is the natural condition of the businessmen; the figure of the "tertius gaudens" can identify the competition (Granata et alia, 2016: 19). Of course, this competitive behaviour characterises not only individual agents, but also groups of entrepreneurs. For instance, there was a competition between the "cosecheros" del Condado and the "cosecheros" jerezanos; between the wine businessmen in Moguer, La Palma and Bollullos for the establishment of transport infrastructures; or between these and the entrepreneurial networks in Huelva. For this reason, the strategies of these entrepreneurs and its relations with the firm and environment were determined both by competition and cooperation, that is, co-opetition. In this line of research, a group of specialists has studied the internationalization of the Small and Medium Business (SMBs) in the wine regions<sup>5</sup>. Taking into

5 Between others, Dana-Winstone, 2008; Dana et alia, 2013; Granata et alia, 2016; Granata, Aytac and Roubaud, 2019.

account the temporal dimension (Clarke-Hill et alia, 2003) and accepting the complex and dynamic nature of the co-opetition strategies, this article poses a longitudinal (Granata et alia, 2016), empirical and qualitative study of two generations of winemakers from 1850's to the Civil War (1936-1939). This methodology is supplemented with some long-term provincial indices (exportations, production and surface of vineyards) included in the next epigraph.

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### 3. CASES STUDY: WINE'S ENTREPRENEURIAL ELITE

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These analysed businessmen are a sample of the great business network established in the Condado. One of its characteristics was the varied origin of many of them: from La Palma: Juan Soldan, José Tirado, the Lagares family, Cepeda's,...; Julián Espinosa Escolar from Almonte, José Ayala Mathieu from Bollulos, or from Ayamonte, Nicolás Gómez González...; the French Verdier, Tallafer, Cané, Guitart, Briout...; the Riojans Jiménez and Jiménez; from Jerez or Germany Carlos Mauricio Morales and Federico Loewenthal, among many others. Obviously they competed with each other, but they were also able to unite and collaborate in the creation of a global network that allowed them to reach national and foreign markets.

Some expanded this business network by opening establishments abroad, such as Francisco Jiménez, who opened a store with his products in Paris (1891), or his nephew Eustaquio, who in the first decade of the 20th century sold his products, among individuals<sup>6</sup> and companies from Madrid, North America,<sup>7</sup> Colombia and Cuba<sup>8</sup>...; others such as Verdier and Gómez González established business and business ties with France and Jerez, respectively. Verdier at the end of the 19th century started a business channel with his French's family<sup>9</sup>, and Gómez with businessmen and winemakers from Cádiz y Jerez (*Corumbel* n°: 385. Feb 2010, pp 1-2; Vázquez-Maldonado, 2017). Loewenthal and Morales, a German businessman and a merchant

6 Epistolario I (JRJ) (pág. 511): Carta n°: 374

7 Epistolario I (JRJ) (pág. 505). Carta n°: 369.

8 Epistolario (JRJ) (pág. 194). Carta n°: 135.

9 Romero, E. (2016): Los Verdier en Huelva: El origen de un apellido unido a la tradición vinícola. Huelva Noticias (26/03/16).

from Granada, based in Jerez, come together and create a regular collective society whose objective was to open a winery on La Palma (*Corumbel* n°: 453. Oct 1815, pp 1-3). Carlos Mauricio's Son, S.L., maintained the relationship and bond with Jerez, by hiring specialized personnel for their large winery. Also note the relationship with abroad through the import of innovation and technology; on the one hand the implementation of the Jerez winemaking method ("criaderas" and "soleras") and on the other the import of modern French distillation technology such as alembics Savalle (*Corumbel* n°: 383. Dic 1809, pp 1-3)<sup>10</sup> o Charentais" (*Le Panthéon de l'Industrie* n°: 860. Nov 1891, pp 281-282). It is worth highlighting the presence of most of them, in the differences International Wine Expositions (*Eco de Teruel* 05/8/1894)<sup>11</sup>.

Also, they exercised great influence over the sector, from their political positions, some from the mayor's office, others as deputies or senators, or in the case of Rafael Salas López, being president of the Diputación of Huelva, what allowed, they managed to improve trade in the area and the sector; from his position as senator, Mr. Gómez Gonzalez, participated in all the procedures of the Seville-Huelva railway project, and as mayor of La Palma, businessman J. Pérez Lagares<sup>12</sup>, the project for the passage of the railroad through the area was approved, milestone that in the future would cause the expansion of the Condado wine region. During the phylloxera crisis, the mayor and also winemaker of Almonte, Ignacio Cepeda (*La Iberia* 31/08/1878), participated in the drafting of the future Law of Defense against Phylloxera. Years later, in 1908, while Carlos M. Morales was mayor of La Palma, after a Viticulture Congress held in Madrid, he met with the President of the Council of Ministers, the Minister of Finance and the Director General of Customs to involve them in a more favorable policy towards the Spanish wine industry. The two most important economic organizations, the Junta de Obras del Puerto (JOP)<sup>13</sup> and the Cámara de Comercio Industria y Navegación of Huelva (CCINH), were founded and directed by the most dynamic group of provincial entrepreneurs, some of them belonging to the wine business network. Francisco Jiménez was the first president (JOP). For

10 *La Ilustración Española y Americana* n°: XXVII de 16/07/1872 (pág 432) y n°: XXXIII de 24/08/1872 (pág. 511-512).

