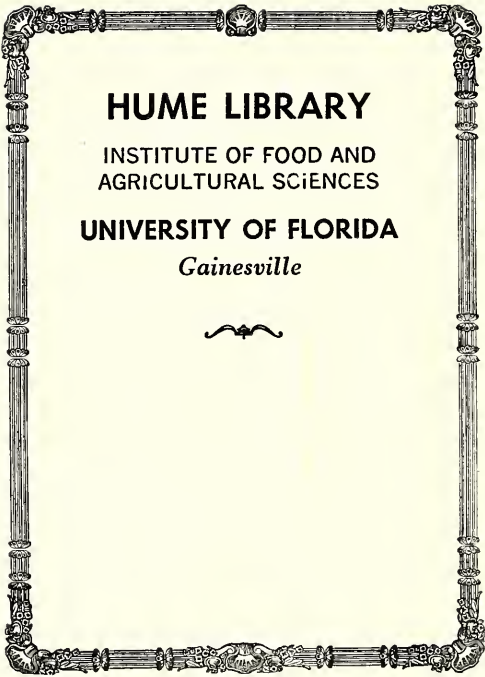



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Rural Life in
ARGENTINA

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ARGENTINA

Carl C. Taylor

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Baton Rouge 1948

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PREFACE

THIS BOOK is written for North Americans and Argentines alike. For North Americans it is a report on more than a year's field work spent in studying the rural life of Argentina. For Argentines it is something approaching a textbook in rural sociology. The author traveled about 20,000 miles and visited all the major type-farming areas of the Argentine. In addition to interviewing more than 120 farm families and persons representing all levels of the farm population, he talked with local newspaper editors, leaders of farm organizations, businessmen, schoolteachers, ministers, provincial and federal government employees who lived and worked in rural areas. In the national capital, in provincial and territorial capitals, he interviewed primarily government officials and university professors. In all of these interviews he had the able assistance of Roberto Marcenaro-Boutell. In covering the great mass of secondary sources of information he had the assistance of Señor Marcenaro-Boutell and Mrs. Alice K. Vaisman, both of them highly competent in both the English and the Spanish languages.

The field work and most of the work based on secondary sources of information were done between March 1942 and April 1943. There are, therefore, more recent data than some of those appearing in this monograph. The basic rural life of the country has not, however, radically changed since the author left Argentina. The historical roots of Argentine culture have not changed; the composition and character of the population have not changed; and the basic problems of rural life have not changed. For these reasons the author has not deemed it necessary or wise to use fragments of new information which have come to his hand during the years since he left Argentina.

To study the rural life of a fairly large and quite modern nation is not a simple task. To write a book on the rural life of a whole nation is a precarious undertaking. It is especially difficult when statistical data are fragmentary. Some information presented in this monograph is therefore inconclusive and for two reasons: First, not a great deal of detailed empirical information was available, and,

second, some available information was not adequately authenticated. There has not been a national population census in Argentina since 1914 and while the 1937 Agricultural Census presented many valuable data it was not primarily a population census. The author, therefore, was compelled to choose between presenting neat, quantitative displays of information which would tend to bespeak higher scientific accuracy than was warranted and, in many instances, using qualitative descriptions. If he has erred in this matter the error consists in presenting too many, not too few, quantitative data.

There is a great volume of well-documented, historical information and an ample body of descriptive materials written by Argentines, but very little of it deals with the modern era and even less with what might be called local history. The appraisal of modern sociological literature in Argentina is very difficult because books written in this field are most often published by authors themselves and do not therefore run the gauntlet of the careful criticism of the book editors of great publishing companies, much less pass through the sieve of ruthless criticism of professional colleagues. Some authors of this type of literature carefully document their assertions; others leave the reader with only the author's assertions as proof of the accuracy of statements. There are, of course, notable exceptions. Empirical research is not widespread in Argentina and it is the author's hope that not the least among the contributions of this book will be that its omissions, errors in interpretation, and lack of data on many important aspects of Argentine rural life will stimulate Argentine scholars to correct the errors and fill in the omissions. Only when they do will an adequate description and analysis of the rural segment of Argentine culture be available to Argentine people and others.

Much assistance was received from my friends and associates at the United States Embassy in Buenos Aires. Mr. Norman Armour, then United States Ambassador, opened every possible gate of opportunity and rendered every possible assistance. Mr. Paul Nyhus, United States Agricultural Attaché, was of immeasurable assistance from the day I arrived in Buenos Aires until the last word of this manuscript was completed. He made all detailed arrangements for my location and work at the Embassy, helped me find and employ able assistants, introduced me to prominent persons in both private and public life. He took me on my first field trip and accompanied me on some later

trips and made many contacts for me in the interior of the country when he could not accompany me. He read this manuscript and made many valuable suggestions, all of which served to improve the accuracy of the data and especially the accuracy of interpretations. It is a moderate statement to say that he more than doubled my capacity for doing what I hoped to accomplish in Argentina.

From among a great host of Argentine friends and colleagues who rendered great assistance I can name only a few. First, I must list Roberto Marcenaro-Boutell, my research assistant and interpreter, who by all rights should be listed as joint author of this monograph. Señor Diego Joaquin Ibarbia, Secretary-General of the Instituto de Colonizacion, Buenos Aires Province, not only provided a great volume of information but compiled some special information for me. He accompanied me on two field trips and was a loyal, helpful friend up to the minute my plane left the airport at Buenos Aires at 4:30 A.M., the morning of April 12.

Others who rendered more than temporary assistance were: Dr. Rafael Garcia-Mata and Dr. Carlos Moyano, both then with the Cotton Board; the late Dr. Alejandro Bunge and his Instituto colleagues; Dr. Tomás Amadeo and his colleagues of the University of Buenos Aires and the Museo Social; Dr. Juan L. Tenenbaum of La Plata University; Drs. Carlos Luzzetti and George Christensen, University of Cuyo, Mendoza; Drs. Alfredo Poviña and Raul Garcia, University of Córdoba; and Señores Hector Peralta Ramos, Ricardo Videla, and Mauricio Perez Catan of the Consejo Agrario Nacional.

Finally, I want to express my deep gratitude to Miss Ena Short, secretary to Mr. Nyhus in the Embassy, Miss Kathryn VanHynning, my own secretary in Washington, and Miss Nettie P. Bradshaw, Head of the Statistical Unit, Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, United States Department of Agriculture, for all of the detailed and painstaking care which they exercised and assistance they rendered during the course of the preparation of the manuscript for this book. Miss Bradshaw also assisted my daughter-in-law, Pauline Schloessor Taylor, in the detailed and onerous task of proof reading. Because of my absence from the United States my daughter-in-law assumed unusually heavy responsibility in this final but exceptionally important task.

Carl C. Taylor

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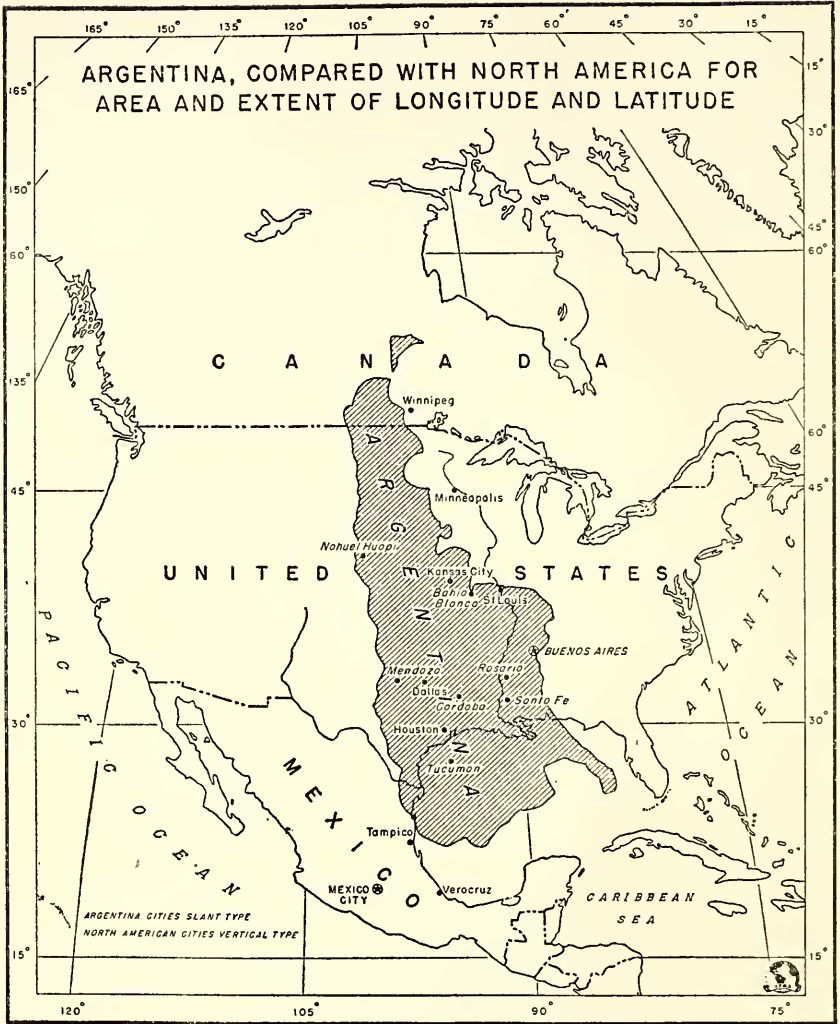


FIGURE 1

This map of Argentina is inverted north and south but not east and west. It is superimposed over the map of North America to show comparable latitudes but not comparable longitudes. Southern Tierra del Fuego is in the same latitude as Hudson Bay, Canada, and northern Jujuy is in the same as Tampico, Mexico, and Havana, Cuba.

CHAPTER I

SCENES IN VARIOUS TYPE-FARMING AREAS IN ARGENTINA

ONE HUNDRED DAYS OF RURAL TRAVEL

IF A PERSON traveled 100 days and 20,000 miles through the major types of farming areas of Argentina and talked to hundreds of farm people on their farms and in their homes, he would approximately duplicate the experience of the writer from March 29, 1942, to April 13, 1943. He could make most of the trip by automobile, part of the way on splendid concrete but most of it on dirt roads—sometimes muddy, sometimes and in some places very dusty, but passable most of the time. He would find it desirable to make some long intervening jumps by railroad or airplane and in the far northeast he would have to travel by river boat. He would never be compelled, except after a heavy rain, to travel by horseback or mule back and at times would find it possible to ride modern Diesel-motored streamlined trains. Some of Argentina's rural areas are isolated but all of them are accessible to one who really wants to visit them.

To make this complete trip in 100 consecutive days would not permit the traveler the privilege of selecting the seasons which best suited his purposes in each of the farm-production belts and would not permit him to read and study the history, statistics, and descriptive literature which would help him to understand better the things he was seeing and the people with whom he was talking. But in order to introduce the reader to the more analytical chapters which follow and to help him see the rural life of the nation as a whole before he begins to see it in terms of specialized problems, a panorama of 100 days of rural travel on a route marked on Figure 2 is presented in this and the following chapter. Only a few of the 200 farms and farm families visited by the writer during a year's study in Argentina can be described here. The cases selected as samples are typical.

In order to travel the route marked on Figure 2 a person would



FIGURE 2

start from the City of Buenos Aires, travel north and slightly west through part of the cattle-breeding belt, pass through the corn belt, and continue north and west into the wheat belt; he would then swing back east and south into what comes nearer to being like Iowa than any other part of Argentina—the mixed livestock and farm-crop area of south central Santa Fe Province. From here he would make a long jump by railroad and river boat into the yerba-mate belt of the far northeast and find at least one-third his time absorbed waiting for a means of transportation to the relatively small farming areas of that region. As compensation for these exasperating delays he could well afford to spend a couple of days at the point where Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay join, and there marvel at the most fantastic group of waterfalls in the world, the Iguazú Cataracts, surrounded by dense and tangled forests but accessible by means of the same river boat which carried him to the isolated farming communities of Misiones.

To get back to the cotton belt he would again travel by boat down the Upper Paraná River to the Chaco, and from the cotton belt go westward, first across a quebracho-forest area and then a desert-scrub area to the sugar-cane belt. Here he would be near the far northwest corner of Argentina and near the Bolivian boundary and so would turn back southward. Going south he would strike a most interesting line of oases villages at the foot of the Pre-Andean Mountains, then cross more desert scrub and arrive at the irrigated vineyard area of Mendoza and San Juan. From this highly concentrated vineyard area he would need to cross more desert to reach the irrigated fruit area of the Río Negro Valley and when he got there would be in the northern end of Patagonia.

On his long trip south from the Río Negro Valley to western Chubut he should see the famous summer-resort and winter-sports area at Bariloche, well up in the Andes and more like Switzerland than any other spot in the Western Hemisphere. Then traveling eastward across Chubut he would see hundreds of thousands of sheep, hundreds of ostriches, many guanacos, and a number of painted deserts. All this time he would be in the northern portion of a sheep belt that runs south all the way to Tierra del Fuego.

From Trelew or Rawson in eastern Chubut he would turn north and slightly east along the Atlantic Ocean and then inland across the southern wheat belt and into the heart of the alfalfa cattle-

feeding belt, from here go directly east and again be in the cattle-breeding belt, the north edge of which he touched three months earlier on his first day out. If he cared to he could now return to Buenos Aires through Mar del Plata—the Atlantic City, Reno, Palm Beach of Argentina.

At the end of his 100 days' tour the traveler would not have seen all of Argentina but he would have visited a part of every major type-farming area of the country and would have seen repeated illustrations of the relatively few scenes described in this and the chapter immediately following.

THE CATTLE-BREEDING BELT

Starting from the heart of Buenos Aires it takes a full half hour by automobile to get beyond the city limits and another half hour to get beyond the small farms which supply the great city with vegetables and fresh poultry products. Immediately beyond this suburban zone, traveling north and west, one comes into the edge of the cattle-breeding belt and begins to witness those things for which Argentine agriculture is best known all over the world—great *estancias* (big livestock ranches) and fine, purebred cattle.

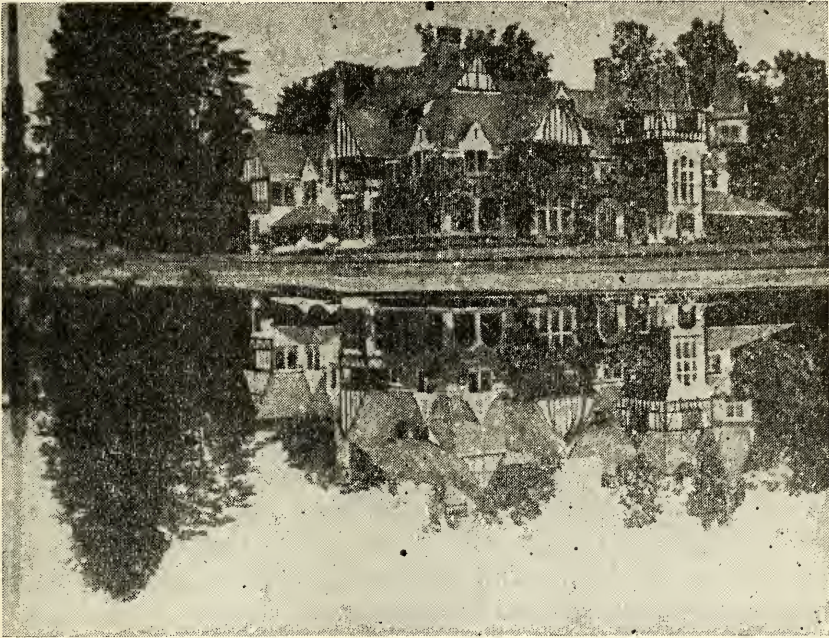
The writer visited a well-known *cabaña*¹ in this area where he saw hundreds of beautiful Shorthorn cattle, one of them a grand champion bull at Palermo in 1939. A Shorthorn bull, imported from England, for which the owner paid 86,000 pesos (about \$21,000), was led out for inspection and photographing and dozens of other Shorthorn and Hereford herd bulls were seen. In various pastures were numerous herds, one of which had 100 pedigreed Shorthorn cows all so much alike that only an expert could judge one as superior to the others. In about 70 pens were more than 200 Shorthorn bulls—in lots of 3 which had been penned together since they were calves—all to be sold on the estancia at private auction after the great public auction at Palermo. The previous year 250 pedigreed bulls were sold at private auction by this *cabaña* for approximately 3,000 pesos (\$750) per head.

This is not considered a large estancia, being only 5,000 hectares (12,350 acres), but is one of six owned by the same family. The combined acreage of the six is 75,000 hectares (185,000 acres). This

¹ A *cabaña* is a farm for breeding purebred livestock.

one is managed by a Scotchman who has specialized in purebred Shorthorns for 40 years. At the Palermo Exposition, three months after our visit, the highest prize won by this cabaña was the two-year-old Reserve Shorthorn Champion, but this manager won a greater number of prizes than any other exhibitor at the Exposition.

A good-sized, though not ostentatious, estancia mansion is occupied by some members of the *estanciero* (large livestock producer)



AN ESTANCIA MANSION ON A CABAÑA NEAR BUENOS AIRES

family a few weeks each summer. The *mayordomo* (manager) lives in a substantial, comfortable, modern home which is set in the same beautiful park as the mansion but located nearer the barns where the show cattle are kept. Most of the *peones* (hired men) live in a brick, two-story dormitory located yet nearer to the barns than the manager's home; others live in family residences scattered over the estancia at points where each can supervise a section of the property.

The writer recorded in his diary the evening after he visited this cabaña: "I never saw finer cattle in my life. I wonder if there are any finer in the world."

THE CORN BELT

One moves out of the cattle-breeding belt into the corn belt so gradually that he cannot draw a distinct line between the two production zones. If he flies over the same area, traveling at three or four times the speed of an automobile and above the great panorama of flat country, he can see clearly the steadily increasing prevalence of cornfields as he travels north and can know just about when he has left the cattle belt and when he has entered the wheat belt, between which lies the heart of the corn belt. Cornfields begin to appear quite regularly about 60 miles out of Buenos Aires, become gradually more numerous, and finally occupy approximately all the cultivated area, the small remainder that is cultivated being in flax and wheat. From the air, looking down on the area, one might think he was flying over Iowa—isolated farmsteads, each home located in a grove of trees, corn planted alongside other cereal crops, and some pasture. The difference is that scattered among grainfields are many large cattle farms, a carry-over from the day when this was purely a cattle country.

The major portion of the land in the corn belt is owned in large holdings but operated in moderately small farms. All these operating units were at one time parts of estancias. They were converted partly or wholly into tenant-operated farms when cereal culture began to develop within the cattle belt. The great majority (73.6 per cent) are operated by tenants and one should, therefore, stop at one of these great tenant-operated establishments.

This is a large farm, 45,000 acres; 15,000 acres operated by a farm manager, his assistant and 28 hired men; the other 30,000 acres operated by 105 tenants (*colonos*). Each tenant is an entrepreneur living in his own home and operating his own farm enterprise. Most of the administratively operated portion of the big farm is devoted to grass and beef-cattle production, although some corn is grown. The tenants are purely crop farmers and since each operates between 150 and 300 acres they are also large-scale farmers as compared with corn-belt farmers in the United States. The reason they are almost wholly crop farmers is that their rent contracts do not permit them to be anything else and the reason they are large-scale farmers is that they are mechanized farmers. It takes big machines and many horses to cultivate large acreages of corn and it takes large acreages

to produce grain as cheaply as is done in Argentina. Their horses are fed altogether on grass and each horse can be worked only one half of each day. A farmer keeps from 20 to 40 horses, depending on the size of the farm, and operates 6- and 8- instead of 2- and 4-horse teams.

The tenant contracts are for five-year periods, 36 per cent grain rent, and permit not more than 5 per cent of the land in grass. Thus a 250-acre farm can have a maximum of 12½ acres of grass, most of which is required for horse pasture. There is no restriction against the tenants' having cows, but the number is automatically restricted by the amount of grassland. There is a limit on the number of hogs—one hog to each twenty-five acres of land rented; the natural increase must be butchered or sold by the time an animal reaches 185 pounds in weight. The tenant may have as many chickens as he wishes, is given free land for a garden, pays no rent on the 5 per cent of grassland, and could plant an orchard if it were not for his short-term tenure contract. He must build his own house and other farm structures, including garden, yard, or other internal fences.

The writer visited three tenants on this large farm. Two of them lived in mud houses with thatched roofs, the other house had adobe-brick walls with zinc roof, all had hard dirt floors. Two of them had cooking ranges, the other used an open fire. All the homes were lighted by kerosene lamps and candles, two had radios, one a bathroom. None of them had any heating equipment except that of the cookstove. All had chickens, vegetable and flower gardens.

This is a well-managed establishment on very fertile land and, therefore, has no difficulty in obtaining and retaining tenants even with rent contracts that are more restrictive than some others. Another large, purely tenant-operated tract a few miles from this one permits tenants to have 10 per cent of their lands in pasture and charges only 30 per cent grain rent. This latter tract has not, however, rotated pasture with grains and, therefore, probably produces lower grain yields. The tenants on these two large farms are substantial, intelligent, fairly large-scale operators, typical of those in the corn belt. Farms are operated by the maximum use of family labor but because of the size of their operations a good bit of hired labor is employed. During corn harvest seasonal labor comes in from the wheat belt farther north to help with the harvest.