11 Francisco Jiménez, Universal Exhibition of Paris, where he won the gold medal.

12 Ramírez Cepeda, M. (1993:88).

13 Mojarro, A. M. (2007).



the CCINH it was his brother Gregorio Jiménez who would occupy the vice-presidency and Francisco Gómez-Rull (son of Nicolás Gómez González), one of the vowels.

Finally, that network goes beyond the business sphere, and family ties are created. For example, Ignacio Justo de Cepeda and Córdova married Juana Soldán Rañón, constituting the wine monopoly "*Cepeda-Soldán*". One of his sons Juan Cepeda-Soldán married with Carolina Morales (Carlos Mauricio Morales's daughters), and a son of Francisco Jiménez married the granddaughter of Nicolás Gómez<sup>14</sup>...extending to the capital, where two of the sons of the businessman Manuel Vázquez López, join with wine families: his daughter Margarita Vázquez marries with Luis Morales Fontán; and his son Victoriano Vázquez de Zafra with María Tirado Estrada (granddaughter of Manuel Tirado Rañón). Or Nicolás Gómez, a key member of the Sevillian and Huelva cultural elite, maintained a great friendship with the Spanish and French nobility, a close friend of the Duke of Montpensier (*Corumbel* n°: 392 Sep 2010, pp 1-3), what served so that the products of Condado of Huelva were better known and publicized in all that environment.

It should be noted that the greatest achievement of these entrepreneurs was the creation of business dynasties that in some cases reach our days, as well as the organization of a dense network of formal and informal institutions and turning Huelva into one of the wine centers more important, becoming the first common wine exporter in Spain for several years during the first third of the 20th century.

From a chronological point of view, and according to the Statistics (1861-1921/1930-1934), exportations of Condado's wines multiplied from 1876 to 1900 by 37 (797,864 HI to 29,617,167 HI). Although the replantation of new vineyards in France and the protective tariff of 1892 initially reduced exports, in the second five-year term of this decade these figures were amply surpassed, with a record in 1898 of 70,873,051 HI . and from 1907 to 1921 Huelva wines were the first in the national market (Figure 1). The fall in exports is linked to the moment of the crisis due to the phylloxera that affected the Huelva vineyard, however, the new plantations managed to recover the sector; in 1915 and 1917, during the Great War, Huelva's wines had as their main destination the national markets, 16,168,182 and

14 AMLPC.

25,212,964 HI left the Port of Huelva by cabotage, respectively. Eustaquio Jiménez, tried to market his products in the American market and it was a failure. Nevertheless the recovery experienced in the sector during the 20th century, the volumes achieved in the last years of the 19th century were never reached again.

FIGURE 1  
**WINE TABLE EXPORTATIONS. 1905=100**



Source: Prepared by the authors on the basis of data supplied by *Estadística General del Comercio Exterior de España* (5 Provincial Customs Offices) and Archivo del Puerto de Huelva (Custom Office of Huelva)

As we have commented previously, we have divided the case study into two phases, the first of expansion with the arrival of the first generation of entrepreneurs, in it we will see the biography of three pioneers and the second with the consolidation of the business fabric, where we will present three other biographies of the second generation.

### 3.1. The Phase of Expansion (1850s-1890s)

From the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> c., the sector in the province experienced a phase of international expansion that coincides with the first wave of wine globalization (Anderson and Pinilla, 2018; Fernández and Pinilla, 2018, 210; Simpson, 2011: xxxii). Traditionally, the Condado's wine table were blended with other wines to obtain a low-quality Sherry ("Jerez bajo") to export to the British market. This ties to the Jerez winemaking sector not only allowed

an easy opening to the new international distribution chains but favoured a productive interchange of information and technology. However, this collaboration decreased due to the market changes in Great Britain from the 1870s, with the strong fall of exports of Sherry to this country (Maldonado, 1999; Simpson, 2005; Montañés, 2000).

Even more important in the globalization and the evolution of the province's wine was the role of France, the first producing and importing country. This was so particularly after the arrival of phylloxera to the French vineyards and the favourable commercial treaties of 1877 and 1882 of this country with Spain. With the increased demand for wine table for "coupage", a golden era of the sector started. Despite the negative consequences of the tariff Méline (1892) for the Spanish wine sector (Pan-Montojo, 2001: 12), Huelva benefited from a licence to export free of duties to Sète and Burdeos, the two traditional ports of reception for the Condado's wines (Pinilla-Ayuda, 2002: 70).

This was a time of progress in viticulture (ploughing and pruning improvements, as well as a lower amount of gypsum in the fermentation, etc) (*La Provincia*, 04/03/1887, pp. 1-2) and viniculture. These changes in the process of elaboration, which showed the influence of Jerez (Maldonado, 1999: 76), ranged from the vertical integration or transference of technology to the implementation of the solera system such as it will be seen in the biographies of these entrepreneurs. But this business success led to a strong specialization in wine table ("vino común" o "de pasto") destined for the foreign market. As matter of fact, wine table remained at a very significant distance from spirits, vinegar and fresh grapes as the leading product in the international markets, according to the Statistics (1861-1921/1930-1934).

According to specialized literature, cooperation is at the heart of network business and, obviously, those of the winemakers (Porter, 1998). These business groups work well in uncertain environments, such as the first phases of economic growth. In fact, intense collaboration between entrepreneurs, channelled by professional networks, favours exchange of information, experience and knowledge, and, as consequence, innovation (Lombardi et alia, 2016: 94). This is the case of the technological transfers of the traditional Jerez elaboration method to La Palma del Condado or Bollullos or the "Charentais distillation process" to Moguer.

### 3.1.1. *The First Entrepreneur's Generation*

**Francisco Jiménez y Jiménez** (Nestares de Cameros 1842-Moguer 1921)

The Jiménez family are part of that group of Riojan entrepreneurs who arrived in the county in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> c. (Hidalgo, 2015). Francisco Jiménez, banker, merchant, and winemaker is a liberal politician lover of culture. For a long time, his business life was linked to his brothers, sharing with them financial and mining companies. Apart from his family, he was a correspondent for Credit Lyonnais, manager of the French mining company Aguas Teñidas, Managing Director of The Huelva Gas and Electricity Co. Ltd., owner of two theatres, etc (Pérez, 2011). He was also provisional mayor of Huelva, provincial deputy, first president of the general board of Huelva's port, and member of the first board of the provincial Cámara de Comercio, Industria y Navegación (CCINH) (Pérez-García, 2019: 20-21).

He was linked to the wine sector throughout his life; however, his time of splendor comes when in the 1880s, in the midst of the wine boom, he founded the society Francisco Jiménez & Company. One of his most outstanding products and for which he would achieve international fame, was Moguer's Cognac or fine brandy, presented at the Universal Exposition in Paris, where he obtained the gold medal, and advertised in the press of the time as a supplier of the Royal House (Pérez, 2011). This fame comes after the introduction of the modern distillation process, the Alembique Charentais, where after a double process of wine distillation, Cognac is produced. Such was the quality of the distillate that its demand crossed the national market, being requested in France, England, Germany, America. For this reason, the Company decided to open an establishment for the sale of its products in the center of Paris (*Le Panthéon de l'Industrie*, 890, 1891, pp. 281-282). However, the crisis at the end of the century, which the sector is going through, had a direct impact on his businesses, to the point that in 1903 he presented suspension of payments. He kept his share of the Diezmo winery, the only one that would continue to be active after the phylloxera. With the passage of time, he loses companies, withdraws from the political field, until he dies in August 1921 (Pérez, 2011).

The Jimenez family perfectly exemplifies the benefits of cooperation among entrepreneurs. Networks of Riojan relatives and friends who settled in Huelva (Sáenz, Rodríguez, Liáñez, Santamaría, García Jalón...) facilitated

the arrival to Moguer. Their social and economic influence rose dramatically at the end of 19th c. with the participation in the management board of the most relevant provincial institutions (Chamber of Commerce, Junta de Obras del Puerto, Círculo Mercantil, Sociedad de Amigos del País, etc). Moreover, social and industry ties would make possible the internationalisation of the business: the excellent relations with some French and Riojan winemaking houses allowed Francisco Jiménez to study the “Charentais method” or the opening of wine establishments in the centre of Paris, where he met scientists Louis Pasteur and Charles E. Chamberland (Martín, 2007: 29-30; Pérez, 2011: 302-307; *Le Panthéon de l’Industrie* n°: 860. Nov 1891, pp 283).