The 15,000-acre portion of the farm operated by *administracion*

(i.e., by a salaried farm manager) is managed by an Englishman, assisted by an English-speaking Argentine of Italian stock. They live in a substantial, entirely modern house which sits in the beautifully landscaped estancia park. This park occupies about 160 acres of land, in the center of which is located the great estancia mansion—a house of not less than 30 rooms. In the park are great flower gardens, a tile swimming pool, a six-hole golf course, tennis courts, a polo field, and a chapel. The landscaping was done by an artist who planned some of the most beautiful parks in Buenos Aires. Members of the estanciero family occupy the mansion a few months each summer at the most.

There are in the corn belt some small farms and many intermediate-sized ones, most of them tenant operated. An example is a tenant farmer and his family who operate only 30 acres, paying \$3.40 cash rent per acre. The operator has been on this farm for ten years and has built his own house and furnished all “installations”—outhouses, yard fences, well, and fruit trees. He has been farming for forty years and has occupied only three farms during that period. He is allowed to produce anything he cares to and would like to rent more land and get into the livestock business, but he said land was not available and that he did not possess sufficient capital to buy livestock and make the necessary “installations”—additional fences, wells, and water tanks. He said they were barely making a living and had told the meat wagon to stop delivering meat. The family kills a chicken about every other day for its only meat supply. He claimed that the money he gets for his grain just about equals his cash rent and that the family living must come from the garden, a few fruit trees, chickens, and money some of his seven children earn from outside work. The father, mother, and seven children live in a drab mud house with thatched roof. It is not uncomfortable but looks quite dilapidated. They own a radio but the battery was “down” and they could not afford to have it charged. The bread wagon delivers daily papers but they cannot afford to subscribe for one. The operator said that some farmers, starting as he did forty years ago, had purchased farms during periods of high grain prices. His wife added, “*algunas pero pocas*” (some but few).

A few miles down the road is a farmer who lives on an owner-operator farm which his father, starting as a tenant forty years ago, had purchased. The son, now operating the farm, said none of his

brothers had been able to advance from tenants to owners and he did not believe it was possible to do so at this time. This man produces corn, other cereals, some livestock, and a considerable amount of fruit and vegetables. His house, in contrast to the tenant farmer's just described, although mud, is plastered with cement, roofed with zinc, and surrounded by a large flower garden.²

THE WHEAT BELT

A portion of the wheat belt is north and slightly west of the heart of the corn belt. In most of the cereal zone these two grain crops compete with or complement each other so one must go far enough north to be out of the corn area in order to visit a typical wheat farmer. On the 150-mile trip between centers of the two belts corn gradually fades out. The road which leads from just south of Pergamino in Buenos Aires Province to San Francisco in the central eastern part of the Province of Córdoba passes through that part of Santa Fe Province where there is a fine combination of corn, wheat, and seed flax.

Our first visit is at an owner-operated farm. Five brothers whose father was an Italian immigrant forty years ago and who climbed the agricultural ladder from hired man, to tenant, to owner, operate a farm that is typical of wheat farming mixed with other types of production. It is a 300-acre farm, well improved, has a nice, modern brick residence completely covered with vines and surrounded by trees and a large flower garden. The older residence stands near by and is used partly for human habitation and partly as a granary and machine shed. These brothers produce wheat, flax, alfalfa, and a few other minor crops but at the time of our visit obtained most of their cash income from the sale of milk because all grain prices were exceedingly low. The oldest brother, who, according to the familistic pattern, is head of the household, was not sure that grain prices would recover after the war and believed that their best bet was to depend on alfalfa, cows, and milk, even though the farm is in the heart of an exceptionally good wheat area. He complained about

²For vivid descriptions and penetrating observations, the reader's attention is called to Francis Herron's *Letters from the Argentine*, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1943, 301 pp. This book should be cited at many other places throughout Chapters I and II but will not be cited because once the reader looks at *Letters from the Argentine* he will undoubtedly read the total book.

high taxes and was critical of the government but not discouraged. He was sure that the owner operators are "better off" than the tenants and that the peones have no possibility of progress up the agricultural ladder, an idea corroborated by an exceedingly intelligent peon, some forty years of age living two miles down the road from this farm.

A more typical example of a wheat farm is selected from a locality farther north and west. Three brothers are tenant operators of a 1,235-acre farm, one of them married, the other two single. They produce practically nothing but wheat, pay \$2.45 per acre rent, and are permitted 10 per cent of the land in pasture, not all of which is utilized for that purpose because they have no livestock except work horses. The second oldest brother, whom we interviewed, has been farming for 18 years, his older brother much longer. He remarked that someone ought to build a monument to this older brother who had worked terribly hard and had nothing to look forward to, not even a decent retirement; that every farmer should own the land he farms and that after 18 years he should be able to own a farm. This man reads, listens to the radio, is a member of the Farmers' Federation, buys through its co-operative, owns an automobile, is highly intelligent about farming, but feels that he is caught in a tenure system that offers him little hope. He knew of the government's tenant-reform legislation program but said, "Merely allowing a tenant to plant 40 per cent of his land in grass will not convert single-crop farming into diversified farming. In order to get started in livestock one needs capital to purchase foundation stock, build fences, and install windmills and wells. The landlords will not do these things and the tenants can never accumulate enough capital to do them." He said his landlord signs the contract, turns over the farm, collects the rent, and has no further interest in the farm, not even enough to guarantee the upkeep of its physical equipment. He feels that better tenure contracts, farmers' organizations for both buying and selling, and the assistance of the government would help but is not at all optimistic about the outlook. He lives in a large brick, cement-plastered house and has all the physical comforts of life but sees no hope of financial progress.

Another example, on the northern fringe of the wheat belt, is a tenant who has lived on the same farm for twenty years. He and his wife are both highly intelligent but very militant about the

farmers' conditions. He and his two sons operate a farm of 500 acres, produce wheat, flax, corn, peanuts, and some alfalfa, but no livestock except work animals. He would like to have cattle but his contract permits him to put only 10 per cent of the land in grass, practically all of which is needed as pasture for his work animals. He was bitter about his rental contract and much interested in what he had heard over the radio about the proposed law which would compel landlords to permit tenants to plant 40 per cent of their land to grass. He reads the papers and listens to the radio regularly, is a member of the Farmers' Federation, and believes that farmers should elect farmer congressmen. When asked what he would do with the money if he made twice as much as he now does, he and his wife both quickly responded, "Buy a farm." They now live in a brick house, plastered with mud, surrounded by large trees. They have a radio and electric lights, own a great deal of farm machinery, and said they are doing much better financially than many others, but can never progress much further if they have to remain tenants.

The tenancy rate among wheat farmers is 61.6 per cent, and 75.9 per cent of the tenants are share renters. In times past they have made money but wanting to farm large acreages they have spent their increased capital for more farm machinery and more work stock. Now that they have these heavy investments in operating equipment they find it difficult to switch to smaller-scale operations. Theirs is the universal story of purely commercialized one-crop farming and it is a tragic story just at this time.

MIXED FARMING AND DAIRY BELT

Quite different is the story of the farmers in the next area to be visited. The area lies east and south of the wheat belt, at Esperanza, in the Province of Santa Fe where is to be found a "pioneer monument" dedicated to the first European colonists—mostly Swiss—who came to Argentina in 1856 and began developing family-sized, owner-operated farms which are now prevalent in that vicinity and the one which centers in the near-by town of Rafaela. As one comes into this area from the west he is little short of thrilled by the beautiful farming scenes in this mixed-farming, relatively high-level-of-living area. Beautiful fields of grain, broad pastures filled with beef and dairy cattle, all farms well fenced, good farm homes set in sub-

Rural Life in Argentina

stantial groves, many small and some large creameries and cheese factories, some open-country community halls, and the towns as up to date and prosperous as the farms.

A short description of scenes in this area will give the reader a panorama of what he would see if driving in any direction out of the City of Santa Fe.

A Swiss farmer sixty-seven years of age, son of one of the original immigrants, owns two farms, lives in a good two-story brick house surrounded by a fine orchard. He stopped grain farming thirty-five years ago and has been practicing mixed farming ever since—crops, beef cattle, hogs, and dairy cattle. He pointed out a large cheese factory in the distance, not a co-operative, but said there were a number of small co-operatives scattered all through the area.

Two German-Swiss brothers, bachelors, who inherited their immigrant father's 220-acre farm have a large one-and-one-half-story brick house located in an ample grove and surrounded by an immense flower garden, also many other farm buildings. The whole place looks like an Iowa farm. About half of the farm production consists of dairy production—whole milk for the City of Santa Fe; the other half, mixed-crop farming—flax, corn, wheat, and other small grains. One of the brothers said, "The chief measure of good farming is how well the farmers eat."

A small cheese factory—one of many small ones—employing six workers with a Swiss cheese maker in charge is so located in the area that each farmer can deliver his milk by team or truck. Each is physically an independent unit but is a unit of a large overhead organization.

A large brick and stone building—two stories—used as a social center belongs to the farmers of the community and is located in the open country. It has a dance floor, auditorium, kitchen, and other rooms.

The town of Esperanza, 25,000 population, is located midway between Santa Fe and Rafaela and has a beautiful, well-planted plaza in which is located the Pioneer's Monument. The town looks in every way like an oversized Midwestern county seat.

The town of Rafaela, very much like Esperanza, has two daily papers. The leading one has a circulation of 1,500, is progressive, carries world and national news, but most of its space is dedicated

to economic and social issues of the local area. The editor says farmers of the area also read Buenos Aires' large dailies.

A large federated butter factory, which serves a number of co-operatives and frequently exports half of its products to New York, is thoroughly modern and scientifically operated in every way. The manager was born on a farm in this general area, was just a minor officer in one of the local co-operatives, then an officer, and finally a manager of this larger co-operative.

A large 300-cow dairy farm is operated by a German immigrant's son who rents 1,000 acres of pasture land but owns another farm of his own. He owns the dairy cows but not the land upon which they graze, does no physical work himself and employs peon laborers to do the milking on a share basis.

By visiting the International Harvester store at Santa Fe one would see every type of farm machinery used in cereal and dairy farming and be impressed with the fact that nearly all the machinery is excessively large—70-horse-power tractors, giant drills, 4-bottom gang plows, medium-sized and large combines, 3-row planters. In a visit to the municipal market in Santa Fe he would be impressed by the great variety of farm products made available to the consumers of this city of 145,000 people. In addition to all types of fresh fruits and vegetables there are cheeses of every Swiss and Italian type, sausages of various European and American types, an elaborate gamut of meats, eggs, honey, preserves and jellies, and other home-canned products. The products in this market are a reflection of the agriculture of the area.

As one leaves this area he carries an even deeper impression of its prosperity and progressiveness than when he enters it. He has seen family-sized, owner-operated farms by the hundreds, seen the best rural housing of the nation, and the most highly diversified farming in the nation. He has seen many farmers' co-operatives, open-country community houses, picture shows, and plazas in every town. He has traveled on good roads most of the time, seen hundreds of automobiles, many tractors, and much power farm machinery and been told that many farm families read not only their own local papers but the great dailies published in Buenos Aires; he has even heard the opinion expressed that too many farm boys leave the farm to enter business professions and to become lawyers and doctors.

THE YERBA-MATE BELT

The jump to our next stop cannot be easily made by automobile because a great, swampy, timbered belt lies between the City of Santa Fe and the Territory of Misiones on the route we are taking to visit the yerba-mate belt. A little should be said about this stretch of country. It is northern Santa Fe Province, a cattle and quebracho country with some cotton, and northern Corrientes, a cattle and yerba-mate country. It has a very sparse population and is not of major importance in agricultural production, but is a part of Argentine rural life. In exceptionally rainy weather traveling in the area is impossible except on horseback. In a good many ways the area reminds one of a great deal of the Atlantic and Gulf Coast areas of the United States—temperate climate, timber, savannas, many cattle of poor quality, many mules; quebracho wood—ties, firewood, and logs for distillation—piled up everywhere; cranes and small derricks for handling it because a stick two feet long and four inches in diameter is about all a man can lift with one hand. There are people scattered all through this country but the majority of them live adjacent to small towns because they are timber workers and need to be where they can shift from one place to another. They nearly all live in mud and thatched houses, some of the poorest in the nation. There is plenty of time and opportunity to look at all of these things because one has to travel on a railroad train from Santa Fe to Resistencia, a distance of about 390 miles, and it takes about 15 hours for the trip. From Corrientes just across the river from Resistencia it is a 24-hour trip by boat up the Upper Paraná River to Posadas, the territorial capital of Misiones.

It is not quite accurate to refer to northern Corrientes and all of Misiones as a yerba-mate belt because the area also produces citrus fruit, cotton, tobacco, and cereals, and is now producing much tung. Because it is the area in which the famous yerba-mate tea plant abounds, because that is the big money crop of the area, and because millions of people in Argentina drink yerba mate, it is known as the yerba country.

The interior of Misiones can be penetrated from Posadas, the territorial capital, in only two ways, by public highways to the east and by river boat to the north. Oberá, 25 miles east of Posadas, can be reached only by highway and is one of the yerba, tobacco, and tung

centers of the territory. Yerba groves or orchards (*yerbales*) come to the very edge of the town and cover every hillside. These *yerbales* are big plantations, operated by peon labor. The yerba trees are planted in rows 12 to 16 feet apart, spaced considerably closer than that in the rows. They are kept topped to a height of 8 or 10 feet in order to guarantee a maximum spread of branches and thus a maximum production of leaves. It is the leaves and twigs out of which yerba mate is made. A yerba grove is a pretty sight before harvest but looks barren and gaunt after the leaves are stripped from the trees. Each large yerbal has its own drying and redrying plants. Smaller farms deliver their products to commercial plants for processing.

In some cases the headquarters of the yerbal is the nucleus of a small village in which both factory and field workers live, and at which is located a school, sometimes a church, and a store. Most often the field workers have their pole or mud huts in the edge of the yerba groves or in some open space near where they work. Nearly all of the pickers are transient laborers, many of them Paraguayans of part-Indian blood, who come to the area for the picking season, live in the poorest houses in the nation, and maintain undoubtedly the lowest level of living of any Argentine agricultural laborers.

In the Oberá area is a good example of the second most dominant feature of the northern part of Argentina—new colonization settlements. Colonists in this area are of 24 nationalities, Poles predominating, but there are also Swiss, German, Scandinavian, and many other North and South Europeans and a number of Japanese. These people produce some yerba but for the most part make a living by other types of production—tobacco, cereal crops, oranges, tung, and jute—and all of them have chickens, hogs, cows, gardens, and orchards. They live in neat, small houses, each showing some attempt at architectural design and beauty. They are apparently attempting to build peasant types of farms, homes, and communities. There are a number of country churches, more Protestant than Catholic, and schools are supplied and used by all families. None of these things are true where yerba production dominates and peon labor prevails. Going north, up the river, one has to pick the spot he wants to visit because transportation is by boat, slow and precarious. It will take him a week to travel to, visit, and return from Eldorado, the most substantial settlement in the territory. To be

able to speak Spanish does not help much at Eldorado because all the people speak German. Again we give only telegraphic descriptions of a few farmers in Eldorado and Victoria, two unique and interesting colonies.

A German who came to Eldorado in 1924 worked as a hired man one year then "took a piece of land." For 13 years he continued to cut and haul wood, clearing each year a little more of his land. All this time he worked oxen, but built himself a small shack now used as a chicken house; later when he was married, he built a crude house, now used as a barn, and gradually cleared land for field crops and pasture. His farm is now cleared and he has purchased additional land. He has a good pasture, some yerba trees, an orange grove, and produces some tobacco. He lives in a good brick house, plastered inside and outside with cement, has a radio, electric lights, and an automobile. He said, "When I was clearing the land and hauling wood I lived in a barn, now I have a nice house; then I drove oxen, now I have an automobile; then I bought 5 kilos (11 pounds) of meat a month, now I buy 5 kilos a week and have other meat and chickens besides; then I drank water from the creek, now I drink wine."

A Polish family—widowed father, married son and daughter-in-law, and an eighteen- or nineteen-year-old son, the father a veteran of the Polish Army in World War I—came to this country about ten years ago and has done well. He was a small landowner in Poland but is enthusiastic about the progress he has made in Argentina. In discussing it he said, "Here in Argentina one has to work hard but taxes are low, everybody is free, and both I and my sons can own farms." This family lives in a brick and stone house that is being built piecemeal with their own labor. It consists of a large porch off the kitchen; a large kitchen, used also as a dining room; a large living room, used also as a bedroom; two other bedrooms, one of them now being used for storage of various things. The kitchen and living room are completed—plastered and painted—the bedroom is plastered but not painted, and the storage room has only rough brick walls. The father had painted blue stripes on the wall a foot below the ceiling and a stripe in each corner, not too well done, but a definite attempt at art. The bed in the living room was covered with a beautiful handmade spread.

An old German couple who settled here in 1924 when the man

was fifty-two years of age, and thus too old for the difficult task of clearing timbered land, has not made pronounced progress. Now that the son is grown and can take over they feel quite optimistic about the future. They had almost completed a new frame house after having lived eighteen years in a building which was originally meant to be used as a barn. They have a good orange grove and produce general farm crops, have a number of small farm buildings and ample farm machinery. The old man said, "I don't want anything to do with those people in Europe. This is the place. A man is free and can climb the ladder of success step by step, even if only slowly."

In Victoria Colony is an old Scotch-English couple and their son who ten years ago retired from a good position with an English commercial company, took all his pension money and bought a farm in this colony. They built a very large, mansion-type frame house, developed an immense formal flower garden, and planted a grove of orange trees. Now it appears that it is impossible to produce oranges economically in this area because of high transportation costs down the long river route. The house is rapidly deteriorating for want of upkeep and the big garden is grown up to weeds. These old people, with their life's savings in this place, are trapped and of course discouraged.

An English lower-middle-aged couple, who had a turn at foreign service in a British colony for a number of years where the husband contracted malaria, had their new colony land at Victoria cleared and planted, most of it to orange trees, but had the same tragic experience of all their neighbors in the venture—good oranges, satisfactory yields, but no markets. Now, also like all their neighbors, they are planting tung trees and praying that tung will prove to be a successful crop in this area. There are prospects, but they will have to wait a few years to have proof of success or failure. The husband is now earning some outside income by operating a truck and the wife is teaching an elementary school in her home. They and all others of the English colonists have always operated their farms by the use of hired labor. This family lives in a nice English-type frame house, nicely furnished and decorated in the interior, but in need of repair on the exterior.

Both of these colonies—Eldorado and Victoria—were and are promoted by the same colonization company. Over its years of operation the manager of the company has come to believe that

only families whose levels of living have been low in Europe and who are, therefore, willing to start at the bottom and work up in a pioneering fashion can succeed in this area. He, therefore, favors Polish immigrants, but also ranks Germans and Swiss high as colonists. He says if each family will clear its own farm, build its improvements by family labor, and can obtain an allotment to plant a small yerba grove, it can steadily improve its level of living and own its farm. If tung proves to be a success, he believes that these will be highly prosperous colonies.

Before we leave this area it should be noted that there are, in addition to these diversified colonist farmers, many large yerbales in operation by individuals and companies, employing cheap peon transient laborers. There is some evidence that tung production, if it proves successful, may develop also in great plantations and operate by the same exploitative methods.³

IGUAZÚ FALLS AND THE PARANÁ RIVER

Because no one should come so near to so marvelous a scene as Iguazú Falls and not go on up the Paraná River from Eldorado to see them, a leaf from the writer's diary giving his own experience on such a trip is presented.

"Leaving Eldorado: The taxi man came for us at the appointed hour, 2 P.M., four hours after the boat's announced schedule, and insisted that we go to the port, five miles away, although an aviator who had flown over the boat earlier in the day had reported, and everyone knew, that the boat couldn't possibly reach Eldorado before 5 P.M. We refused to go because there is not even a bench to sit on at the river much less a building to shield one from the blazing sun. After some argument he agreed to come back for us when he knew we should wait no longer. He came at 5:15 P.M. although he had no evidence that the boat was anywhere near Eldorado. The best friends we had made in the community wouldn't argue with the taxi monopolist so we loaded up and went to the river. The boat came 7 hours later at 2 A.M. the next morning, 16 hours behind schedule. It had been stopped for hours the night before by fog.

³ Considerably more space has been given to this relatively unimportant agricultural area because little is written about it elsewhere and because it is one of the nation's frontiers.

“September 3, 1942. On the ‘Cruz de Malta’—somewhere between Eldorado and Posadas on the Paraná River—on the way back to Buenos Aires.

“It is impossible to describe the Iguazú Falls but I can tell of our trip there. We landed at Puerto Aguirre at 6:15 Monday evening, after having left Eldorado at 2:00 A.M. that morning. Our boat, the ‘Guayra,’ unloaded about 50 passengers who climbed into three Ford ‘station wagons’ and were driven over an exceedingly rough road to the hotel 18 kilometers distant. Once there we and another couple were told that they had no accommodations for us. An English couple from Rio de Janeiro, whom we had met three days before on the boat, was leaving when the ‘Cruz de Malta’ arrived and tried to get the hotel manager to assign their room to us. The other unaccommodated couple had, however, asked for reservations in advance and were assigned that room. They stayed up until 2 A.M.—the time the English couple finally got away. The manager wanted to send us back to a ‘pension,’ (boardinghouse) at the port but Roberto argued for over half an hour to prevent it. They finally placed two army cots in the room where they store all table linens and bedclothes, and we slept there for the two nights. The room had no windows and during the first night I felt each time I awakened, which was often, that I would pay almost any price for a long breath of fresh air. The second night we left the door to the narrow hall open and it wasn’t so bad. We had to go back and forth to our room through the kitchen.