### **Nicolas Gómez González** (Ayamonte 1821-Sevilla 1907)

In La Palma, at the end of the 1870s, one innovative wine distillation factories in Spain opened, where the Alambique Savalle, imported from France, or the Pinaqui winepress (from Navarra), will be installed (*La Ilustración Española y Americana*, 28-6-1872, 512; *Exposición*, 1877: 66; Pan-Montojo, 2001: 24). His owner, Nicolás Gómez, was deputy for Motril (1864), national deputy and senator for Huelva (1877-1881), provincial deputy and mayor of the city of La Palma. He also participated in the approval of the railway layout of the German businessmen Sundheim and tried to link La Palma with Palos by railroad.<sup>15</sup> His business activity begins by managing his properties in Huelva, Seville and Cádiz, the latter being the place with whom he maintained business ties with some of the most important local winemakers: Moreno de Mora, González Byass, Vergara, Duff Gordon, etc (López, 2010: 17-18). But it will be from the opening of the La Palma distillery, when its golden stage begins. His products -wines, liqueurs, brandy and alcohol- were presented and obtained recognized prizes in various international exhibitions: Philadelphia (1876), Paris (1878) and Amsterdam (1883). And during the celebration of the National Wine Exhibition (1877: 66), they talk about its distillation factory and praise its role and contribution to the progress of the Spanish wine industry (Vincenti, 1889: 96-97).

That era of splendor changed, in the 1880s, when the alcohol business was severely hit by the arrival of industrial alcohols from Germany. From 1883, he continued to run his distillery and wine and livestock businesses, along

15 Archivo Histórico Senado (AHS). Nicolás Gómez. Diario de sesiones 19/06/1880, p. 2556.

with two of his sons, Francisco and Nicolás, until 1890, the year when the Palmerian distillery closed. In 1891 the Palmerian wineries were transferred to the businessmen and grower of French origin Celestino Verdier Martín. In 1901 the family presented suspension of payments and, after the death of Nicolás Gómez in 1907, they were shedding all its assets. It seems that part of the alcohol reserves was acquired by the Loewenthal-Morales house (Ramírez, 2010b; López, 2010: 19-20).

This lawyer and entrepreneur attained a very important economic and political position in the 1870s and 1880s. In 1871, he became the 18th *Mayor Contribuyente* of the province of Huelva. Furthermore, between 1864 y 1881, he served five times as a national deputy and four times as a senator (Núñez, 2012: 133-136, 344). The economic and political ties at national and provincial level were relevant in order to understand his entrepreneurial success. The project of a train Huelva-Sevilla facilitated the circumstantial alliance with the mining lobby, the most important provincial network, which was also necessary to consolidate this position. But, the key element was the good relations with the business networks of the Marco de Jerez. In fact, Nicolás Gómez, and his brother Miguel, belonged to a traditional winemaking family from Puerto de Santa María. Thanks to the close personal relations and the knowledge of Sherry vinification, both brothers were considered pioneers in the introduction of Jerez production methods and the industrialisation of wine in Huelva. But before, they became suppliers for Jerez of must and, especially, of distilled wine, since leading product of La Palma (Maldonado, 2019: 10). The essential role of this businessman for the elaboration of Jerez was emphasised by the president of the tribunal that evaluated the quality of wines of Huelva in the Exposición Vinícola Nacional de 1877: "Aquí he de llamar la atención de V. E. sobre el productor D. Nicolás Gómez González que, estableciendo en La Palma, centro de la región más productora, una gran fábrica de destilación, sistema Chaval (Savalle), ha contribuido poderosamente al progreso que se nota en la industria vinícola de esta región. Jerez necesita, para sus vinos finos de exportación, alcoholes de vino purificados, única manera de que en la fusión no se alteren las condiciones de aquellos, y el establecimiento de dicha fábrica es garantía segura contra la desconfianza en las adulteraciones" (Estudio, 1878: 696).

### **Carlos Mauricio Morales Sevil** (Albuñol 1852- Huelva 1917)

Carlos Mauricio Morales Sevil was born in 1852 in Albuñol (Granada), a winemaker and politician, who began as a commercial agent and representa-

tive of alcohols and flours. As a young man, he emigrated to Jerez (Cádiz), due to family ties: his grandfather, the German businessmen Mauricio Sevil, was the owner of the innovative San José spirits winery (*La España*, 24-10-1848, p. 4; *La Época*. 9-7-1868, p. 4).

During his political career, he was appointed councilor (1906), and mayor of La Palma (1907-1909), and representative of the region in the Viticulture Congress (Madrid, 1908), defending the needs of the wine industry of the moment. After his mayoralty, he leads the conservative party and is appointed provincial deputy and president of the Diputación (1915-1917) (Ramírez, 2010b: 36-40).

Carlos Mauricio Morales Sevil already had wine business since 1887; and after his relationship with Friederick Loewenthal, a German businessman from Hamburg, they founded, in April 1889, the Loewenthal-Morales regular joint-stock company in Seville. This firm works, also, from Cádiz. In 1893, they opened the first winery in La Palma. Due to the increase in demand and the growth of the market, they saw the need to build a new, much larger winery, focused mainly on the export of wines and derivatives, with location near the railway. That second winery will start operating in mid-1902 (Ramírez, 2010b: 31-34).

Unlike the traditional winery, these entrepreneurs are going to put into operation a modern and new winery model. They built the first large exporting winery in the province of Huelva, with a complete integration process, as well as bottling and cooperage, which would mark the beginning of a new stage in the sector. However, after a few years, the phylloxera began to invade the county, and in 1904 the German partner Loewenthal left the company, leaving Carlos Mauricio as the sole manager and owner; the sector is in crisis, and taking advantage of its relationship with Jerez, he hires expert foramen, chemists and coopers for the winery (Ramírez, 2010b: 34). After the outbreak of the Great War, he began to disassociate himself from the management of the business, delegating to his eldest sons, and focused his attention on the defense of the wine sector<sup>16</sup>.

As we have mentioned, this businessman was linked to Jerez and the alcohol business. When the family spirits factory closed in 1872, many Jerez businessmen began to trade with the winemaker Gómez Gonzales. Therefo-

16 (CCINH). Memoria económica 1916

re, Mr. Morales would have relationships or knew with that businessman, to the point that part of the alcohol reserves was acquired by the Loewenthal-Morales house, with which he opens his first company in Seville and later a winery in La Palma, where we find among the oldest brands, the Luis Felipe cognac, in honor of the father of the Duke of Montpensier, a personal friend who was Don Nicolás Gómez González. Therefore, the main key of this entrepreneur was, this intense collaboration allowed lay the foundations of the modern wine industry in the Condado.

### 3.2. *The Phase of Consolidation (1900s-1930s)*

The extension of phylloxera in the European vineyards in the last quarter of 19th c. is considered a decisive event in the history of the wine sector. In Spain, researchers have stressed the scientific and technological changes, economies of scale and scope, development of quality wines that follow French winemaking methods, or the reorganization of the map of producers of table wine (Pan-Montojo, 1994: 348-373; Simpson, 2011: 41-46).

In Huelva, the phylloxera arrived late and in two waves in 1900 and 1908. Initially, it had catastrophic effects. On the one hand, in a context of strong fall of prices that “paralysed” the wine market in 1899 (*El Progreso Agrícola y Pecuario*, 08/01/1889, p. 8), the surface of vineyards was sharply reduced to such an extent that the planted wine area in 1900 would not be reached again until the 1920s (Figure 2). This crisis was very profound in Moguer: the phylloxera, along with others several plagues, and the failure of the railway projects, gave “the coupe de grâce” to this city from the 1920s (Fournéau, 1973: 47). In the long-term, phylloxera triggered a reorganization of the agrarian landscape. Bollullos, which exported more wine than La Palma at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> c. (Fernández, 1901, 163, 165), adapted better to the new situation. The construction of the “Wine Train” to La Palma (Ramírez, 2002) and the distribution of land between more of 1,300 viticulturists in the 1920s contributed to making Bollullos the “capital du vignole” (Fournéau, 1973). During World War One, and particularly in the 1920s, demand from the French market reactivated (Figure 2). However, these two favourable but irregular periods were based on the quantity, not in the quality of the product. Wine table was, again, the star product for exports according to the Statistics (1861-1921/1930-1934). At the same time, there was a process of diversification in wines of other “appellations”, as shown in newspaper advertising

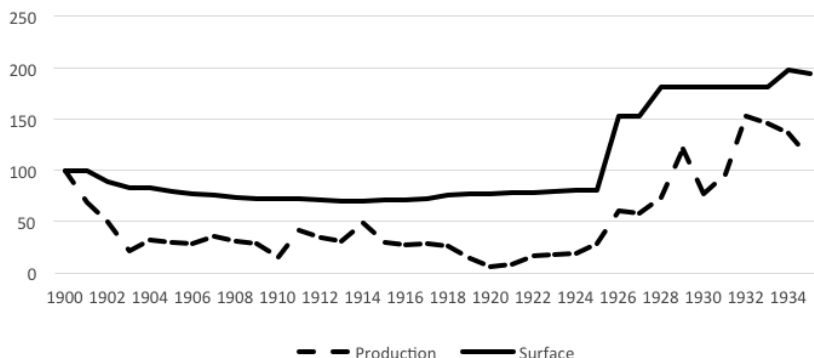


(Jerez, Madeira, Oporto, Amontillado, etc), destined to the national market.