“The next morning we took the trip to the top of the falls where we looked down into the *Garganta del Diablo*, (the Devil’s Throat). We arrived by the Ford station wagon at a point a half mile above the falls and were taken in a rowboat through various channels between clumps of trees to within 50 yards of the brink of the falls and then across lava rock to the point where we could see the upper falls. The water through which we passed was from 2 feet to 3 feet deep and fairly quiet so that there was no danger, although the guide attempted to make it sound dangerous before we entered the boat. In the afternoon we took the walking trip to the foot of the lower falls.

“These falls are very different from the Niagara. It is impossible to compare the volume of water passing over the two but judging from the river below where all the water gathers in a single stream,

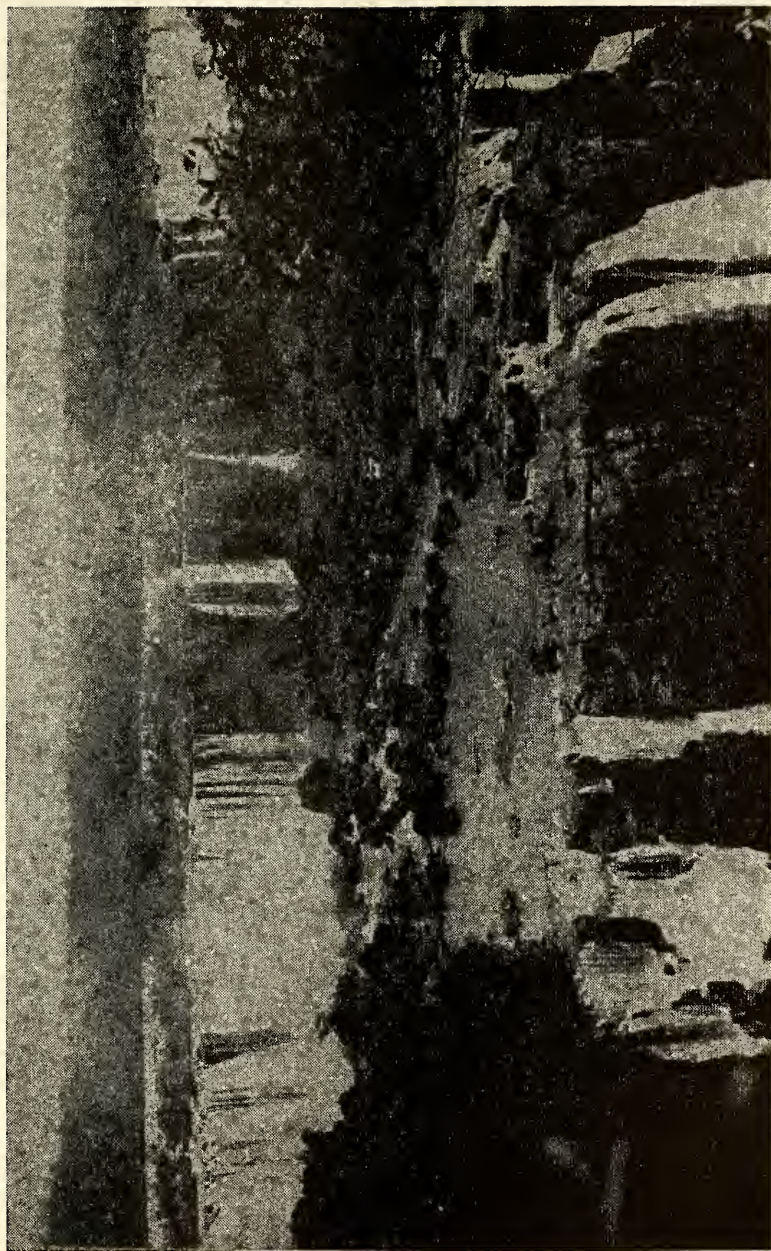
it appears that the Niagara has considerably the greater volume. That is unimportant, for the magnificence of the Iguazú is not in its volume but in its diversity and fantasy. The river above the falls seems to be dammed up and spreads out for over a mile, coming over the falls at more places than one can count. At three or four, especially two, places the water comes over in great enough volume to give the same impression as the Niagara. At all other points it comes over in separate small rivers or even small creeks. The general contour or configuration of the total crest of the falls is difficult to describe and impossible to photograph.

“At one place the water comes over the crest in great volume, in a river 100 yards wide, falls for 100 feet, hits a ledge and goes on down another precipice, drops 100 feet and then goes down a long cataract; at other points the drop is from top to bottom, the water lost in mist the last half of the way down. In countless places these same forms are repeated in smaller streams. A small river splits off the main stream to the left and finally comes over falls of its own a full mile below the Devil’s Throat, where the greatest volume is concentrated. Between these two extreme points are the numerous and diverse falls and cataracts which go to make up the total scene.

“At all places except where the water comes over in great volume there are trees growing to the very lip of the falls and the various streams, therefore, come as it were, out of the jungle, and plunge over the precipices. At the foot of the precipices again, except at points where the volume of water is great enough to destroy all plant life, the river is lost in many small streams which flow through the jungle down to the gorge where the waters of the Iguazú are gathered to form the boundary between Brazil and Argentina.

“Just before dusk the second day I walked the trip of the afternoon before in reverse and viewed what appeared to be a totally different gamut of scenes. I am convinced that one could repeat such trips many times and feel each time that he was seeing different scenes, although they would be the same scenes from different points of vantage and in different lights. During the morning of the second day I sat alone on the balcony of the hotel and looked constantly at the whole panorama for an hour. It changed a great deal during that period as a result of the movement of the sun. I did the same thing both evenings.

“Various persons asked me to make comparisons between Iguazú



IGUAZÚ FALLS IS FAR MORE THAN THIS. DENSE FOREST MAKES PHOTOGRAPHING OF ALL THE FALLS IMPOSSIBLE.

and Niagara. At first all I could say was 'they are different, Niagara is grander because of volume and height, Iguazú is more fantastic.' At the end of two days I am bound to say, 'If I were making a set of falls by design, I would follow the Iguazú rather than the Niagara design.' Artificial lights at night have improved and diversified Niagara. To do anything artificial to Iguazú would be a crime against this magnificent and fantastic jungle scene. The only improvements that should be made are some more trails to take people to different vistas, easier passage to the Brazil side, and a hotel high enough so one could see over the treetops and get the whole panorama in one view. This is impossible now.

"I have described Iguazú Falls or Cataracts as a jungle scene. It constitutes a national park for which there are fairly elaborate plans: a museum and zoo, a set of trails, a great hotel. It could be one of the great wilderness parks of the world and a place to which thousands of tourists would come from all parts of the world. The area in all three countries, Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay, is such complete jungle for so many miles in all directions that it could give tourists opportunities to see things they could see in few other places in the world. Paraguay probably couldn't participate, but the falls are as much a part of Brazil as they are of Argentina. Brazil has started a big hotel on the high bluff on that side of the river, overlooking the falls. The park could be international or the tourists could make it so. One or the other, or both countries, should include within its park hundreds of thousands of acres so as to preserve the wild life and make it seeable. Now one sees no snakes or wild animals, only birds and butterflies, although the area is replete with pumas, wildcats, giant anteaters, giant armadillos, wolves, otters, alligators, a dozen kinds of monkeys, three or four varieties of giant snakes, hundreds of other snakes, all kinds of colored birds, and various fantastically colored butterflies. The plant life is variegated because of warm climate and heavy rainfall, and insects are very numerous as the tourist can testify. It would take a considerable expenditure of money to develop such a park, and transportation to and from the place would have to be greatly improved. Now the boat of one line comes to Puerto Aguirre twice a week and that of another once per week. The condition of the river, chiefly fog, makes it impossible to predict when either boat will arrive and therefore to know

when a person can get to or leave the place. There were fewer than 100 persons visiting the park while we were there, and this is the maximum for any given time. There are thus fewer persons visiting this park during a year than are in Yellowstone National Park any one day during the tourist season.

“Those who visit the park are ‘well-to-do’ Argentines, foreigners, and bridal couples. Most of the Argentines there at this time are estanciero families and two or three bridal couples. Some photographers and such persons as myself, the English couple mentioned above, the Chargé d’Affaires of Hungary and his family, etc., made up the group. There were no groups of old-maid schoolteachers, student-tourist groups, or middle-class families as at the national parks in the United States.

“The hotel accommodations are good if one has a reservation, 22 pesos per day which includes all transportation and guides. This is about \$5.25 per day, which is exceedingly cheap. The trip can be made by boat from Buenos Aires or Montevideo, 8 days on the water if the boats are on time, 11 or 12 if not. The ‘Guayra’ is a good boat, this ‘Cruz de Malta’ not so good or so fast.

“I have not thus far described the trip up the river because I wanted to wait until I made the trip both ways. Now that the captain says that he has a full load of freight and won’t be loading anything at ports between here and Posadas, I won’t see anything very different from what I have already observed.

“The scenery is about the same all the way and the same on the Argentine and Paraguayan shores—solid timber down to the water’s edge and to the top of the mesa on each side. It is pretty and restful but not beautiful except for the lapacho trees which are 40 to 60 feet high and covered with red or dark pink blossoms. At the north the foliage is almost solid bamboo, as much as 30 feet high and 3½ inches in diameter, with fernlike leaves. Also, at the north the banks are solid lava rock, at other places sand or mud.

“Various ports aren’t ports at all, just landing places, some of them without a sign of dock structure. Others, Eldorado and Monte Carlo especially, have fairly elaborate storage houses and platforms with inclined plane railroad tracks and stairsteps between them. At some places the boat can’t get to the bank and so moors in the river and peones row out with passengers and freight, depositing them in

all cases at landings totally unprotected from the weather, even at the larger ports. When it is rainy, both passengers and goods have to be landed in the rain.

"The freight traffic isn't heavy or the number of boats operating couldn't handle it. There are a few freight boats in addition to the regular passenger boats, but we have seen less than a half dozen of them in the three days we have been on the river and they were all small. The chief commodities loaded are yerba and tobacco, those unloaded chiefly groceries and drinks—beer and wine.

"The passengers getting on and off are chiefly peon families coming to and leaving the yerba harvest, usually three or four families in each group. With them are handmade tables and chairs, handmade army cots or iron bedsteads, a few clothes, and nearly always a coop or two of chickens. I haven't seen a mattress or bedtick unloaded yet. Each group has at least twice as many children as adults and practically always a dog. They are just like our southern sharecroppers or California migratory laborers, carrying all they possess with them and traveling with the harvest. Most of them are apparently part-blood Indian and all of them are dubbed with the title *Paraguayos*, although there is no reason why they should be since many of them live and work constantly on the Argentine side.

"There are fewer ports on the Paraguay side of the river and fewer residences, although there are a number of each. The passenger boats are all Argentine which land Paraguay traffic, chiefly human cargo, on the Argentine side. Those to or from Paraguay cross the river to the Argentine side in smaller boats. At each port are border-patrol police.

"All ports except Eldorado, Victoria, Monte Carlo, and Corpus Christi, so far as I have been able to learn, are landings for large landowners whose big houses, sometimes storehouses, can be seen from the river. They own tremendous tracts of land, operate yerbales (yerba plantations) with peon labor and thus forestall colonization by monopolizing the yerba quotas. They will probably do the same with tung."

THE COTTON BELT

It is necessary to travel back over the same slow river route from Posadas to Resistencia to reach the cotton belt, another pioneer-

colonist area. It is vastly different from the cotton belt in the United States because of the absence of large plantations and sharecroppers. Practically all of Argentina's cotton is grown in the Chaco, on small owner-operator or squatter farms, located in the open spaces of a heavily timbered area.

Chaco is a national territory and its lands are being distributed among small holders as rapidly as the National Land Office can complete the survey and classification of the land. It is a relatively newly settled country, most of its development having taken place since 1923. Its settlers are of many nationalities—Czechs, Slovenes, Bulgarians, Yugoslavians, Italians, Spaniards, and many others. A regional agronomist in the western part of the territory said he had 2,000 farmers in his area, not one of them born in the Chaco. There are a number of Indians in the northern part of the territory. In addition to cotton, quebracho is a major crop. Quebracho-extraction plants and cottonseed-oil mills represent about the only industrial developments in the area. It is necessary to visit some farmers in the eastern, central, and western sections of the territory in order to see the cotton belt. One or two farms and families in each of these localities are all that can be mentioned. The first is somewhat atypical.

Two bachelor brothers living near Resistencia cultivate about 1,000 acres of cotton and practically nothing else. They are renters, farm part of the land themselves, but subrent the major portion of their large farm to 32 other tenants for cash rent, a little less than \$2.00 per acre, furnish all the work stock, buy their tenants' cotton, and sell them provisions out of their commissary. The brothers themselves live in a house which was on the place but had been abandoned for some time when they first moved there eleven years ago. They have renovated and improved it and developed a newly planted yard about it. The house has a kitchen, dining room, living room, office, two bedrooms, and a bathroom. It is lighted by a Delco system, comfortably furnished, and the brothers have two high-grade radios.

Each of their subtenants must build and furnish his own house. The majority of subtenant homes are constructed of poles and branches plastered with mud and roofed with grass thatch. Most of them are one-room places furnished with homemade tables, cots, and chairs. Most of the people wear ragged clothing and many of them go barefoot the year round. Illegitimacy is very high in this

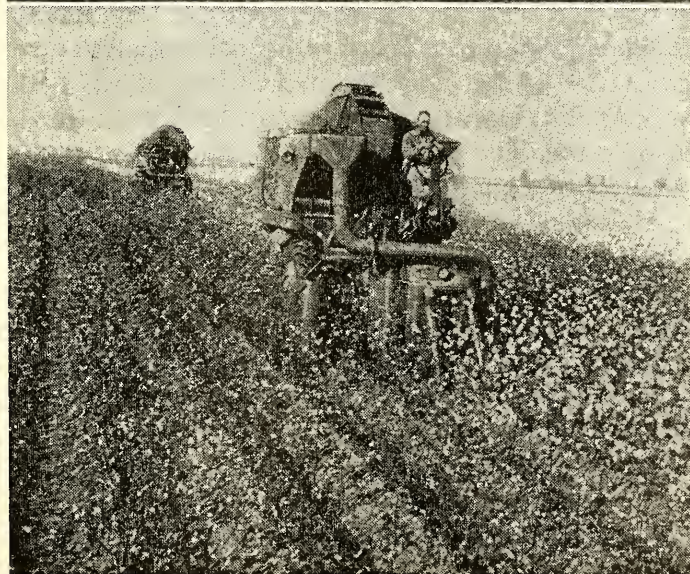
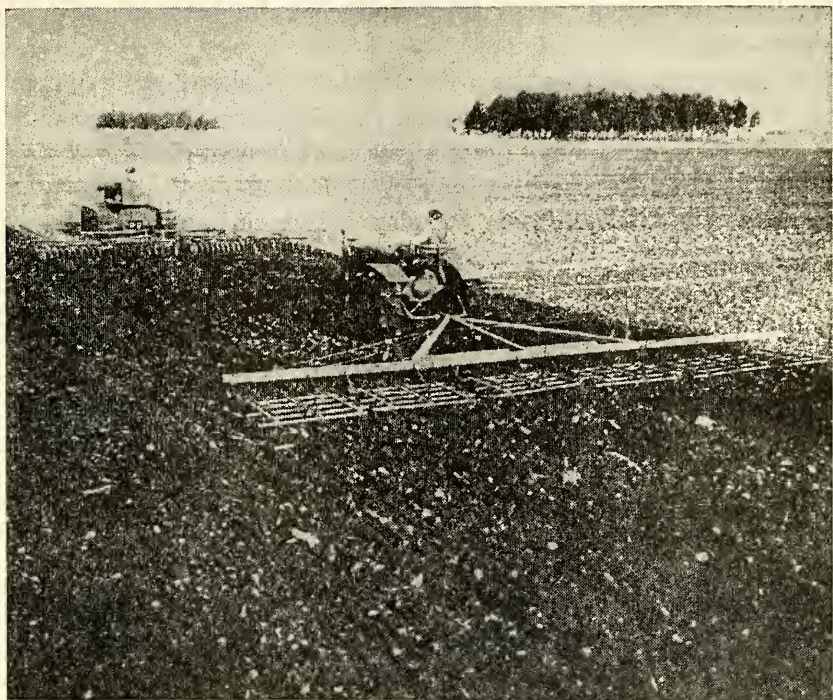
particular area and the brothers say they think that not more than two of the tenant family heads are married. The brothers built a substantial mud school building for the 90 tenant children on the place, but the schoolteacher said the average daily attendance is only 35.

A very successful Czech farmer living in the Sáenz Peña area has 200 acres of cotton, lives in a two-story brick house, and is a tractor farmer. Because he farms more land than the average settler he has to employ a rather large amount of all-year-round labor as well as transient cotton pickers. He has six small brick homes for cotton pickers. He also has more outbuildings than most of his neighbors, a large corncrib, large machine shed, hog and chicken houses. He is a diversified and subsistence farmer as well as a fairly large cotton grower, produces practically all the food needed by the family and feed needed by the livestock. He dresses, acts, and talks very much like a substantial Midwestern farmer in the United States.

A native *Criollo*⁴ bachelor who described himself as "the poorest man in the Chaco" lives alone but has a peon family working for him. He operates a 120-acre farm, grows cotton and food and feed crops, has a good many chickens and a few hogs. The house in which the peon family lives and the cookshack in the yard are built of poles plastered with mud, his own house of adobe brick, all of them with thatched roofs. He cannot read but said he gets the news from others who can read and proved it by discussing intelligently the news of the area, the nation, and the world.

A Slovak immigrant who has been in Argentina eighteen years is now a squatter on government land which he expects to have allotted to him for purchase as soon as it is surveyed. He had 45 acres of cotton and operates the place by his own and his wife's labor except at picking time when he employs additional transient labor. His two children are yet too small to do field work. He is one of the many squatters in the area who are anxious and probably financially able to purchase the small farms which they operate. He is a member of the board of directors of a cotton co-operative and all his cotton is certified for seed. He, his wife, and two children live in a two-room mud house, neatly whitewashed and covered with a beautifully done thatched roof. The floor of the house is dirt but was spotlessly clean, the furniture neat. The family has a radio and the father remarked,

⁴ A *Criollo* is an Argentine-born Spaniard.



Upper. WHEAT FARMING IS ON A LARGE SCALE. NOTE BIG TRACTORS.
Courtesy of the Argentine Ministry of Agriculture

Lower. WILL COTTON PICKERS CHANGE FAMILY-SIZED FARMS TO PLANTATIONS IN ARGENTINA? *Courtesy of International Harvester Company*

"To listen to the radio keeps us from merely living between the quebracho trees."

A Spanish family on the west edge of the cotton belt, where neither cotton nor corn does well, has remained poor because it took the father and sons a good many years to turn from cotton to livestock production. The father emigrated from Spain thirty-three years ago and went to Santa Fe where he ran a butcher shop and dabbled in farming for fifteen years, then came to western Chaco. He and two sons have a total of 625 acres, all operated as one farm. Half the land is in timber and the other half is used for pasture and field crops. They have only 50 acres in cotton, but have 45 head of cattle, 30 sheep and 200 hogs, a big flock of chickens and a big garden. Since they quit depending altogether on cotton production, they have been making steady progress but are still not prosperous. They have, however, made payment on some land 20 miles from this farm in a better pasture area and may move there.

Another family consists of a father, mother, a married son, his wife and eight children, and two other almost grown sons. One son and two daughters are living elsewhere. The parents regret the absence of these two because as the mother said, "A family ought to live and farm together." The 14 people now on the farm live in a one-room mud house about 20 feet square and in an adjacent mud structure about 12 by 24 feet. Neither house is floored and both have thatched roofs. The one-room old house is used for a cooking, eating, and living room. There is no grass in the yard and it was necessary to step across a puddle of water to enter the house. The chicken house is attached to the house, the cattle yard is within 30 feet, and the hog lot within 100 feet of the main house. The mother said, when it was noted that she serves sweetened mate, "Life is bitter enough without drinking bitter mate."

A Spanish family—father, mother, two grown daughters, and a grown son living at home and a married son living on an adjacent farm—practices diversified farming, raises some cattle and many hogs for which it produces sufficient feed, and cotton as a cash field crop. The house is a modern brick structure, with brick floors, has more ample windows than the average Spanish house, and is well furnished. The furniture is factory made, and the house electrically lighted. The family has two modern radios. The house is surrounded by a flower garden and enclosed with a picket fence.

One sees many interesting things in the cotton belt because of its diversified population—good schools in mud buildings, but well attended by the European immigrants' children; transient cotton pickers' children of tender age working in the field; two cotton experiment stations; half of all the mechanical cotton pickers yet manufactured by the International Harvester Company; a fine combination school-social center in a Montenegrin community; the pole and zinc shacks of many transient pickers. This is one of the pioneer areas of the nation the potentialities of which may not be as great as some assume but which furnishes some opportunity for further development of family-sized farms.

CHAPTER II

SCENES IN VARIOUS TYPE-FARMING AREAS IN ARGENTINA (Contd.)