Phylloxera was a tragedy for the Condado winemakers, but no more than for other wine areas. The experts emphasize the negative effects of the fall of prices and the overproduction in Spanish ordinary wines (Pan-Montojo, 1994: 348-373; Fernández-Pinilla, 2018: 213-215). The dependence of these entrepreneurs' networks, on the international markets adversely combines with the vested interests of the mining lobby, particularly with regards to the transport infrastructure (Vid infra Concluding Remarks). Moreover, in the medium term, cooperation and winemakers' networks could have weakened more by the end of the golden age of mining after the First World War (Pérez-García, 2019: 38-40).

The relative early recovery of the vineyard was possible, among other factors described above, because of the dynamic (and ephemeral) role of the Moguer entrepreneurs' networks and, from the 1920,s (as shown in Figure 2)<sup>17</sup>, the distributions of common lands among small and medium peasants in Bollullos. This initiative, promoted by social Catholicism, converted these public lands into vineyards (Piqueras, 2005: 121).

FIGURE 2  
**PRODUCTION OF MUST (HI) AND SURFACE OF VINAYARDS (HA)**  
**1900=100**



Source: Prepared by the authors on the basis of data supplied by Parejo, 2005.

17 Zapata Blanco, S. (1986:1391- apéndice 1175).

## The Second Entrepreneur's Generation

### **Eustaquio Jiménez Mantecón** (Moguer, 1879-1942)

Eustaquio was son of businessmen Víctor Jiménez and nephew of Francisco Jiménez. Entrepreneur, winemaker, politician, man interested in culture, but above all a great passionate about his city, Moguer (Gozálvez, 2017). Conservative politician, he occupied the mayoralty of Moguer between 1910 and 1911, and was part of the commission constituted for the construction of the railroad to La Rábida, and of the regional General Development Board, in charge of connecting Seville with the Colombian places by means of an electric tram. In the 1920s, and after the coup d'état of General Primo de Rivera, he returned to the mayor's office (1924-1925) (*La Justicia*, 09/07/2010, p 2; *ABC*, 28/11/1924, p. 9).

Eustaquio had to assume and manage the wine business of his family after the death of his father in July 1900, which was in a dilapidated state (Gozálvez, 2017: 76). He started by purchasing seedlings resistant to the disease, and founded the company "Eustaquio Jiménez", marketing under the brand "desserts", orange wine, muscat, solera, cognac, vermouth, fragrant wines and his well-known Ideal Punch (Moreno, 2014: 156). He sold his products in the national market but, also, in North America, Colombia and Cuba (Alegre, 2006: 511, 515, 194). However, the problems of the vineyards, the unfortunate state of the winery and the lack of sufficient financial resources, caused Eustaquio to find other business opportunities. In 1918, his patented Vera-Flor project was born (Gozálvez, 2017: 82), consisting of obtaining essences using alcohol distillate. His brother Juan Ramón Jiménez (the Literature Nobel Prize) and his sister-in-law, Zenobia, took over the financing, advertising and marketing of a product destined for export (Palau-Cortés, 2006: 12). However, before export could materialize, the eau de cologne begins to have turbidity problems, and it ended up disappearing in 1926. He tried other businesses, one the manufacture of "quince jelly", and another with grape derivatives, but none would ever see the light. He lived on the meager profits that the sale of wines, essences and the money that his brother and sister-in-law sent him brought him (Alegre, 2006: 509). He was described by Juan Ramón Jiménez as the perfect image of the "failed illusion" (Fernández, 2006: 21). Ruined and only, Eustaquio Jiménez died in January 1942.

**Celestino Verdier Martin** (Bollullos, ¿?-1907); **Julian Espinosa Escolar** (Almonte 1867-1943)

The facilities of distillation of Nicolás Gómez were bought in 1891 by Celestino Verdier, entrepreneur from Bollullos (Fourneau, 1973: 67; Romero, 2016). Verdier dedicated to obtaining light, low-grade wines, which he would sell mainly to the French market, being considered at the end of the century as the most important winemaker in the area. However, that splendor lasted a short time, and from 1904, it began to dispose of its Palmerian heritage, first it put up for sale the rustic estates, the winery and the distillation facilities. In 1906, he installed a winery in San Juan del Puerto, and the following year he died. After that, his widow and children liquidated all the assets of La Palma, leaving only one winery in Bollullos which would remain in the hands of one of his sons, Antonio Verdier (Morón, 1917: 234). In 1907, after Verdier's death, he sold the Palmerian winery and house to the winemaker Julián Espinosa Escolar.

This entrepreneur, born in Almonte, came from a Riojan family. Conservative politician, he was a provincial deputy for La Palma 1907. His first wine business was an alcohol distillery in Almonte. But, attracted by the industrial development that was expected in La Palma after the opening of the station, he decided to move to that town in 1885, where he begins to breed and export fine wines, founding the Espinosa Winery, which will become known thanks to the famous Espinosa Punch (Infante, 2011).

At the beginning of the century and after buying the winery from Verdier, he expanded the business, modernized it, and introduced a process of innovation in the transport of goods. He was also the first to build a train track from the winery's courtyard to one of the railroad springs. From that moment, it is observed how its harvest, production and export levels increase, up to levels of being one of the main industrial winemakers in the area: in 1920 reached an annual production of 30,960 HI (*Comercio*, 10/07/1920, p. 4). He died in 1943, and his firm will continue to be managed by his sons, under the name of Hijos de Julián Espinosa.<sup>18</sup>

**Sons of Carlos M. Morales, S.L. (1917-1966)**

After the death in July 1917 of Carlos Mauricio, the winery passed by the hand of his sons, who founded the society Sons of Carlos M. Morales, S. L.

18 AMLPC: Leg. 752 (1932-1945). Agricultura.

Manuel Morales inherited his father's political office, provincial deputy (1919) (Peña, 1998: 93), and Luis (1885-1982), financed in 1922 some projects of the town hall of La Palma. Both brothers were important sponsors of social and cultural projects (Ramírez, 2010a: 87-88).

On the business, they continued to run the same management of their father, and the winery for years was considered one of the most important in the region. At first La Palma's winemakers were in an excellent economic situation, so workers took advantage to claim improvements in working conditions. In 1921, the company participated in the Assembly of Winegrowers of the province, struggling to reduce French customs tariffs. The industrial plant, as well as their main products, table wines, and vinegars, had national fame, so, they took a step further in business growth, and started a new project, making cognacs, vermouths and quinados wines, which was a success on the market. This moment, coincides with the opening of a new railway, the Wines' Train, linking Bollullos with La Palma. In 1926, they expanded again and bought the production facilities of the well-known Fino Rociero brand, starting an export campaign abroad. In the early 1930s, the Hijos de Carlos M. Morales winery offered a wide variety of products, being the most in demand for their quality and recognition the Fino Rociero, Fino La Rábida, Amontillado Morales, Oloroso Carlos Mauricio, Cognac La Rábida, and the specialty of the house, the Brandy Luis Felipe. Once the Spanish Civil War was over, the company, which employed more than 100 workers, continued on a growth path until 1965 (*Corumbel n°: 308 Sep 2003, p. 11*). This is an example of family business, with an enterprise trajectory of more than 75 years, growing from a small winemaker business to an industrial winery (Ramírez, 2010a: 90-93; Infante, 2011).

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#### 4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

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This article addresses the evolution of strategies of two generations of Huelvas's winemakers from 1850s to 1930s by identifying the multiple interactions between entrepreneurs and environment from the perspective both of business history (Jones-Zeitlin, 2007: 4) and entrepreneurship scholarship

specialised in the study of co-opetition.<sup>19</sup> Businessmen, and their networks, competed in the market, but also collaborated. For some authors, the resource to co-opetition could be considered as a type of “organizational innovation” (Granata et alia, 2016: 2). To this respect, macro and micro analyses are combined to describe these strategies (Wadhvani-Lubinski, 2017: 775).

The wine sector has been considered an excellent lab to study co-opetition (Dana-Winstone, 2008). From a macro perspective, the global dimension of this sector (Dana et alia, 2013: 43-44), from the last quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> c. (Simpson, 2011; Fernández-Pinilla, 2018: 209-213), allows to show the complexity of these strategies. The solid ties between the Huelva’s winemakers (and their networks, who were well settled in the province of Cadiz from the 18<sup>th</sup> c.) and Sherry’s firms made possible the take-off of wine’s industrialization. However, mutual recriminations provide evidence of fierce competition: the suspicion of adulteration and unfair competence on the part of Jerez was answered by the Condado’s businessmen with the rejection of the abuse of the dominant position of the Sherry wines in the English market (Hidalgo, 1871: 328; Vizetelly, 1876: 90-99; Fourneau, 1973: 55-56; Maldonado, 1995: 94).

The relation with the French entrepreneurs is based, also, on a mixture of these strategies. Some of them, after spending a training period in La Rioja, arrived in Condado as commission agents and became later, in a second phase, winemakers. Participation in professional and social networks favoured this evolution (Fourneau, 1973: 66-67). But, the competition led to harsh criticism to the newcomers: French entrepreneurs were accused of creating “artificial wine”, with the addition of German alcohol to must (La crisis, 1887-1889: 154); or, even, of reselling the Huelva’s wine to Great Britain, taking advantage of the Cobden-Chevalier Treaty (Sociedad, 1882: 20).