THE SUGAR-CANE BELT

IN ORDER to get to the sugar-cane belt from the cotton belt it is necessary to swing south through quebracho woods, touch the western edge of the wheat belt, and traverse a long stretch of desert and scrub timber. Space cannot be given to describe this intervening area although at one locality near the town of Santiago del Estero is the site of the oldest white settlement in Argentina, established in 1553 by "conquistadores" who came over the Andes Mountains from Chile.

When one first enters the sugar-cane area he has the impression that all sugar cane is produced on large plantations, each with a sugar mill. This is due to the fact that there are 38 sugar factories in the small Province of Tucumán, that they are concentrated in a small area of the province, and that while 85 per cent of all sugar-cane farms are small, 91 per cent of the sugar cane of the area is produced on big plantations. If he stops hit and miss at a dozen houses along the road he might also conclude that practically all the field work is done by hired men, most of them transient or semitransient laborers. He will be impressed with the great number of poor houses, some constructed of sugar-cane stalks and the majority of them with thatched roofs. After further observations, on side as well as main roads, and after conversations with all levels of operators he will discover a much more diverse pattern. He will see large *ingenios* (sugar plantations with sugar mills) operated entirely by "administration," with hired laborers doing the work, generally on a piece basis. They receive specified and different amounts of money for different operations, per cane rows 100 meters in length. One will find other plantations operated by tenants with varying-sized tracts. Some of these tenants are large operators with subtenants but most of them operate with hired labor. Others are small

tenants operating almost altogether with family labor. All these together, with few exceptions, constitute the 19.3 per cent of all sugar-cane farmers who are tenants. The few exceptions are operators of smaller farms whose owners for one reason or another are not able, or do not care, to operate them. Back off the main highways, which naturally run from one sugar-manufacturing village to another, one will find whole areas that are almost solidly owner operated, some with as few as 20 rows of sugar cane, which is too few to constitute a family-sized farm, and others with a hundred times that many which makes necessary the employment of much transient labor during harvest. This panorama can be more easily seen if it is accompanied by the presentation of some case pictures.

An ingenio of 10,000 hectares (24,700 acres) with a sugar factory to utilize the cane grown on the plantation and the crops of other farmers with which it has contracts is operated by a manager who with the help of his subordinates has planted the whole farm to sugar cane, using the most modern mechanized methods of farming. The fields are operated by hired labor paid piecemeal per row for plowing and harrowing and per ton for cutting, topping, stripping, and handing to the loader. Most of the laborers' families live in separate houses, grouped in clusters of from 6 to 10, among them the home of their foreman. Each home, except that of the foreman, is a one-room cement house about 14 feet square with a very small, though not connected, cookroom. Many of the *peon* families have built an additional room of sugar-cane stalks. The occupants say they are good houses, not as good as those provided for the sugar-factory workers but better than those provided for field workers on some other ingenios. The foreman's home is a substantial six-room house with a big yard, the farm machinery for operating that section of the plantation standing in the yard.

The houses just described are better than most of the peones' houses but not as good as the best that can be found in the area. Many of the peon houses are built for the sole purpose of accommodating transient laborers during the harvest season but are being used as permanent residences for all year-round field workers. They are as poor as any rural houses in all Argentina, being equaled only by the houses in which transient cotton and yerba pickers live.

One of the worst homes is that of a man who has worked on the same plantation for 28 years and lived in this house for 20 years. It



Courtesy of the Argentine Ministry of Agriculture

HARVESTING SUGAR CANE

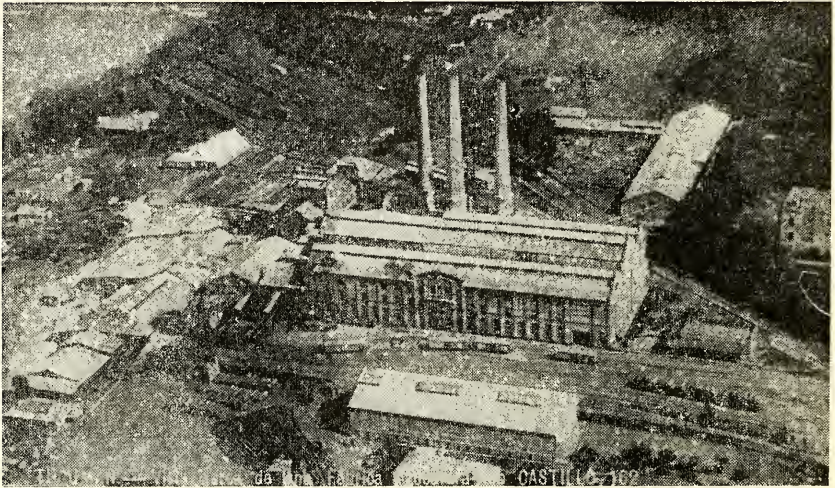
is one room—about 16 feet square—constructed of sticks and branches, no one of which is more than an inch in diameter. It is not plastered with mud on either the interior or exterior. The roof is part thatch, part zinc, the floor dirt. One can see through the walls at various places and the only window is about 2 by 3 feet with no covering. The doorway has no door. The furniture consists of one iron bedstead, a homemade army-type cot, two solid wood-bottomed chairs, and a homemade wooden box. In addition to this house is a cookshack about 9 feet square built wholly out of sugar cane. The sides are left open about 2 feet below the roof in order that the smoke may pass out. The cooking is done over a campfire in the middle of this shack. These housing arrangements accommodate a husband, wife, and three children. The husband called the place “a rat house” and said, “A horse ought to have a better stable than this.” He said he gets good enough wages when he works but cannot get work a sufficient number of days a year to make a decent living. He apologized for showing us such conditions but said, “If enough people know about these things maybe my children can live under better conditions.”

Another poor house, quite typical of those built for transient laborers but now being permanently occupied, is a neatly woven cane and grass house with a thatched roof. The house is about 12 by 16 feet with walls at least 9 feet high, no windows, and only one door. The cane is neatly placed and tied together with grass about every 2 feet, giving the walls horizontal, parallel, symmetrical lines which are pleasing to the eye. A man, his wife, and two children live in this house and say it is not uncomfortable in the summer but is impossibly cold in the winter. They have literally no furniture and the mother was sitting on the floor mending clothes. There are many more houses like this one in the area, some of them not so new nor so well and neatly constructed.

Since the owner-operator farm is the most prevalent in the area two or three such farms and homes should be described, first, one of a fairly substantial owner and then, a poorer or less substantial one.

This farmer owns 50 hectares (123.5 acres) of land and has 1,600 rows of sugar cane. He is probably typical of about the highest type of owner operator in the area. It is apparent that he is of part-Indian blood, a man past sixty years of age. He lives in a neat, five-room, unpainted frame house which is so thickly surrounded with orange

trees that it is almost invisible from the road which runs within 30 feet of it. He is the father of 11 children, 5 of them still at home helping to operate the farm. One son is a certified public accountant in the City of Tucumán and a daughter a junior in the medical college at Córdoba. He said, "I have always worked with my own hands, worn work clothes, tried to gain the ownership of the farm, and to educate my children." He and his children do all the field work except at harvest time when he hires from 10 to 12 transient



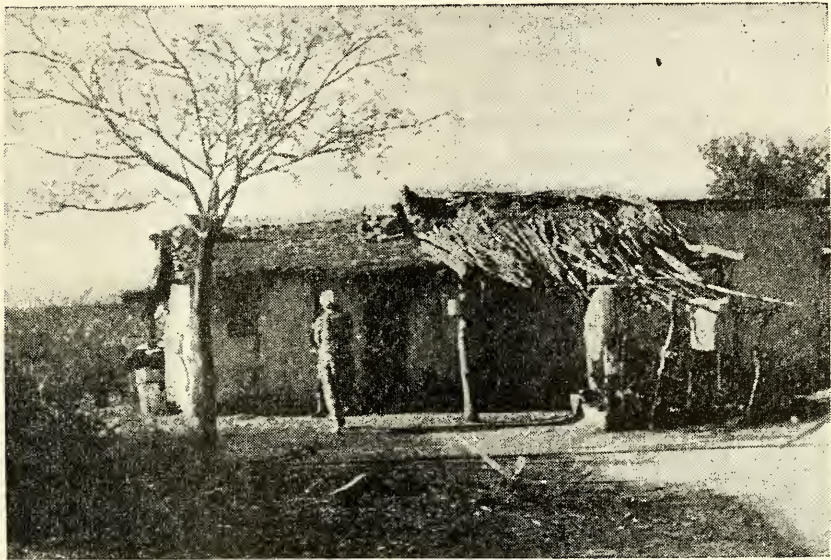
THERE ARE 38 OF THESE SUGAR FACTORIES IN THE SMALL PROVINCE OF TUCUMÁN.

laborers. For these laborers he has sugar-cane houses but they are not occupied except during the harvest season. He is very deep in his conviction that owner-operatorship is superior to any other type of farm operation and that the excessive immorality which some persons claim exists in the Tucumán area is due to lack of social opportunities for the peones.

A small holder, an old gentleman whose son and grandson are doing the chief labor on his small farm, has only 250 rows of sugar cane. They live wholly from their own farm, none of them engaging in outside work. They claim that the large ingenios will not employ them, preferring transient laborers, a claim which is not borne out by other small holders. The old man said that small holders have a hard time, that it costs a lot to grow sugar and the farmers do not get much for it. He does not think each man gets paid for his

specifically tested sugar but only a sort of general average. He, nevertheless, thinks that owner operatorship is the only way to farm. There is a large, rambling, vine-clad mud house in the yard, about 150 feet from the road, in which the three generations live, but a brand new, smaller brick house about 30 feet from the road is not yet occupied.

The great sugar factory of Concepción handles 600,000 tons of cane per day, working in three eight-hour shifts. It operates only



A TYPICAL HOUSE IN THE SUGAR-CANE AREA

three months in each year, employs 1,200 persons for the season, most of whom are given at least part-time work cleaning and repairing machinery and working on the factory grounds during the remainder of the year. There can be no interchange between factory and field work in sugar because the rush season for both operations comes at the same time. The mill people are, therefore, almost purely industrial workers. Farmers testified that few farm boys and girls leave farming to enter the sugar factories. Each group lives a type of life little related to the other.

The general arrangement of this mill village is a long street which leads from the entrance to the main business office of the factory. On this street is located a beautiful park with flowers and trees,

athletic fields, and a large bathhouse; a clubhouse containing a library of 200 books, mostly novels; a large moving-picture room with a dance floor, and game rooms, chiefly for billiards and chess. Stores and residences also line the street. Near the business office is a beautiful stone Catholic church. All these social facilities are either free or are furnished at a very low cost.

San Juan is another sugar factory and village where the social facilities and residences are newer and more ample than those at Concepción. It has been practically rebuilt in the last four years; has a clubhouse containing a library, a dance floor, and bar. Near by, as a part of the social center, is a bowling alley, basketball and football fields for all the factory workers, and tennis courts for white-collar workers. In the factory building itself is a large white-tile washroom for the workers. The residences in this village are all built of bright-yellow brick, are from three to five rooms in size, and have ample front and back yards. The contrast between the housing and social life of factory and field workers in the sugar industry is pronounced.

OASES VILLAGES

Traveling south and west from the sugar-cane belt to the great oases-irrigated vineyard belt of Mendoza, the shortest but by no means the easiest route is across the Provinces of Catamarca and La Rioja and the east corner of San Juan, most of which is either semi-arid or mountainous area, a great deal of which is a scrub-timber, sheep and goat country. At the foot of the Pre-Andean Mountains in Catamarca and La Rioja are a number of small oases-irrigated villages which contribute little to the nation's agriculture but are of importance to many hundreds of Argentine farm families. As soon as one crosses a low mountain range not far from the Tucumán-Catamarca boundary, he comes to one of these villages. It is in the midst of an almost desert valley which is much wider than the irrigated strip itself, because the stream from which irrigation water is obtained will not supply water for the land of the whole valley. Farms are located in a string-town type of settlement, bordering the upper part of the small river which flows for a number of miles through the valley. The irrigated village does not follow the river for more than a mile or two because its waters are all drained off into

irrigation ditches, leaving the river bed dry as it meanders on for a number of miles.

The farmers in this settlement have their own organization to control and manage the water, the officers of which, even the ditch overseers, perform their tasks without financial compensation. Some of the families have farms as small as 10 acres and are almost completely subsistence farmers. Others have farms of five times that size and produce a substantial amount of hay, grain, and milk. Nearly all of them, large and small, have built their houses and other farm structures themselves. The majority of the houses are mud with thatched roofs but some are brick with zinc roofs. From all we could learn, community life in this settlement is pretty compact, due to the fact that families live near each other and that active co-operation is required of everyone because all depend on the common supply of irrigation water. As we came out of this settlement, we entered a desert area and ran into a terrific dust storm. The small stream coming out of the adjacent mountains had created an opportunity for a few families which was not the lot of many of their very near neighbors who lived in what was literally a desert.

On beyond Catamarca, at a spot where another stream flows down out of the mountains, is a small vineyard and small fruit-producing settlement. It appears as a big splotch of green when one turns a sharp curve in a heroic mountain road which had carried him to almost 5,000 feet altitude. This settlement is a real village, oval shaped, laid off in various blocks each of which is occupied by a small farm, the ground covered with grapevines and fig trees which come to the very doors of the residences. The houses are practically all mud or adobe and the streets have no improvements whatsoever, but there is a plaza playground, a school, and a church. It is, in many respects, very much like the Spanish-American villages in New Mexico. After leaving this village one is again in desert country until he comes upon another spot where a substantial stream comes out of the mountains making possible the existence of another small, oasis farm settlement.

THE VINEYARD BELT

In the vineyard area at Mendoza farms are so small that the whole pattern of settlement is almost village-type. Operators are of various

classes, ranging all the way from owners and managers of large *bodegas* (vineyards with their own wine factories) to peones who pick grapes at 12 centavos (about 3 cents) per 50-pound basket. A little more than one half (53 per cent) of the farms are owner operated, 25.1 per cent tenant operated, and 21.9 per cent administration operated. The patterns of tenure and operation and the levels of living are so well standardized as to make description easy. One's first impression is of grapes everywhere, numerous *bodegas*, good cement roads winding through village after village, almost solid settlement on both sides of the roads, everything—houses, fences, stores, factories, even the provincial capitol—built of adobe brick.

An owner operator of 7 hectares (about 17 acres) rented for a number of years and then advanced into ownership. His farm is too large for purely family-labor operations and he, therefore, has one tenant and employs from 15 to 25 extra pickers during the harvest season. The owner furnishes all the working capital for the tenant, pays him 95 pesos per hectare (about \$10 an acre) and 7 per cent of the wine profits. The owner lives in a good adobe-brick house surrounded by flowers. He furnishes his tenant with a house which has a bathroom. He said that he could more than break even financially if he could obtain a yield of 100 quintals per hectare (about 9,000 pounds per acre) and could receive 5 pesos (about \$1.25) per quintal for his grapes. In 1943 he was receiving 8 pesos and the previous year received 12 pesos per quintal. Because of these high prices land values have advanced rapidly, which he said would make it difficult for tenants to buy farms.

A larger farm, 40 hectares (about 100 acres) is operated by a tenant and three subtenants. The absentee owner lives in Buenos Aires. Each subtenant receives 85 pesos per hectare and 7 per cent of the wine profits. This farm is located on an unpaved side road and none of the houses are good except that of the main tenant. The poorest one—that of a widow whose children do the field work—is more mud than adobe, with dirt floor, thatched roof, and no windows. The widow said, "When we have enough food, we don't have enough clothes and when we have enough clothes, we don't have enough food." She and her children—eight of them—have been renters for all the twenty-four years since her husband died. One of the other subrenters is a family of two generations with many

children in the mud house. Both houses have grapevines as covering for their open front porches.

A 35-hectare (85-acre) vineyard, owned by a man who lives in Buenos Aires, is operated by a salaried manager who rents to three tenants. They receive no fixed sum per hectare but 30 per cent of the wine profits. The grapes in this vineyard are poor in yield and quality which probably accounts for the abnormal type of rental contract. There is only one house, neither attractive nor substantial, on the property.

A substantial tenant with 20 hectares (almost 50 acres) of exceptionally well-kept, high-yielding vineyard, works in the field as supervisor of his peones, owns an automobile, lives in a new brick house and under conditions as good as the average owner operator of the community, better than some of them.

These four examples pretty well represent all the typical levels of operators, but a word needs to be said about the peones who pick the grapes. They are for the most part people who live in the community, mixed with a small per cent of transient laborers. They are persons of both sexes and all ages, from six-year-olds to grandmothers, who work in family groups or in other group combinations. Children too small to work in the grapes play together at the end of the rows while other members of the family pick grapes. The scene is very much like that in the cotton fields in picking season in the United States except that the pickers per geographic area are much more numerous and association therefore more intimate. The young pickers joke, sing, and converse with each other. The pay for picking is 12½ centavos (about 3 cents) per 22-kilo (50-pound) basket, and the average picker can gather about 40 baskets per 8-hour day. The worker, therefore, has to be above average to make as much as \$1.25 per day. Whole families—men, women, and children—can earn as much as \$6.00 per day. Women and girls can pick practically as much as men and boys but the task of carrying 50-pound baskets to the end of the row and dumping them in the truck is heavy work. The grapes hang very low on the vines, and the work must be done in a stooping or kneeling position. The customary workday is 8 hours, from 7 A.M. to 11 A.M. and from 2 P.M. to 6 P.M.

Community life in the vineyard belt generally is not formally organized but is intimate and lively. The farm homes are close together,

village centers within walking distance, and plazas and picture shows plentiful. The villages vie with each other in the beautification of their plazas and each year the whole grape belt holds a festival in the City of Mendoza which is attended by everyone from bodega owners to grape pickers. In 1943 the *Vendimia* (festival) queen and all her belles were girls who were actual grape pickers.



THE GRAPE FESTIVAL

THE FRUIT BELT

To get to the fruit belt in the Río Negro Valley from the vineyard belt at Mendoza one travels again through an arid region, the western part of the *pampa*,¹ crosses the Río Colorado, a beautiful, large river running through a quite flat, untilled area, and wonders why so much needed water is not tapped for irrigation. Finally he comes to an area where a much smaller river, the Neuquén, a tributary to the Río Negro, is tapped and is again in an intensive farming belt, one of the few and the largest in the whole great area of Patagonia. Not everybody in this irrigated area grows apples and pears. There are grapes, tomatoes, some mixed farming, potato

¹ The pampa consists of the great plains which lie south of the Chaco and east of the Andean piedmont.

growers, and a good many alfalfa-seed producers. But since we are describing major production belts, we will describe only fruit growers, some of whom also produce other farm products.

Twenty-five years ago the lands in this valley were a part of the large holdings which had been sold or given away back in the 1880's after the Indians were pushed out of the area or killed. An American, now with the United States Department of Agriculture, had made a study of the region fifteen years before that and said it would make an ideal irrigated fruit area. The Southern Railroad built the dam in 1915 but few settlers came before World War I. Most of them—Spaniards, Italians, English, Germans, Poles, and 20 other foreign-nationality groups—came into the area after 1920. The Spanish and Italians predominate, constituting 64 per cent of all settlers.

A Spaniard who came here before World War I and farmed as a bachelor for a number of years took his brother's widow and children into his house and has lived with them as if they were his own. He has a 15-acre farm, all in fruit, has just completed paying for his farm—at the end of twenty-eight years in Argentina—and has built a new two-room brick house. He no longer does heavy labor but oversees the work of his nephews and the hired men. He and some of his neighbors go to Buenos Aires once each year to sell their fruit rather than depend on the commission firm, called a co-operative, which handles most of the fruit for the area. He is proud of his new house and had just installed a high wind battery charger in order to get it above the tall Lombardy poplars which protect his orchard, and had purchased a modern radio. His house is too small for his family, but it is new and he owns his farm.

Another Spanish farmer also has a 15-acre farm with fruit trees, apples and pears, planted up to his doorstep. He operates entirely with family labor and said, "All of my fruit pickers were born on this farm," three grown daughters, a son eighteen or nineteen years of age, and another son nine years of age. The two older girls and the older son were doing the picking, the younger girl the hauling, and the father was acting as overseer. This man was very proud of his family, his farm, and his residence. The house was comparatively new, of brick, and substantial in size. He has electric lights and a radio, reads the papers, and goes often to the director of the experiment station for advice.



Upper. APPLE ORCHARD IN RÍO
NEGRO VALLEY



Lower. A GRAPE PICKER

*Courtesy of the Argentine Ministry
of Agriculture*

A British farmer who has been in Argentina for forty years was born in New Zealand, learned the sheep business there, and followed it as an *estancia* manager until nine years ago, when he and his brother bought this fruit farm already developed. His brother died and he lived alone for a year or two and then married an American trained nurse who was born in Kentucky but had practiced for years in the Philippine Islands and China. This old couple leads a semiretired life, has a nice modern house and a beautifully planted yard, and he has tried to learn how to produce fruit by the most modern scientific methods.

The progress of farmers in the fruit belt has been substantial for a number of years. The first one described above started with 3,000 pesos (\$750), the second with about the same. Each now owns a property worth approximately \$15,000. Evidence of this prosperity is the great difference between farm housing in the area in 1943 and that reported in the 1937 Agricultural Census. During the intervening six-year period, many farmers have completed paying for their farms and have almost universally built new brick residences. The area is closely settled and community life is lively. All the schools are modern and the trade centers are well constructed and well ordered. They furnish a full range of modern physical, economic, and social facilities. Some Spanish and Italian farmers have made their small fortune, "*la América*" as they call it, and returned to their native lands, but most of the early settlers are still there and say, "We did it the hard way, now we are too old to learn scientific methods, but our sons can learn, and will."

THE SHEEP BELT

As one goes south from the Río Negro fruit belt he heads for an area of big farms. Immediately outside the town of Neuquén he is in an arid country and will have a very hard day's drive to pass through it and arrive at Bariloche in the Andes Mountains by night-fall. Across this semidesert area are three places called towns, one of them nothing but a sheep estancia with a *hostería* (rooming accommodations or inn), in fact, a sort of dude ranch. He will have to cross two good-sized rivers, ferried across free by the National Highway Commission, but will be compelled in each case to either drive onto or off the ferry boat through a considerable strip of the

river with the water running through the car and probably into the baggage trunk. But once across these streams one will find himself in a beautiful foothill and mountain country—more like Switzerland than is anything in the Western Hemisphere. Beyond Bariloche it is another day's drive through the foothills to the big-sheep-farm country. A person should by all means spend a day or two at Bariloche, one of the few resort places in Argentina. It is up in the Andes Mountains, half surrounded by beautiful lakes and with a constant view of beautiful snow-capped mountains.

At the outer gates of Tecka estancia in western Chubut one still has forty or fifty miles to drive before he comes to estancia headquarters. This place though large is much smaller than some estancias farther south in Santa Cruz. It covers 68 square leagues (420,000 acres), has 149,000 sheep and 4,800 head of cattle. Many of the sheep graze far back in the mountains, toward the Chilean boundary, during the summer and are gradually worked down to the lowlands as winter approaches, taking the place of 50,000 which are shipped north and east for winter pasturing on other land owned by the same company.

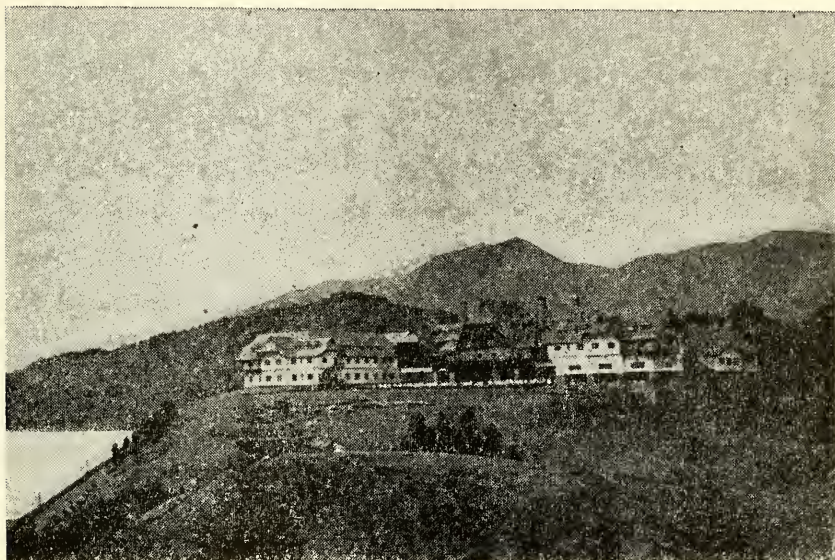
This estancia is managed 100 per cent "administration" by Mr. Weaver, an Englishman whose wife is Australian. There are five subheadquarters located at widely separated spots on the estancia. We drove 15 miles into the mountains and visited one of these places. It is a sort of small village for a foreman and his family and five hired men. The physical structures located at this subheadquarters are the family home of the foreman, the hired men's barracks, a building for supplies and equipment, and a completely equipped sheep dip. All the structures are brick and stand near each other, located on a beautiful clear-water stream, and are surrounded by a big grassy lawn and a grove of trees. The workers who live there do all the dipping, work on the fences, and help load sheep to be sent away to winter pasture.

In addition to these subheadquarters, one of which is located at central estancia headquarters, there are 15 yet smaller headquarters where 15 married head herdsmen live, each such *puestero*² overseeing about 10,000 head of sheep and having under him 5 herders, nearly all of whom are single men, who follow the sheep. The grass cover of this estancia is so good that a single herder can handle about

² A *puestero* is a supervisor of a definite geographic segment of an estancia.

2,000 head whereas to handle one-half that number is a big one-man job in poorer grazing areas.

The personnel of this total establishment is: One *administrador* (manager), 3 assistants, 5 *capataces* (foremen), 15 *puesteros*, 25 dippers and fence caretakers, 75 herders—a total of 124 permanent employees. Many additional shearers are employed at a piece rate per head for the shearing season. Special truckers are also employed to haul the sheep to winter pasture.

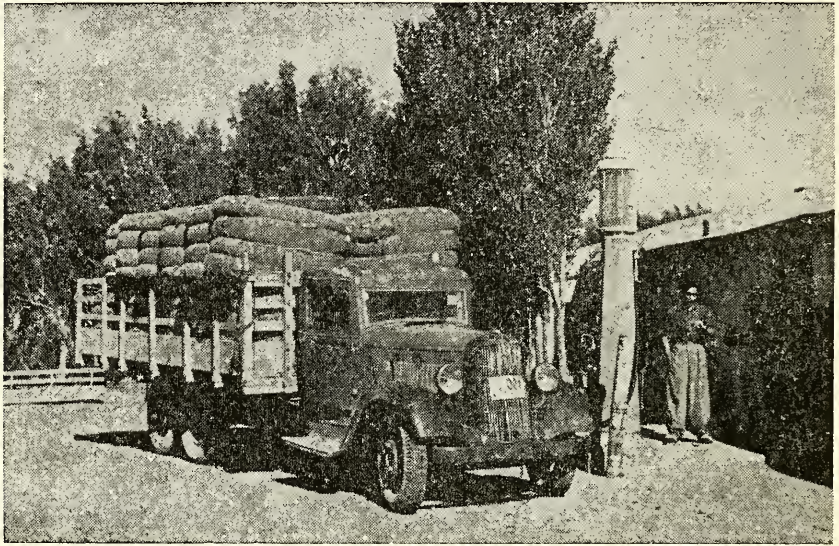


THE HEADQUARTERS OF A SHEEP ESTANCIA

Hauling to winter pasture is done by contract. A fleet of 21 trucks starts with 5,100 sheep. It is assumed that 5,000 of these will arrive at the winter feeding grounds, the other 100 having been eaten by the truckers or having died in transit. The route from this far inland location is by truck to the railroad 100 miles away, by railroad to the eastern shore, by boat to the north, and again by truck into the interior. Fifty thousand sheep are moved from this estancia each year.

Life on one of these great estancias is quite isolated. There are only 22 married men among the 124 year-round employees. The children of each foreman and herdsman family are the only young people at each locality. The two Weaver sons, one seven, the other

nine years of age, will soon go away to school and until they are grown will be at home only during vacation periods. Now they are being taught at home by a private teacher. Mrs. Weaver says it is lonely for them. They have bicycles, play with their dogs, fly kites, fish, watch the men dip and shear the sheep, and listen to the radio. They live in a nice, electrically lighted, well-heated, modernly furnished home and make occasional trips with their parents to distant towns, even to the City of Buenos Aires and are,



THIS IS A PATAGONIAN TOWN—ALL OF IT.

therefore, not conscious of the loneliness about which their mother worries. During winter, however, this great estancia is really isolated, for the snow is deep and the roads impassable.

The trip across Chubut from west to east or vice versa is long and dry but interesting. There are no streams, in fact, little drinking water in the summertime, and it is a long day's drive (360 miles) on dirt road from the Andes Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean. After leaving the mountains one finds that the grazing is poor until near the eastern shore. There are sheep all through the area but the carrying capacity of the pasture is low and one is likely to see more ostriches and guanacos³ than sheep. Towns marked on the map

³ A guanaco is a kind of llama, red- or bay-colored, larger than a llama and wild like a deer.

turn out each to be a store with a filling station and a small headquarters building for the police. It is sometimes 100 miles from one of them to the next and there are no intervening homes. The topography is broken all the way, forming a kind of foothills, and there are two or three large areas which might be described as painted deserts or painted hills. Near the eastern side of the territory settlements become fairly dense because of irrigated farming and good-sized towns are prevalent.



Courtesy of the Argentine Ministry of Agriculture

THERE ARE SHEEP EVERYWHERE IN PATAGONIA.

Valdez Peninsula, jutting out into the Atlantic Ocean and more than three-fourths surrounded by water, is totally occupied by one great sheep estancia. It is divided into four estancias for operation, but all four are under one administrator, Señor Felix Sarlangue, an Argentine. It is owned by Silvio T. Ferro, an industrial engineer educated in Czechoslovakia, who lives in Buenos Aires. His father, a businessman with financial interests in both Italy and Argentina, bought the peninsula in 1895, when it was a barren waste, and converted it into a beautiful and apparently prosperous estancia. We drove approximately 45 miles from the front gate before we arrived at estancia headquarters where we were entertained parts of two days by Señor Sarlangue, his daughter, son-in-law, the assistant manager, and their baby.

The four estancias cover 50 square leagues (more than 300,000 acres) and carry 74,000 head of sheep. With the exception of the manager, assistant manager, and 10 peones who are required to operate the central headquarters, all the land is operated by renters, sharecroppers in fact, who are assigned each a given number of sheep. They receive one fourth of the product—lambs and wool—and market through the overhead management. There are 12 of these renters, each operating a tract which is marked on the large map at headquarters and looks like a city block, but in fact covers about 20,000 acres. The average renter flock is more than 12,000 sheep and since each herder handles 1,000 sheep, each renter has about 12 hired men. All the renters and some of the peones are married. There is a total of between 150 and 160 persons living on the estancia. There are 40 windmills and 12 sheep dips on the property in addition to the estancia house, the office building, other headquarter buildings, and the houses of the renters and their peones.

Because Señor Sarlangue handles the product of all renters, he charts a ship each year to carry the large wool clip to the Buenos Aires market and brings back supplies for the year on the return trip. The port from which the ship sails is located on the peninsula on a small piece of government-reserved land. There is a small village, church, and school at the port. This estancia, like Tecka, is almost a complete society for all who live on it except the manager.

THE CATTLE-FEEDING BELT

Almost directly north, in western Buenos Aires and eastern La Pampa, is the cattle- and sheep-feeding belt. Two of 12 estancias owned by one of the richest estancia families in Argentina are in this area, one of which has been managed by the same man for 38 years. He was, therefore, capable of giving us not only a complete analysis of its operation but much additional information on its history and the history and life of this area.

The brother and sisters who now own this and 11 other estancias in various places in Argentina constitute the third generation of an estancia family. Their grandfather bought this particular land and that of the estancia which adjoins it from the government in about 1880. The 100,000 acres is now divided into two estancias, each of 50,000 acres. This one is operated by administration, the *mayordomo*

receiving a salary but also a share of the profits. All other workers are salaried employees. They are: 1 *segundo* (assistant manager), 2 capataces, each an overseer of an assigned geographic area and each with a number of peones stationed at his headquarters and under his supervision, 1 head capataz in charge of footmen,⁴ 7 puesteros geographically scattered over the estancia, 1 bookkeeper, 1 chauffeur and electric-light man, 1 milkman, 2 fence men, 2 tank and trough men, 2 windmill men, 1 carpenter-mechanic, 2 gardeners, 1 butcher, 1 storekeeper, 1 cook for the peones, 1 cook and 3 girl helpers for



NATIVE PAMPA GRASS (PASTO DURO)

estancia headquarters, 1 mail boy who also helps with the cattle, and 40 common laborers. In addition to these, 30 to 40 shearers are employed for the shearing season. Everyone is under the direct management of Mr. James—the mayordomo or administrator.

The foremen and specialists all receive 100 pesos (about \$25.00) per month, the puesteros, 90 pesos, and the peones, 40 to 50 pesos (\$10.00 to \$12.50) per month. All receive free housing and food. This is also true of the married men's families. The two geographic foremen, all puesteros, and some of the specialists are married—11 in all. There are 6 kitchens on the estancia in constant operation. The physical organization consists of the residence of the manager, the residence of the assistant manager, peones' barracks, 5 other utility

⁴ Footmen are all others than those whose work requires horses. They are fence men, windmill and tank men.

buildings—barns, shearing shed, etc.—and a cattle dip and branding chute at estancia headquarters, housing quarters for foremen and peones at two other areas, 43 windmills and tanks, 2 cattle dips, 13,544 cattle, 17,711 sheep, and 500 horses. The manager had sold 12,107 sheep and 3,151 cattle in the last eight months. He sheared 15,965 sheep and obtained 114,000 pounds of wool during the previous season. It should, therefore, be clear that this is a big business establishment and its manager a big businessman. The gross sales from the place during the past year were 1,200,000 pesos (over \$300,000).

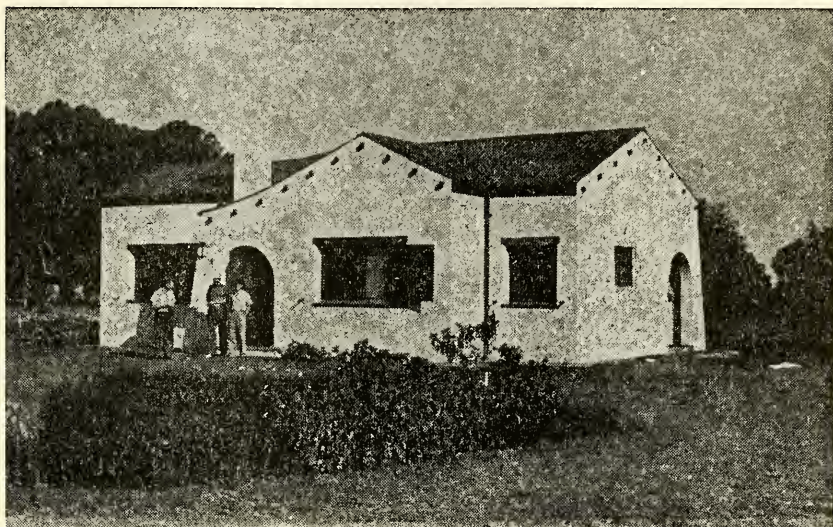
The manager and his family live in a substantial, modern, though not ostentatious, house furnished by the estancia owners. It has a living room, dining room, five bedrooms, three bathrooms, and a large kitchen. The house sits in an immense lawn, and is surrounded by a large park of trees, back of which are two orchards and two large gardens. The family consists of two boys and two girls, the older boy a junior in agricultural college, the two girls students in high school, and the younger boy—only three years old—at home with his parents. The manager and the older son have been to Europe and the whole family has traveled a great deal in Argentina. He played polo in his younger days and his son plays now. They keep two thoroughbred stallions and a string of polo ponies on the estancia.

BACK THROUGH THE CATTLE-BREEDING BELT

It is easy to swing around eastward on the way back to Buenos Aires and take a further look at the cattle-breeding zone. Since only a small segment of it was described some 19,000 miles back on our assumed tour, a little more of this exceedingly important area should be included. It is an area in which hundreds of thousands of cattle are produced for slaughter and hundreds groomed for the Palermo Exposition. Few of them, however, are finished for market in the breeding belt. They are reared to about 700 or 800 pounds and then sent into the feeding belt to be finished for market.

Most persons who visit this area go only to the famous estancias, those owned by the richest and best-known families of the nation. They return with a memory of scenes they will never forget—magnificent estancia mansions and parks, equally magnificent herds, beautifully fenced pastures, miles and miles of luscious grasslands. But not all producers of cattle live in estancia mansions; some of them

are tenant farmers who own only a few hundred head of cattle, own no land, and live in poor houses. I have talked to persons who had lived in Argentina for many years and been in this area many times but had never seen these tenant farmers, in fact denied that they exist. They are, however, there in fairly great numbers, pay about \$2.00 per acre (18 to 25 pesos per hectare) rent and have five-year rent contracts. Like tenants elsewhere in Argentina they furnish their own residences and many of them are constructed of mud or

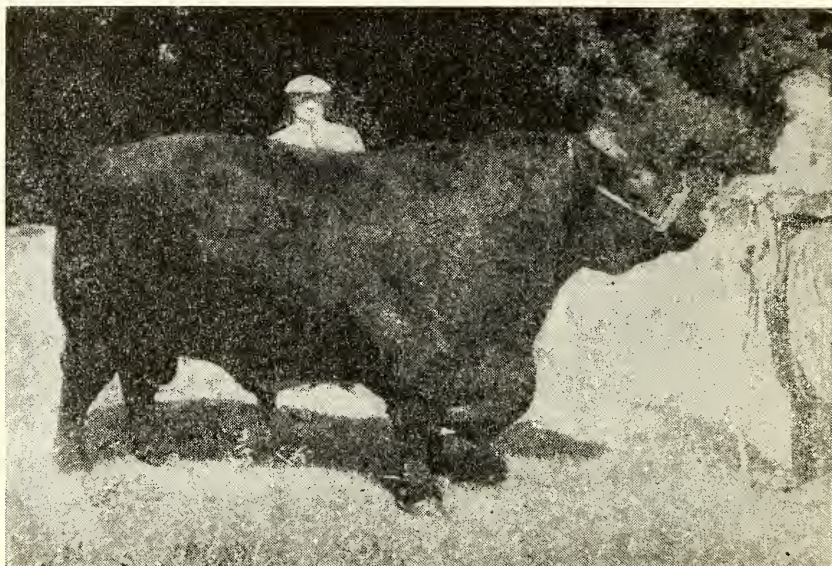


THE HOME OF A MAYORDOMO OF A MEDIUM-SIZED ESTANCIA

zinc. Many tenants have been on the same farms for 20 or more years, some of them for as long as 40 years, but few of them think they could afford to buy farms of their own. If they put their capital in land they would have fewer cattle. Some of them think they would nevertheless try to buy land if it was for sale in small enough farms. Sheep are now coming into the area and they believe they could own not only a good-sized flock of sheep but the farms on which they graze. The Regional Agronomist's observation was that some had tried it and failed in competition with the larger producers.

There are also small estancias in this area, some of them rented, some of them one of the individual units of multiple ownerships, some of them single units, owner-operated farms. An example of this last type is the place of a man born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

He owns 10,000 acres of land which he rented to others until seven years ago. Now he has built himself a nice home on the estancia and lives there with his family most of each year. His mayordomo lives in a very modern bungalow and his peones live in brick dormitories supplied with shower baths. He has 1,600 head of cattle and 3,500 head of sheep, produces roughage as well as pasture for feed. He operates the 10,000 acres with a working force of 18 men and says after he has completed his improvements, he can, by economical



PALERMO GRAND CHAMPION, 1939

operation, get along with 11. This *estanciero* has a mayordomo but himself participates in the management of the estancia.

Only 30 miles outside of Buenos Aires City is a *cabaña* which belongs to the same family that owns the estancia which we visited in the cattle-feeding belt. This is a place of only about 5,000 acres, a farm for purebred cattle and sheep. The writer visited it just about a month before the Palermo Exposition and saw the livestock being fettled for that great annual contest and sale. He saw a number of past Palermo cattle winners and a Grand Champion ram—now old—whose photograph is carried on one of the official postage stamps of the government. The herdsman who handles the show cattle has been on the place for 15 years. The mayordomo said of him, "This

man knows no Sundays or holidays; he lives for the cattle." The mayordomo must also know cattle for he has produced many Palermo winners. A month later I saw both him and his herdsman proudly lead some of them into the prize ring, one of them a two-year-old bull—Grand Champion Hereford for 1942. The house is immense and beautifully designed; 20 of the 58 peones on the estancia give their full time in caring for the residence and park. There is a large lawn all about the house, a swimming pool and swan lake in the lawn. In the park is planted almost every type of tree, shrub, and flower that will grow in this area, all arranged by a landscape architect of international reputation. The place is used as a summer residence and entertainment place by the estanciero family and is the "big house" for the 12 estancias which this family owns.

If while in the eastern end of the cattle-breeding belt one will visit Mar del Plata, the summer social capital of the nation, he will not only have visited all the major type-farming but also three of the four resort areas of the nation. Mar del Plata is the Atlantic City, Miami Beach, and Monte Carlo of Argentina. Many wealthy Argentine families have their second or third palatial homes located there and thousands of other persons spend a few weeks there each year. During the summer, when it is hot in Buenos Aires, many persons commute weekly to the beaches at Mar del Plata. Its casino is one of the most famous in the world, housing more roulette tables than the whole city of Reno, Nevada. Mar del Plata, Bariloche, the Córdoba Hills, and Iguazú Falls are the beauty spots and resort places of the nation and even one who is studying rural people is justified in seeing them, in fact, is unfair to Argentina if he passes them by.

CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLE OF ARGENTINA ¹

WHO THEY ARE AND FROM WHENCE THEY CAME

Those Who Were There When White Men Came. Immigration data and not archeological research answer the question of who today constitute the people of Argentina. There were probably never more than 400,000 Indians in the area which now constitutes Argentina,² and about their only contribution to the composition of the present population has been to the genetic heritage of the majority of the population in the deep interior of the country. In the City of Buenos Aires, the hub of the nation's population and culture, one sees people from all nations but seldom a person with the racial marks of an Indian. Traveling into the interior—northeast, north, northwest, west, or southwest—the marks of the Indian become steadily more evident. By the time the borders of Paraguay, Bolivia, and Chile are reached Indian characteristics predominate. It is generally said in the metropolitan centers of the nation that the population is predominantly Spanish and that Indian blood is negli-

¹ Population census data for Argentina are not ample or good. There have been only three national censuses—1869, 1895, and 1914. They and the annual estimates of the Dirección General de Estadística (beginning in 1923) are the only official sources of nation-wide population data. In addition to them the two nation-wide agricultural censuses of 1908 and 1937 report population data for farms. Still in addition to these have been some provincial and city censuses, most of them not at all complete and therefore not too useful. An exception is the 1936 Census of the City of Buenos Aires which was quite ample, well conducted, and published in four volumes. A complete National Census has now been ordered to be taken. The data which it will yield may relatively alter conclusions stated here which are, unfortunately, based upon inadequate sources. For a list of all census data available on Argentina, see Irene B. Taeuber, *General Censuses and Vital Statistics in the Americas*, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Gov. Printing Off., 1943. This document fails to mention the 1908 Agricultural Census.