Continuing at the macro level, the initial Industrial Revolution in the province, related to the mining boom, gave rise to a group of businessmen in Huelva, with interests in the wine sector (Pérez-García, 2019). The organization of a transport network shows the links to the Condado’s businessmen. Entrepreneurs from La Palma forged a partnership with the most qualified

19 Dana-Dana. (2005:82). A synthesis of the current debate on the intersection between the business historians and business and management specialists in Perchard et alia, 2017: 905-908.

representative of the capital of province's businessmen, G. Sundheim<sup>20</sup>, to build the main provincial railway from Seville to Huelva in the 1880s. This mining economy had the port of Huelva as its logistic centre, and La Palma became the main train station between the two capitals. For this city this was the beginning of a new golden era of its wine production. The possible competence of other lines of railway or port facilities, such as those promoted by Moguer, found the forceful opposition of the mining lobby. That was the "coup de grace" for Moguer (Fourneau, 1973: 40, 47).

This strategy also impeded the building, until the 1920s, of the Wines' Train between Bollullos and La Palma (Ramírez, 2002). Although this train, an initiative of both cities, prompted the development of vineyards in the 1920s, it also speeded up competition and specialization by centring in Bollullos the production of ordinary wines, and, in La Palma that of vinegar and generous wine (Fourneau, 1973: 70).

The institutional networks also evince the increasing gap between Huelva's businessmen and the Condado's winemakers and the subsequent phases of collaboration and competition. The first provincial economic institution, la Camara de Comercio, Industria y Navegación (CCINH), voiced until the end of 19<sup>th</sup> c. the interests of the wine's entrepreneurs.<sup>21</sup> But, fight against the phylloxera favoured the organization of specific institutions in the Condado: from the municipal plant nurseries (the first in Trigueros in 1900 -*La vigne française*, 15/07/1900, p. 195-) to the Estación Enologica (1914) or the Consejo Regulador de la Denominación de Origen (1933) (Infante, 2011).

At a micro level point of view, the "culture of cooperation" of these entrepreneurs, as in other Spanish SMBs, was possible for economic and institutional reasons (Fernández, 2002; Valdaliso, 2017). In order to understand the organization of formal and informal networks, it is relevant the role of formation<sup>22</sup> and education: it is not surprise, in this last case, that the Literature Nobel Prize, Juan Ramón Jiménez, was a member of the Jiménez winemakers' family. At the same time, social and human capital

20 Whose wife was daughter of a known winemaker of this city (Pérez, 2011).

21 The journal *La Provincia* published diverse news in this sense (04/03/1887, p. 1; 06/07/1888, p. 1; 14/02/1889, p. 2).

22 The process of selection and the phases of the professional career of the entrepreneurs from La Rioja that arrived to Andalusia in Hidalgo (2015: 516-518)

promoted competition.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, these businessmen seem to meet some requirements of the Schumpeterian agents of change. They are pioneer businessmen responsible for the industrialization of the wine sector that took the risk to open market opportunities. This was so mainly because they could implement innovations across the production chain, from the commercial networks to the most common industrial technology. This is not a radical type of innovation, but an incremental one (Granata-Aytaç-Roubaud, 2019: 245), and the entrepreneurs are imitative (Baumol, 1993: 9-10) because they transfer technology from other winegrowing areas.

For all these reasons, strategies of co-opetition coexisted in the long run and depended on the changes of the market, the institutional framework and the asymmetric power relations between the businessmen and their networks in a global context. That is why these strategies should be considered in a complex double dimension, spatial and temporal, they are very adaptable and don't follow a linear process as the co-opetition theory describes (Granata et alia, 2016: 6).

Contradicting North's export base theory (1955), the driver of wine business, which was linked to foreign markets, had little influence on other economic sectors. And it was also unable to create, on a large scale, new value chains (Hirschmann, 1961), despite some relevant exceptions such as the early process of bottling and cooperage in some wine cellars. The limits to the progress of the wine industry were related to diverse causes, some of which had to do with entrepreneurship. As a matter of fact, the economic and social environment wasn't that always positive to wine businessmen, especially after the First World War. The interests of provincial institutions and the mining lobby were different and, on some occasions, opposed to these wine entrepreneurs, as shown in the organization of the provincial transport infrastructure.

Finally, the clear preference of local winemakers for the quantity (and the specialization in table wines) in detriment of the quality of product was a reiterated argument (Belda, 1929: 313-314). Probably, this choice impeded a solid industrialization or the surge of a more powerful bourgeoisie of business in the Condado. But, its adaptation and resilience capacity in the

23 The two "inmaterial" inputs that Solow, disciple of Schumpeter, related with the economic growth (Tortella and Quiroga, 2013: 2).

long-term, in a sector of strong cyclical nature (Anderson-Pinilla, 2018: 5), should be highlighted: nowadays, scholars consider the survival or longevity of firms as a measure of success (Colli, 2011: 22; Fernández-Puig, 2007).

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