² Jose Ingenieros estimates the Indian population as 530,000 in 1700 and only 210,000 in 1810. See *Sociologia Argentina*, Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos Argentinos, Ediciones L. J. Rosso, 1915, Appendices. No one else estimates so high a figure for the early period.

gible. Neither statement is true. In one case the fallacy is due to the assumption that all early settlers were Spaniards; in the second case due to a failure to recognize that the vast majority of the people who have come in from Chile, Bolivia, and Paraguay, and who constitute almost the sum total of the lower classes in the borders of the country, are heavily loaded with Indian inheritance. As a prominent citizen in one of these border areas said to the writer, "Practically all of us who live here are part Indian."

Levillier, who has traveled over most of that portion of Argentina which was at all settled in 1795, estimated that the proportion of the population with Indian blood at that time varied from 36 to 95 per cent; 36 per cent in the *Litoral* (Buenos Aires, Entre Ríos, Santa Fe, and part of Corrientes), 67 per cent in the Province of Córdoba, 74 per cent in Tucumán, and 95 per cent in Jujuy.³ This Indian blood was undoubtedly steadily and rapidly further diluted in the coastal area during the following half century. It probably did not change rapidly in the interior until the great tide of immigration began pouring into the nation around and following 1860.

For 300 years after the first white settlements were established Argentines probably were quite as much Indian as European. During the last century they have been overwhelmingly the descendants of south Europeans, at first predominantly Spanish, recently more Italian than Spanish. The first national census, taken in 1869, 334 years after the first white settlers landed at Buenos Aires, reported only 11.5 per cent of the nation's 1,836,490 inhabitants as foreign born. The 1914 census reported 30 per cent as foreign born and undoubtedly well over half of the remaining 70 per cent were children or grandchildren of immigrants.

For a considerable period of time Negroes constituted an important element in the country's population. They were first imported as slaves in 1702 and slavery was not abolished until 1813. As in many other nations, slavery did not prove to be an economical arrangement except in areas where mass, unskilled manual labor was needed. Ingenieros estimated that of a population of 600,000 in the country in 1700, slightly less than 3 per cent were Negroes and mulattoes, and of a population of 720,000 in 1810, the Negroes and mulattoes constituted slightly less than 12 per cent of the total population. His

³ Roberto Levillier, *Orígenes Argentinos; La formación de un gran pueblo*, Paris: E. Fasquelle, and Buenos Aires, 1912, pp. 115-16.

estimate is that the proportion had moved up to over 15 per cent by 1852 but receded to 2.5 per cent by 1914.

A number of travelers, or more often foreign businessmen who lived in the country, estimated the population of Argentina for various periods before the 1869 Census was taken. Some of them, such as MacCann, Parish, and Beaumont gave detailed estimates—Beaumont for 1815, Parish for 1837-47, and MacCann for 1848.⁴ Since, however, Ingenieros made a more heroic attempt than any other person to answer the question here being considered his calculations and estimates are worth recording. In a chapter entitled "The Formation of an Argentine Race"⁵ he presents various and detailed estimates of the ethnic composition of the nation's population from 1700 to 1914, and for the population of the City of Buenos Aires from as early as 1580. Out of an estimated total population of 600,000 in 1700 he lists only 3,000 as pure white and 50,000 as mixed. The remainder he lists as Indians 530,000, Negroes 7,000, mulattoes 10,000. He estimates a total population of 720,000 for 1810; 9,000 white, 421,000 mixed, 210,000 Indians, 20,000 Negroes, 60,000 mulattoes. For 1852 he estimates 800,000: 22,000 white, 553,000 mixed, 100,000 Indians, 15,000 Negroes, 110,000 mulattoes. The first census, taken in 1869, did not follow these classes but Ingenieros gave the following estimates from the findings of that census: 350,000 white, 1,315,000 mixed, 80,000 Indians, 15,000 Negroes, 120,000 mulattoes.

Those Who Came to Settle the Country. Like the United States, Argentina is peopled by persons whose forebears were Europeans not more than three generations ago. The major significant difference between the sources of population growth in Argentina and the United States is that most of the immigrants to one came from northern Europe and to the other from southern Europe. The two patterns of expanding population were, however, very similar; each increased very rapidly during the nineteenth century and then the rates of increase slackened sharply. The decline in the United States began two decades before it did in Argentina and has been more pro-

⁴ J. A. B. Beaumont, *Travels in Buenos Ayres, and the Adjacent Provinces of the Rio de la Plata*, London: J. Ridgway, 1828, p. 98; William MacCann, *Two Thousand Miles' Ride Through the Argentine Provinces*, London: Smith Elder & Co., 1853, Vol. I, p. 194; Sir Woodbine Parish, *Buenos Ayres and the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata*, London: John Murray, 1852, Appendix VIII, p. 17.

⁵ Ingenieros, *Sociologia Argentina*, Pt. 4, pp. 473-505 and Appendices.

nounced. In terms of population development Argentina is, therefore, considerably younger than the United States.

TABLE I

Total National Population and Per Cent Increases of Argentina and the United States by 20-Year Periods, 1800 to 1940

Date	Total populations of Argentina *	Per cent increase in 20 years	
		Argentina	United States †
1800	331,000		
1820	512,000	54.7	81.6
1840	692,000	35.2	77.1
1860	1,180,000	70.5	84.2
1880	2,493,000	111.3	59.5
1900	4,607,000	84.8	51.5
1920	8,510,030	84.7	39.1
1940	13,132,279	54.3	24.6

* *Anuario Geografico Argentino*, Buenos Aires: Comite Nacional de Geografia, 1941, p. 159.

† Census reports of United States.

If there were any reason to believe that the curve of population growth in Argentina would during the next 60 years follow that of the United States during the last 60 years then that nation might look forward to a population of some thirty-five million in the year 2000. Many Argentines believe this to be not only possible but probable, in fact assume it to be inevitable. Alejandro Bunge shows, however, that no such hopes are justified or in the least to be expected unless immigration again flows into the country at a rate equal to that preceding World War I. Carefully studying the two factors of natural increase and increase by immigration he makes the following statement, "Until 1914 the growth was extraordinary, doubling every twenty years. Later the acceleration decreased. Facts since 1918 indicate that the country is entering into a period of depopulation and that, ignoring the uncertain factor of immigration, probably will reach a maximum of not more than fourteen to fifteen million in 1958, then probably decline." ⁶

Argentina is a highly urbanized country and the decline in birth

⁶ A. E. Bunge, *Una Nueva Argentina*, Buenos Aires: G. Kraft Ltda., 1940, p. 95.

rates in her cities has been marked during the last 25 years. She is no longer receiving great numbers of peasant-type European immigrants whose high birth rates today, as in the past, offset these urbanizing influences. Those of foreign birth who constituted 11.5 per cent of her national population in 1869, 25.4 per cent in 1895, and 29.9 per cent in 1914 were only 19 per cent in 1942. Therefore, the increase in population in the future, as in the past, apparently must come from new immigration or not come at all. If that immigration does not come or is not permitted to come then Bunge's pessimistic predictions that the population of the nation will never exceed fifteen million will probably be fulfilled. It is difficult to believe that additional immigrants will not come.

It is impossible to make trustworthy estimates of the nation's ethnic composition due to the fact that there have been only three national censuses, in 1869, 1895, and 1914, no one of which gathered adequate information on the racial or nationality origins of the country's population. Each reported all Argentine-born persons only as "*Argentinos*" with no information on the nationality of their parents. There is patent validity to the assumption that, psychologically as well as legally, Argentine-born persons are Argentines, but this cultural fact reveals nothing about ethnic origins. To this lack of specific information is added the fallacious assumption that all Argentine-born persons are Latins, most of them Spanish. The authors of the 1895 Census carried this fallacy to an extreme when they compiled a table which purported to show that 81.9 per cent of the nation's population was Spanish and 97.5 per cent was Latin. Table II reproduces their summary.

TABLE II
Purported Latin and Spanish Composition of
Population, 1895 *

Total population, 1895			3,954,911
I. Latin:			
A. Spanish	3,241,017	81.9%	
B. Other Latin	619,520	15.7%	
Total Latin	3,860,537	97.6%	
II. All Others	94,374	2.4%	

* Argentine National Census, 1895.

The writer is highly aware of the fact that a valid case can be made for conviction that Argentine institutions are largely Spanish and that Argentine culture stems largely from the Latin sections of Europe, but the reader will be interested in comparing the assumptions of data recorded in Table II and the facts which follow. Of the 211,992 foreign born recorded in the 1869 Census, only 34,080 (16 per cent) were Spanish. There were only slightly fewer French, more than twice as many Italians, and a considerably larger number of those born in bordering South American countries.

TABLE III
Nationalities of Foreign Born in Argentina's
Population, 1869 *

Nationality	Population	Nationality	Population
Italian	71,442	Germans	4,997
Nations bordering Argentina	42,112	Portuguese	1,966
Spanish	34,080	Africans	1,172
French	32,383	North Americans	1,095
British	10,709	Other Europeans	5,720
Swiss	5,860	Other Americans	456

* Argentine National Census, 1869.

The 1895 Census, 26 years later, reported 25.4 per cent of the nation's population of 3,954,911 as foreign born. Table IV presents data on their nationalities.

TABLE IV
Nationalities of Foreign Born in Argentina's
Population, 1895 *

Nationality	Popu- lation	Nationality	Popu- lation	Nationality	Popu- lation
Italians	492,636	Russians	15,047	Danes	1,417
Spanish	198,685	Swiss	14,789	No. American	1,381
Nations border- ing Argentina	115,892	Austrians	12,803	Turks	876
French	94,098	Belgians	5,446	Africans	456
British	21,788	Hollanders	2,880	Other European	453
Germans	17,143	Portuguese	2,269	Other Americans	795
		Swedish	1,668	Others	4,005

* Argentine National Census, 1895.

It is quite apparent from the facts presented in Tables II and III that the authors of the 1895 Census reports had converted all the descendants of the foreign born recorded in 1869 and all the Argentine-born children of immigrants who came to the country between 1869 and 1895 into Latins, most of them into Spanish. They also assumed that all those who had come into Argentina from other South American countries were Spaniards. Only those persons not themselves born in Spain, Italy, Portugal, France, and other South American countries were counted as non-Latin, and only those Latins who were born outside Spain, Argentina, and its bordering countries were left out of the Spanish group. Were it not for the fact that the 1895 Census presents data other than the conclusions of its authors and that immigration data make some detailed analysis possible, most erroneous conclusions concerning the ethnic composition of Argentina's population might be drawn.

If it is assumed that the national population was one million in 1856, the last year before immigration data are available and after which it is definitely known that the number of Italian immigrants always exceeded those from Spain, and if it is assumed that the ethnic composition of that million was as much as one-fourth Spanish, even then it would be impossible to conclude that the ethnic composition of the nation is more Spanish than Italian, much less that it is predominantly Spanish. This is true because the equivalent of 250,000 pureblood Spanish in 1856 has been more than offset by the 329,043 more Italians than Spanish who came to and stayed in the country between 1857 and 1940.⁷ In addition to Italians were hundreds of thousands of adults who came from other countries, who together with their offspring and the offspring of Italian immigrants have contributed to the non-Spanish portion of the population. Those who desire to prove that Argentina is predominantly Spanish should argue their case on the basis of institutions and traditions, not on the basis of ethnic composition, for by doing so they could easily sustain their contentions.

⁷ If Ingenieros' estimates are accepted it can be assumed that there were less than 30,000 pureblood whites in Argentina in 1856, the year before immigration records were kept, and that there were probably 600,000 of mixed white and Indian blood. Thus if all whites at that time were Spanish, and all mixed were one-fourth-blood Spanish, the Spanish share of the total ethnic stock would have been less than one fifth of the whole.

THE GROWTH AND GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF THE NATION'S
POPULATION

Population Centers Move from Interior toward Coast. Early white settlers flowed into the United States from the south and east; they flowed into Argentina from the north and west. Population growth was slow in the United States for 200 years after the establishment of the first white settlement; growth was slow in Argentina for more than 300 years after establishment of the first white settlement. The first permanent settlement was founded in the United States at Jamestown in 1607; the first permanent settlement in Argentina was founded near the present town of Santiago del Estero in 1553.⁸ Jamestown, Plymouth, and all other early North American settlements were on or near the Atlantic seaboard; in Argentina they were far in the interior of the country. These are not unimportant historical facts because they constitute the basis for much of what transpired during the next 200 years in each country. In the United States population moved from the seaboard inland, always keeping contact with coastal settlements. Arteries of transportation and means of communication, although crude, kept newly established North American interior communities in contact with seaboard communities and thus with European markets. In Argentina transportation systems from the east coast did not reach the interior for a long while and contacts with European markets were through Peru and Panama and thus by a very roundabout route.

According to Martin de Moussy's estimates approximately 66.5 per cent of the population of the country in 1797 was located in the interior, 52.4 per cent of it in the areas of colonies founded from Chile and Peru before 1600. (See Figure 3.) His estimates for 1860 indicated a slight shift toward the coastal area during the 63 years.⁹ When the national census of 1869 was taken it pretty well corroborated his later estimates. At that time 49 per cent was still in the areas of the earliest established settlements. European immigration and the development of the cereal belt during the following 25 years shifted the major portion of the national population to the

⁸ The original settlement founded at Buenos Aires in 1535 was abandoned in 1541 and not re-established until 1580.

⁹ *Anuario Geografico Argentino*, 1941, pp. 156-60.

Rural Life in Argentina

Litoral (coastal provinces) and there has never been a period since that time when this area has not contained well over half of the population of the country. The 1914 Census revealed 67.4 per cent of the population located in the Litoral, 28.4 per cent in the old

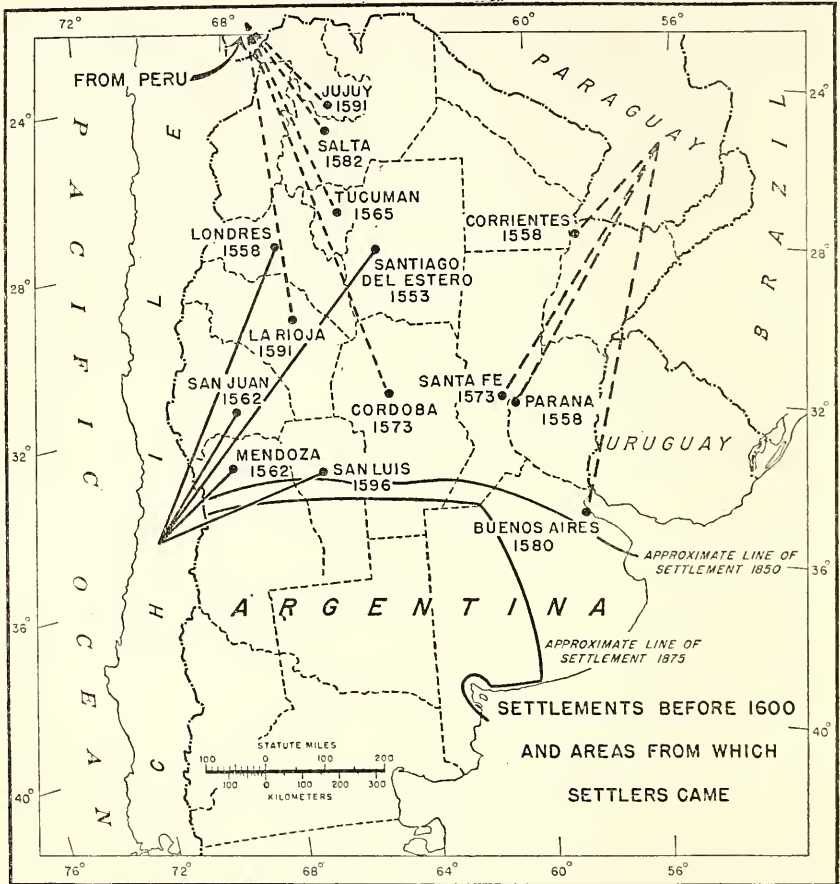


FIGURE 3

Chile and Peru colonial areas, and 4.2 per cent in newly occupied areas. The story of population development was not that of an unfolding panorama of peoples moving constantly deeper into the interior of the country, but rather the story of an increasingly important coastal area.

Santiago del Estero in 1553, Londres in 1558, San Juan and Mendoza in 1562, and San Luis in 1596, all in the same general area, were

founded by people who came over the mountains from Chile. Tucumán in 1565, Córdoba in 1573, Salta in 1582, Jujuy and La Rioja in 1591 were founded by people who came from Peru. Corrientes and Paraná in 1558, Santa Fe in 1573, and Buenos Aires re-established in 1580 were founded by people from Paraguay. Of these 14 settlements, all established before 1600, only 4 were in the coastal and Paraná River area. There are no systematically recorded data on the population of these areas until 1869, but fragmentary data such as are represented in Table V indicate that it was not until well into the nineteenth century that Buenos Aires became the dominant population center of the nation.

TABLE V
Major Population Centers of Argentina
before 1800 *

Dates	Buenos Aires	Santa Fe	Corrientes	Tucumán	Córdoba	Cuyo
1609	250 to 300					
1622	1,060 †	1,817	1,747			
1665		1,300 §				
1698		1,500 §				
1726	2,208					
1738	5,673					
1744	10,056 †					
1760			6,420			
1770	22,007 ‡					
1776				126,004	40,221	
1778	33,522					71,357
1794		5,000				

* These data are compiled from an article by José Torre Revello, "Sociedad colonial. Las clases sociales. La ciudad y la campaña," which appears in *Historia de la Nación Argentina*, Ricardo Levene, Director General, Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1940, Vol. IV, Sec. 1, Pt. 2, Chap. I.

† For the City of Buenos Aires only.

‡ Not clear whether for city only or for whole settlement.

§ Reduced because of Indian raids.

The most unique and probably the most significant facts about population development in Argentina are that the center of population has moved toward the coast rather than toward the interior and

Rural Life in Argentina

that 74 per cent of the people of this dominantly agricultural country live in cities and towns of more than 1,000 population. Until as late as 1870 the major portion of the people was located in the in-

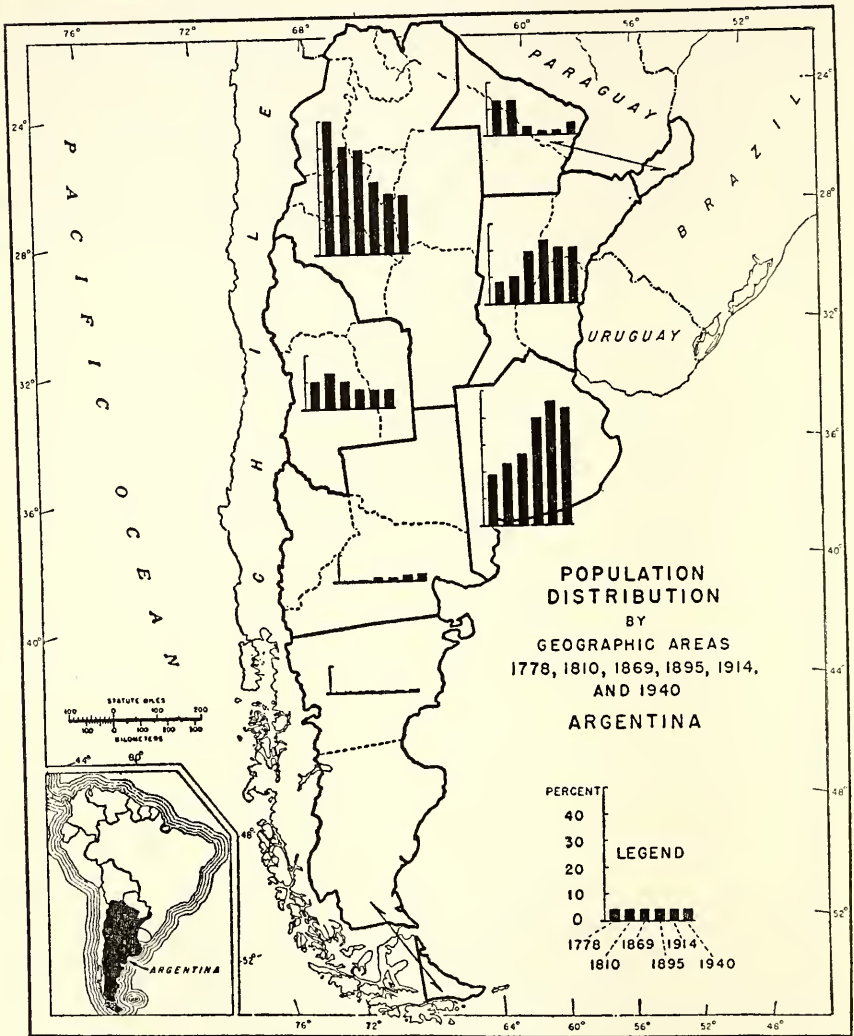


FIGURE 4

terior; in 1940, 65.5 per cent of them were in the coastal areas, 43.3 per cent in the Federal Capital and Buenos Aires Province. Today there are spotted areas of dense population in a few oases settlements in the interior but the vast bulk of the nation's population is in the

coastal area and by and large fans out and thins as distance from the Federal Capital is increased.

The Causes for the Pattern of Population Distribution. These



FIGURE 5

causes begin with the stern facts of weather and climate and end with what may or may not be fickle metropolitanism. Much of the interior is arid or semiarid and, so far as is known, has few natural resources. It is, therefore, incapable of supporting a dense population.

The zone of 20 or more inches of average annual rainfall extends only 400 miles west of the City of Buenos Aires and all except the irrigated areas beyond that line must be dedicated to extensive live-stock production, which in Argentina never requires a farm-working population greater than 6 and in many places as low as 2/10 per square mile.

The ecological basis of population distribution is further emphasized by what Bunge describes as "economic disequilibrium" resulting in a fan-shaped distribution of natural resources and population with the handle or hub of the fan located approximately at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, or more accurately at the City of Buenos Aires. He divides the country into three concentric "zones." The significance of the facts compiled by Bunge on these three "zones" warrants reporting them in some detail.¹⁰

Zone I contains only 20 per cent of the geographic area but 67 per cent of the population of the nation. It has 86 per cent of the total land dedicated to cereal culture and flax, chief Argentine field crops, and is the locale of 63 per cent of the cattle, 46 per cent of the sheep, and 77 per cent of the hogs in the nation. In it are located 54 per cent of the railway mileage, 71 per cent of the telephone equipment, and 79 per cent of the automobiles. It has 78 per cent of all capital invested in the extraction and manufacturing industries.

Zone II comprises 40 per cent of the nation's territory and contains 25 per cent of the country's population. It has 12.6 per cent of the cultivated land dedicated to cereal and flax culture and is the locale of 27 per cent of the cattle, 18 per cent of the sheep, and 16 per cent of the hogs in the nation. In it are located 29 per cent of the railway mileage, 28 per cent of the telephone equipment, and 16 per cent of the automobiles. It has only 11 per cent of the capital invested in the extraction and manufacturing industries.

Zone III comprises 40 per cent of the nation's territory but has only 8 per cent of the country's population. It has only 1.2 per cent of the cereal and flax cultivated acreage, 10 per cent of the cattle, 36 per cent of the sheep, and 7 per cent of the hogs. It has only 17 per cent of the railway mileage, one per cent of the telephone equip-

¹⁰ A. E. Bunge, "Capacidad económica de la Argentina y su distribución, bases para la comercialización interprovincial," *Revista de Economía Argentina*, Buenos Aires: Redaccion y Administracion, Tomo XXXVIII, No. 247 (January 1939), pp. 66-70.

ment, and 5 per cent of the automobiles. Only 11 per cent of the capital invested in the extraction and manufacturing industries is in this zone.

TABLE VI

Patterns of Population Location and Distribution, 1938

Zone	Area square mile	Population *	Population square mile	Number of cities 10,000 and more population	Per cent of population in cities 10,000 or more	Per cent of population in towns 1,000 to 10,000	Per cent of population in places of less than 1,000
I	216,602	8,517,000	39.3	72	62.8	19.0	18.2
II	429,343	3,187,000	7.4	32	29.2	26.4	44.4
III	429,343	1,057,000	2.5	6	24.8	36.6	38.6

* Bunge, *Una Nueva Argentina*, Chap. X; *Anuario Geografico Argentino*, 1941, p. 158.

The data presented in Table VI, with a little interpretation, present not only the population distribution among three geographic zones but also the spacing of population within the zones. The town pattern in Argentina is unique and is exaggerated in the sparsely settled areas. In Zone III, with a density of only 2.5 persons per square mile, almost 25 per cent of the people live in six cities, each with a population of 10,000 or over, and only 38.6 live in the open country or in places of less than 1,000 population. In Zone I, the locale of something like two thirds of the farm production of the country, the large cities of Buenos Aires, Rosario, Bahia Blanca, and Santa Fe, plus a great many cities with from 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, contain 62.8 per cent of the population, and towns of 1,000 to 10,000 population contain an additional 19.0 per cent. The rural population is only 18.2 per cent of the total. It is only in Zone II that population distribution looks similar statistically to that for a typical rural area of the United States. A careful study of the Zone shows this to be due to the high concentration of population on a few irrigated oases. Otherwise, the population is more widely scattered in this than in any other area of the nation.

Two things characterize the geographic distribution of the population of Argentina: First, 51.4 per cent of the nation's population, in 1938, was in cities of more than 10,000 inhabitants; second, prac-

tically all of the farm people live on isolated farmsteads. The patterns differ greatly among the different areas of the country as is illustrated by the fact that the population per square mile ranged in 1939 from 62 in the Province of Tucumán to 0.2 in the Territory of Santa Cruz. They are most easily generalized by describing them for Bunge's three zones.

TABLE VII
Distribution of Population in Various-
Size Locality Groups, 1938

In cities of	Nation	Zone I	Zone II	Zone III
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
More than 100,000 *	33.8	46.5	6.7	13.9
10,000 to 100,000	17.6	16.3	22.5	10.9
1,000 to 10,000	22.6	19.0	26.4	36.6
Under 1,000	26.0	18.2	44.4	38.6

* Bunge's estimates for the population of many of the larger cities (see *Una Nueva Argentina*, pp. 226-27) are considerably less than some others for the year 1938 (see *Anuario Geografico Argentino*, 1941, p. 158). There is little question that the population of large cities has increased more rapidly than the nation's population since that date.

Some further description, zone by zone, will serve to help the reader to visualize the actual spatial pattern on the land. According to Bunge, Zone I had 4 cities with more than 100,000 population; 2 between 50,000 and 100,000; 15 between 25,000 and 50,000; and 51 with from 10,000 to 25,000. In this highly populated area are 72 cities of 10,000 or greater population, all but 6 of which are primarily farmers' towns. In the cereal- and flax-producing section of the Zone, members of the rural population are located almost altogether on individual farms. In the cattle areas they are grouped at *estancia* headquarters.¹¹

Zone II had only 1 city (Córdoba) with more than 100,000 population; 3 between 50,000 and 100,000; 5 between 25,000 and 50,000; and 23 with between 10,000 and 25,000.

Zone III had only 1 city (Tucumán) with more than 100,000 population; 1 (Salta) between 50,000 and 100,000; none between 25,000 and 50,000; and only 4 between 10,000 and 25,000. It had

¹¹ See Chapter XI.

387,000 people living in towns having between 1,000 and 10,000 population.

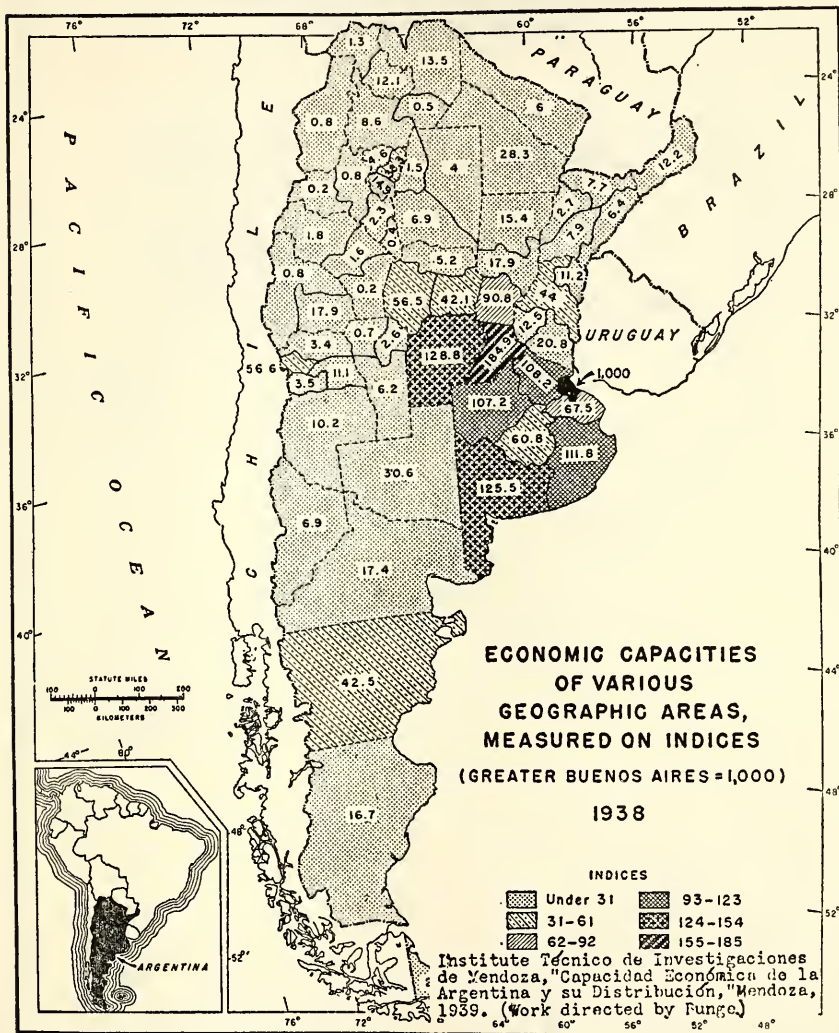


FIGURE 6

The significance of many of the facts presented in the description and Figure 6 spells itself out in terms of the amount and description of the rural population.

NUMBER, SIZE, AND DISTRIBUTION OF VARIOUS
POPULATION UNITS IN DIFFERENT TYPE
FARMING BELTS, ARGENTINA

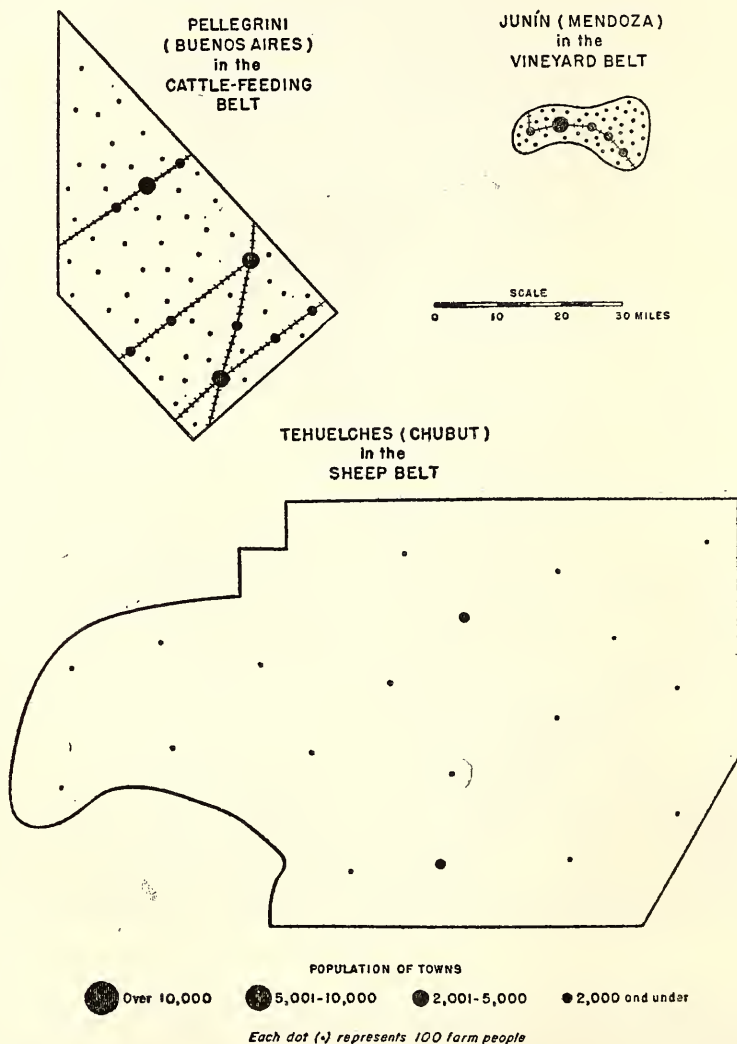
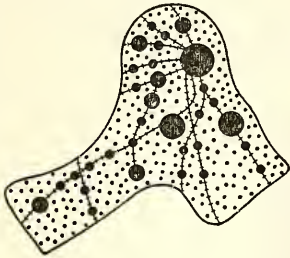


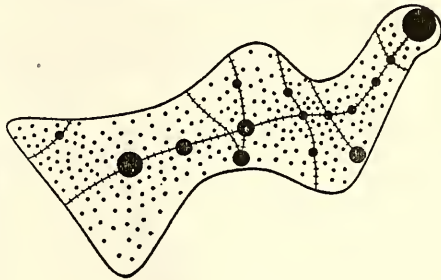
FIGURE 7

NUMBER, SIZE, AND DISTRIBUTION OF VARIOUS
POPULATION UNITS IN DIFFERENT TYPE
FARMING BELTS, ARGENTINA

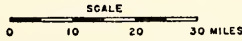
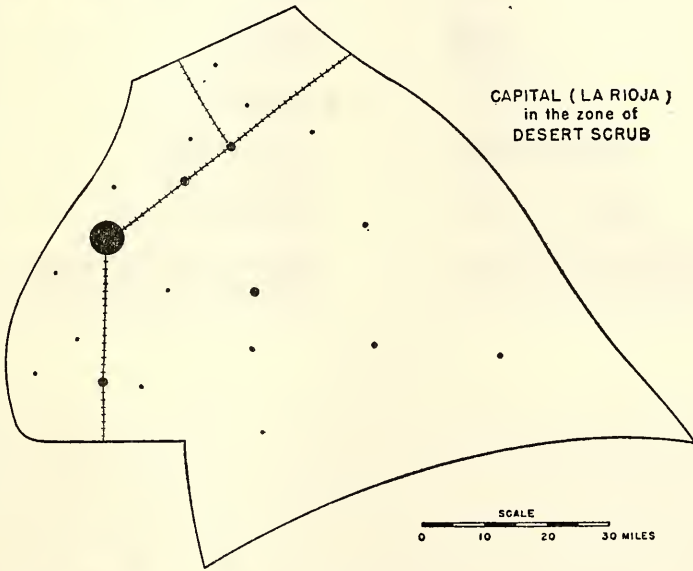
ROSARIO (SANTA FE)
in the
INDUSTRIALIZED ZONE



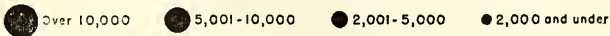
CONSTITUCION (SANTA FE)
in the
CORN BELT



CAPITAL (LA RIOJA)
in the zone of
DESERT SCRUB



POPULATION OF TOWNS



Each dot (•) represents 100 farm people

FIGURE 8

Rural Life in Argentina

AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF THE NATION'S POPULATION

Sex Composition. Adequate data are not available to make possible a careful delineation of the extent to which the demographic history of Argentina conforms to or departs from the normal pattern of population behavior, but the population dynamics of that history have been sufficiently powerful to invite the most careful analysis possible. Generally about 105 males to 100 females is the normal sex

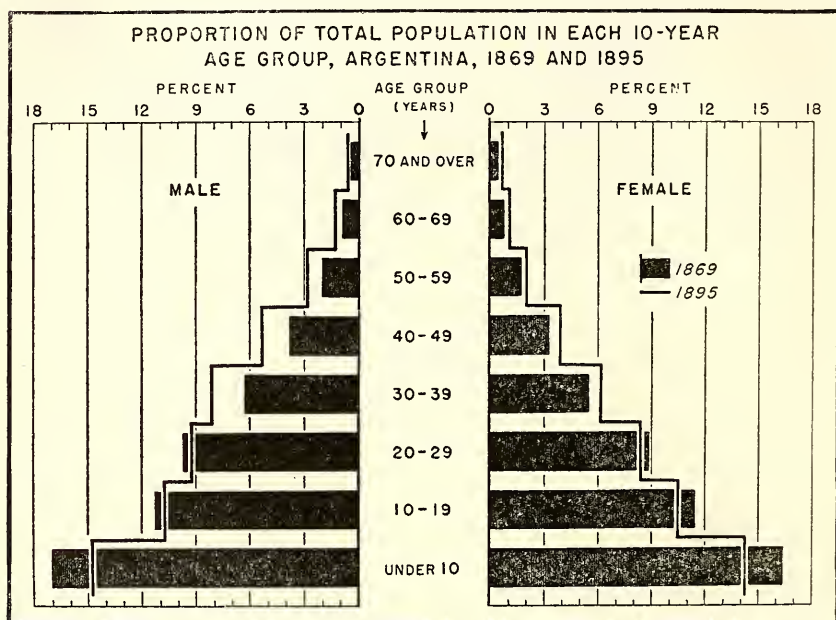


FIGURE 9

distribution of the newly born. Because the death rate is higher for males than females in all age groups the process of equalizing the sex ratios begins immediately after zero age and at the 25-year age group the sexes are balanced. After that the excess of females steadily increases. In the age groups between 40 and 60 male deaths so greatly exceed female deaths that there is a considerable preponderance of females in the population unless some of them migrate or there is an influx of males.

There is every reason to believe that there were more females than males in Argentina's population before the great tides of Europeans began pouring into the country, about the middle of

the past century. All but 4 of the 14 provinces covered by the national census still had more females than males in 1869. The four exceptions were the Provinces of Buenos Aires, Entre Ríos, Santa Fe, and Salta, all of which had received many immigrants before the real era of immigration began. Indians in early times undoubtedly contributed more females than males to the population because a greater per cent of the males were exterminated by white men. The number of males added by the conquerors apparently was not as

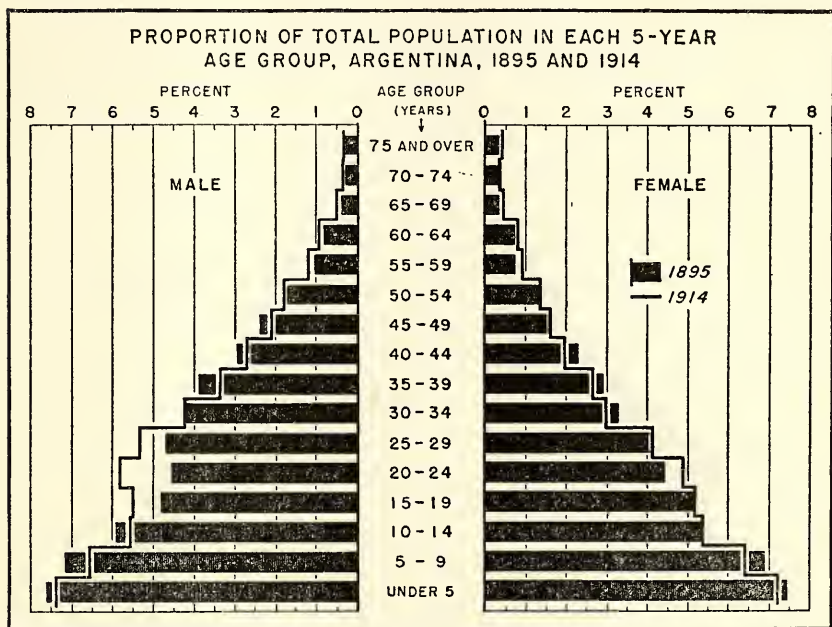


FIGURE 10

great as the male deficit caused by war and the rigors of hard pioneer life and thus a preponderance of females prevailed in spite of the fact that early-arriving white men seldom brought a full quota of females with them. Evidences of these facts are that there were still more females than males in all the interior provinces as late as 1914 and there is little reason to believe that there had been much if any out-migration of women by that time. There were 20,938 more females than males in the native-born population of the nation in 1914. A shift in sex ratios came as a result of a high tide of immigration which flowed into the country.

Rural Life in Argentina

In the age groups below 20 and above 80 there were still more females than males in 1869. By 1895 this was no longer true of the younger age groups but still true of older age groups. At that time all age groups above 70 had more females than males. In 1914 all age groups above 65 had an excess of females, and, according to Bunge's estimates, only the age groups above 80 had an excess of females in 1938. This shift was by no means uniform throughout the nation. The Provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, and Entre Ríos, all near

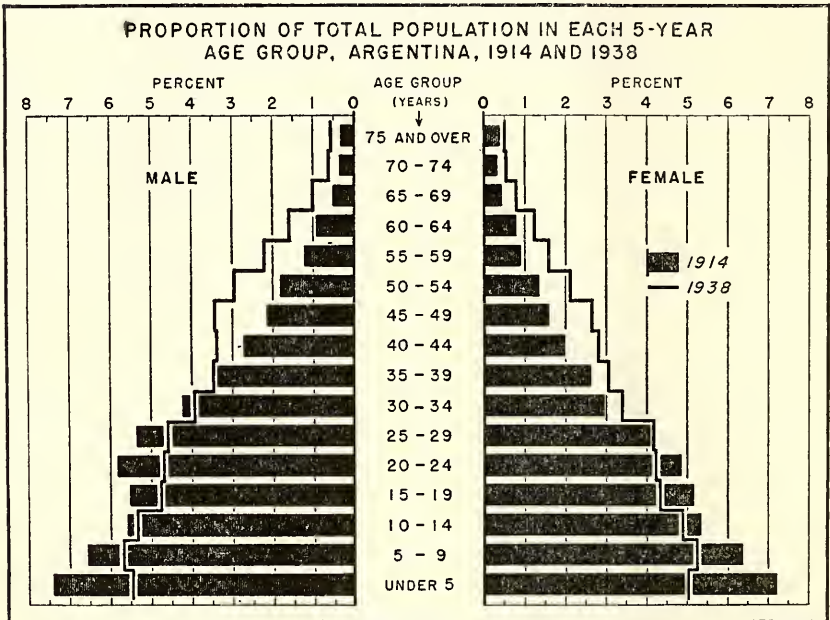


FIGURE 11

the mouth of the River Plate and all recipients of heavy immigration, shifted their population balances in favor of males early and rapidly. Only they and Salta had more males than females in 1869, and Salta, in the interior, had shifted back to an excess of females by 1895.

Far more pronounced in their male ratios today are those areas in which there has been heavy immigration and where also the type of farming demands a great deal of male labor. Such areas are the most rural of the nation, all of them national territories. Unfortunately, none of them were included in the 1869 Census, and, therefore, the earliest population data available for them are for 1895.

TABLE VIII

Males per 1,000 Females in Areas with High Male Ratios due to Type of Farming and Immigration *

Territories	1895	1914	1936 †
<i>Chiefly Occupation</i>			
Tierra del Fuego	3,631	5,680	
Santa Cruz	2,522	2,506	
Chubut	1,413	1,698	
La Pampa	1,588	1,339	1,140
Río Negro	1,414	1,485	
Neuquén	1,268	1,207	
<i>Chiefly Immigration</i>			
Formosa	1,485	1,278	1,260
Chaco	1,265	1,333	1,266
Misiones	1,284	1,061	1,084

* Various *Memoria de Dirección General de Inmigración*, Buenos Aires; José Yocca and Raúl García, *Baricentro de la pirámide de la población en provincias y territorios de la República, a través de los tres censos generales*, Córdoba: Instituto de Estadística, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 1941, p. 128.

† Bunge, *Una Nueva Argentina*, pp. 134, 136, 137, and 139.

The first six territories listed in Table VIII are dominated by live-stock production, chiefly of sheep, and have a great excess of males. The last three are areas of recent European immigration. Unlike the early immigrants, the settlers have brought their families with them, and unlike livestock producers have settled on family-sized farms. Statistics, if available for later dates, for the southern territories would probably not greatly alter the sex ratios except in one section of Río Negro where there has been a horticultural development in the last 20 years. This area, while peopled by immigrants, was settled in family-sized farms and today the two sexes are probably more evenly balanced. Bunge's estimates for 1938 show 1,146 males per 1,000 females for the whole national population. The population of the City of Buenos Aires in 1936 had only 993 males per 1,000 females, Tierra del Fuego in 1914 had 5,680 and the ratio has not changed much since that time. The whole Patagonian area tends in the direction of the Tierra del Fuego population-distribution pattern.

Rural Life in Argentina

It is impossible to measure precisely the influences of sex imbalance in Argentina. An excess of males should result in a high ratio of married females and a low ratio of married males; a high ratio of births to women of child-bearing age; a possible high rate of illegitimacy and divorce; and, of course, an uncommonly high percentage of bachelors. Some of these tendencies are definitely apparent. Divorce is not sanctioned by law and there is, therefore, no

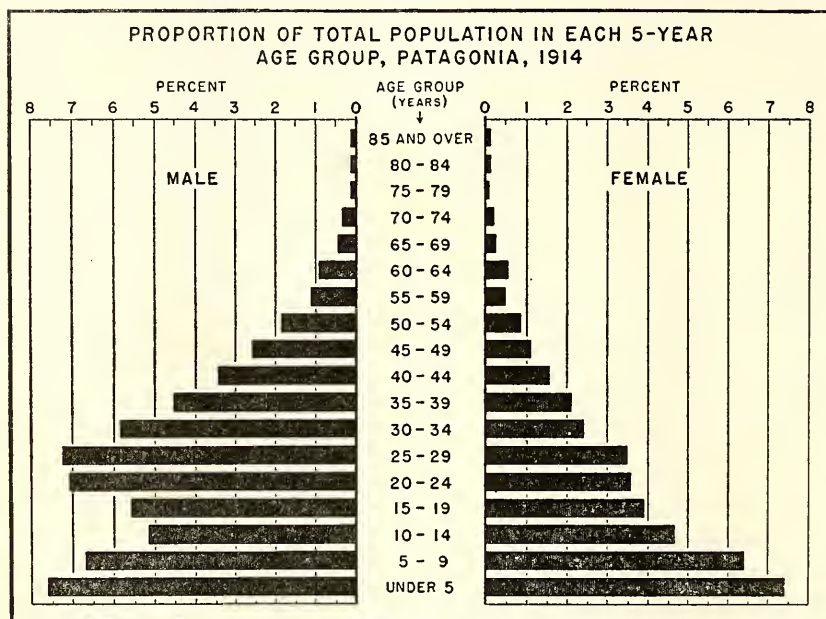


FIGURE 12

measure of its prevalence; illegitimacy rates are high, and there are many bachelors; birth rates are relatively high.

Age Composition. Some reflection of the age composition of the nation's population has been indicated in the discussion of its sex composition. The Dirección General de Estadística de la Nación does not report age groupings of the population in its annual estimates and, therefore, the only data available for recent years are the estimates of Bunge for 1938. The latest empirically reported data are those of the national census in 1914 when the country's population was but little more than one half of what it is today and for a period just following a 50-year influx of immigrants. Most analyses must, there-

fore, be confined to periods of the past, some of which reveal very interesting commentaries on the nation's development.

For comparison between urban and rural age groupings the territories in Patagonia can be contrasted with those of the City of Buenos Aires. The combined population of the five Patagonian territories in 1914 was only 106,476, 60.8 per cent of which was male. The population of the Federal Capital was 1,576,597, only 53.9 per cent of which was male. An analysis of the age distribution of the two populations shows that 62.6 per cent of the male population of Patagonia was between 15 and 55 years of age. The percentage for this same age group in the City of Buenos Aires was 35.7. If Tierra del Fuego is taken as an extreme example it will be seen that 89 per cent of all males were between 15 and 55 years of age, 57 per cent of them between 20 and 35 years of age. Thus, almost the total excess of males in Tierra del Fuego was accounted for by an excess in the middle groups, most of it by men between the ages of 20 to 35.

Tierra del Fuego had the most unbalanced age and sex distribution in the nation at that time and still has today, due almost altogether to the demand for male sheep herders and the fact that it is not only exceedingly isolated but has an unpleasant climate in which to live. Few whole families are found in the area. Between it and the City of Buenos Aires range imbalances in favor of males to imbalances in favor of females and imbalances in both areas of middle-age groups.

The relative influence of immigration on the age compositions of Argentina and the United States can be seen by comparing the distribution of the various age groups in the two populations for different periods. Mass immigration began flowing into the United States more than 50 years before it did into Argentina and skewed the age-group distribution at that time to the same extent that it did later in Argentina. The age distribution of the population of the United States in 1830 was comparable to that of Argentina in 1869, 39 years later; the age pattern in the United States in 1840 was very similar to that of Argentina for 1895. Both countries received exceedingly heavy immigration between 1900 and the beginning of World War I in 1914, but the relative influence of that immigration upon the age distribution in Argentina was far greater than in the United States as can be seen by comparing the age distribution of 1910 for the United States and 1914 for Argentina in Table IX,

on page 79. In order to find a period in the Argentine experience comparable to that of 1910 in the United States it is necessary to move down to as late as 1938. As a matter of fact, there never was a period after 1850 in the United States at which immigration so sharply skewed the population distribution as was the case in Argentina up to and probably considerably after 1914. Table IX presents these interesting comparisons and contrasts.

The reader's attention is directed to the broad age groups below and above 30 years and to the following obvious facts: (1) At the earliest periods—1830 for the United States and 1869 for Argentina—more than 73 per cent of each population was under 30 years of age. (2) As late as 1914 Argentina still had 71.4 per cent under 30 years of age whereas in the United States this group represented only 70.9 per cent of the population as far back as 1850. (3) In 1938 the per cent of the Argentine population under 30 years of age was less than in the United States in 1910. (4) For the most recent comparable dates—1938 for Argentina and 1940 for the United States—Argentina had 58.3 per cent and the United States only 51.6 per cent of its population under 30 years of age.

Further comparisons of the two populations for recent dates show: (5) A considerably larger percentage of the Argentine population was youth under 20 years of age—40.7 per cent compared with 34.4 per cent in the United States. (6) A considerably larger percentage of the population of the United States were over 50 years of age—20.4 per cent compared to 15.6 per cent in Argentina. (7) In the middle-age groups, 20–49, the comparison was United States 45.2 per cent, Argentina 43.7 per cent. (8) The first age group for which the percentage is higher in the United States than in Argentina is 30–39. By using this as a point at which to again divide each population into two broad age groups, the results are 58.3 per cent of all Argentines, and only 51.6 per cent of all persons in the United States were under 30 years of age. Conversely, 48.4 per cent of all persons in the United States and only 41.7 per cent of all Argentines were 30 years of age and over.

If it is assumed that increasing age of a nation's population is a measure of its maturity, Argentina is considerably more youthful than the United States. If Bunge's estimates prove to be correct Argentina in 1948 will approach the age distribution pattern of the United States in 1940. It is doubtful if it will come that fast, although

TABLE IX
Age Distribution of Total Population for
Argentina and the United States

Age Group	Argen- tina * 1869	United States † 1830 ‡	Argen- tina 1895	United States 1840 ‡	Argen- tina 1914	United States 1850	Argen- tina 1938	United States 1910	United States 1940
Under 5 years	18.2	18.0	18.0	17.4	17.4	15.1	10.5	11.6	8.0
5-9 years	15.2	14.6	13.7	14.2	12.5	14.0	10.9	10.6	8.1
10-14 years	11.7	12.4	10.8	12.1	10.5	12.5	10.2	9.9	8.9
15-19 years	10.9	11.1	10.2	10.9	11.0	10.9	9.1	9.9	9.4
20-29 years	18.6	17.8	18.4	18.1	20.0	18.4	17.6	18.8	17.2
30-39 years	11.9	10.9	13.8	11.6	12.6	12.2	13.8	14.6	15.0
40-49 years	7.1	6.9	8.3	7.3	7.9	8.0	12.3	10.6	13.0
50-59 years	3.8	4.3	4.2	4.4	4.8	4.8	8.8	7.3	9.9
60-69 years	1.7	2.5	1.7	2.5	2.2	2.6	4.6	4.3	6.5
70-79 years	0.6	1.1	0.6	1.1	0.8	1.1	1.8	1.9	3.1
80-89 years	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.8
90 years and over	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	—	—	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Argentine National Censuses, 1869, 1895, and 1914; Bunge, *Una Nueva Argentina*, p. 116.

† Census reports of United States.

‡ The figures refer to free white persons only. Free colored persons and slaves are excluded due to lack of comparability in the census age classifications.

the falling birth rate and slackening of immigration may lead to the results which Bunge predicts.¹²

THE VITAL PROCESSES

Births and Deaths. These are recorded in the civil registers of the various provinces and territories of the nation and reported annually by each. It is universally believed, however, that the registers in some jurisdictions are quite inaccurate and it is, therefore, difficult to know whether omissions create consistent, cumulative, or compensating errors. The testimony of some ministers of churches is that among those of the Catholic faith, which includes the vast majority of the population, deaths are more consistently reported than births because of the insistence on the administration of "extreme unction." Others are of the contrary opinion and say that the necessity of each citizen having a "cedula" (domestic passport) leads to a more complete registration of births than deaths. Bunge believes that the greatest laxity occurs in the records of children who die within a short period after birth. In his worthy attempt to uncover the realities concerning vital processes he eliminates all territories. These are the most isolated areas of the nation and their elimination probably skews the data in the direction of both lower birth and death rates but his data are the only ones that are consistently available and must, therefore, be used.

Both birth and death rates have fallen steadily in Argentina, the birth rate from 38.3 in 1910 to 24.3 for 1938, and the death rate from 18.4, 1899-1902, to 12, 1934-38.¹³ Data for the somewhat comparable periods in the United States are: The birth rate fell from 25.1 in 1915¹⁴ to 16.7 in 1936 and the death rate from 17.6 in 1900 to 11.6 in 1936. Only two things need to be pointed out concerning these trends—first, that both birth and death rates are lower in the United States than in Argentina, and, second, that Argentine birth and death rates fell more rapidly over these periods than did those of the United States.

In the field of infant mortality the Argentine nation holds an enviable position in Latin America and a respectable position in the world. Its rate is higher than those of north European but lower than

¹² Bunge, *Una Nueva Argentina*, p. 117.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Chap. II.

¹⁴ Birth-rate data for the United States not available until 1915.

those of south European nations. The national rate in 1931-35 was 97 deaths per 1,000 living births; that of the City of Buenos Aires only 59. The rate in the United States during this same five-year period was 58.4; that of New York City, 52. The significance of these facts and the wide geographic variations of infant death rates within the nation merit the elaborate consideration which Bunge gives to them.¹⁵

Infant mortality in Argentina was 148 in 1911. It had fallen to 98.2 by 1936-38.¹⁶ This decrease has been largely accomplished by better medical attendance and better child care; has been relatively slight in deaths occurring during the first month of life but quite pronounced for the succeeding eleven months. This, however, is also the experience of other countries in their militant drives against the wastage of infant lives. In 1915 the death rate for all children under one month of age in the City of Buenos Aires was 22.6; it was still 19.1 in 1938. Contrasted with this the ratio for all infants more than one month of age was 75.5 in 1915 and only 30.5 in 1938. To what extent this difference is due to the customary practice of midwives' rather than physicians' attendance at births is an issue of importance but one upon which there are no recorded data. In the nation as a whole the percentage of all infants' deaths during the first month is lower than in Germany, the United States, or Canada and it would, therefore, appear that the Argentine midwife, in general, is fairly skillful in saving life. The issue is brought to sharp focus when comparison is made between data for Buenos Aires City and the various provinces. Then is probably seen the result of the attendance of births of trained and licensed midwives and no attendance or attendance of what might be called the grandmother doctors of the interior.¹⁷

Bunge compiled 1936 data for 10 provinces, the only ones whose civil registers furnish data on the monthly ages of infants at time of death. At that time the death rates for infants under one month of age ranged from as low as 18.8 in Buenos Aires Province to as high as 74.6 in Jujuy, in the extreme northwest interior. In no interior province was the rate lower than 44.6 and it is probable that it was

¹⁵ Bunge, *Una Nueva Argentina*, Chap. III.

¹⁶ *Anuario Geografico Argentino*, 1941, p. 173.

¹⁷ The Director of the National Department of Health estimates that 95 per cent of births in Argentina are not attended by physicians. (Personal interview by author.)

higher than 74.6 in some of the national territories for which no data were available. Jujuy with only 7 per cent as many live births as Buenos Aires Province had 27 per cent as many deaths of infants under one month of age. With the exception of Corrientes, which reported a relatively low, and Entre Ríos, which reported a relatively high infant mortality, infant death rates rose steadily as distance from the Federal Capital increased.

TABLE X
Relation of Birth Rates to Infant Death Rates,
1943 *

Provinces	Birth rates	Infant death rates
Federal Capital	20.8	41
Corrientes	24.9	50
Santa Fe	20.1	59
Buenos Aires	18.6	62
Córdoba	26.2	79
Entre Ríos	29.3	89
Santiago del Estero	37.0	91
Catamarca	30.5	94
La Rioja	24.5	94
Mendoza	28.2	102
San Luis	27.1	113
Tucumán	38.2	117
San Juan	37.6	124
Salta	44.7	146
Jujuy	51.2	179

* "Tasas Demograficas Argentinas," *Revista de Economía Argentina*, Tomo XLIII, No. 311 (May 1944), pp. 130 and 134. Note that none of the national territories are included in this table. It can be assumed that at least Los Andes, Neuquén, and probably Chaco and Formosa would rank below any of the provinces.

Bunge in presenting the fact that the infant death rate of Argentina compares favorably with those of the most progressive nations in the world argues that the birth rates must always be taken into consideration because there is a high correlation between high birth rates and high infant mortality. It has been proved by many students of population that each succeeding child born to a mother has less chance of surviving its first year of life than its older brothers and sisters and for this reason higher birth rates contribute directly

to higher infant death rates.¹⁸ Using this well-established fact to compare the various provinces of Argentina reveals the fact that one of the principal causes of high infant mortality in the interior provinces is their high birth rates.

Quite consistently those provinces with the lowest birth rates have the lowest infant death rates and those with the highest birth rates have the highest infant death rates. Note especially the upper and lower fourths of the provinces listed in Table X. Note also that the upper one fourth are all coastal and the lower one fourth all interior provinces. These facts reveal a great deal about Argentine rural life. The higher birth rates and higher infant death rates are in the most rural provinces. One of these facts offers the principal explanation of the other. But in addition to this in the rural and peripheral provinces are a far higher percentage of the population with Indian heritage, a higher per cent of the economically poor who live in poorer houses, have less medical care, and are undoubtedly more ignorant of proper child care.

Marital Status. The fact that separation is not sanctioned by law in Argentina makes it difficult to ascertain the true marital status of the population. Separations are not recorded in the civil registers or in any census reports except that of Buenos Aires of 1936. This, plus the fact that there are thousands of families which are integral social entities but whose husbands and wives are not legally married, makes it quite impossible to analyze the marital status of the population.

Because there are no acceptable data on the age distribution of the population the only marriage rate that can be constructed is number of marriages for 1,000 of total population. The number of marriages are reported in the civil registers and the population estimates made by the National Director of Statistics. The ratio for the 14 provinces and the Federal Capital combined has remained quite constant but quite low over a period of 30 years. It was 7.20 per 1,000 in 1910-13 and was 7.20 per 1,000 in 1939. It, however, varies considerably among the provinces, decreasing, by and large, with distance from the Federal Capital which consistently maintains the highest rate in the nation. Such interior provinces as La Rioja, Santiago del Estero, and Catamarca, on the other hand, consistently maintain some of the lowest ratios in the nation. The highest rate for

¹⁸ "Tasas Demograficas Argentinas," *Revista de Economía Argentina*, Tomo XLIII, No. 311 (May 1944), pp. 130 and 134.

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La Rioja was 4.88 per 1,000 in 1910-13 and the lowest 3.90 in 1939. Corrientes has maintained a longer time, lower rate than any other province, never being higher than 4.50 and at times as low as 3.31.

Marriages for the national territories have been reported by the Dirección de Estadística de la Nación for only the last few years. They are the most rural areas of the nation, differ greatly from the others, and it is, therefore, regrettable that no information is avail-

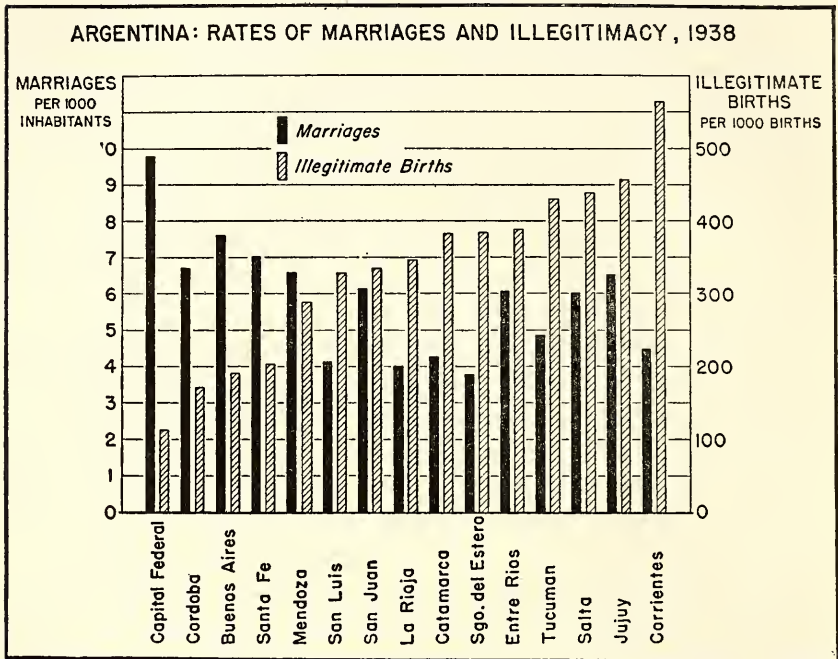


FIGURE 13

able to show results of these differences in marriage rates. The northern territories, with the exception of Los Andes, are new colonial, family-sized-farm areas. The southern territories are, for the most part, in the extensive sheep-producing areas where there is a great excess of males and therefore probably a low marriage rate. Data for the two years 1940 and 1941 are presented here for all territories combined. The number of marriages are taken from the civil registers and the population estimates are those of the Dirección de Estadística de la Nación. The marriage rate for the territories is about 5.50. It is probably much higher than this in the northern

territories where the sexes are fairly evenly balanced and much lower in the southern territories where there is an exceedingly high male ratio in the population.¹⁹ In the United States the marriage rate in 1940 was 10.7 and the birth rate 17.9. In Argentina that same year the marriage rate was 7.3 and the birth rate 23.9.

The result of these facts can be seen by plotting the relation of low rates of marriage to high rates of illegitimacy for the 14 provinces and Federal Capital of Argentina. Low marriage rates are not only correlated inversely with illegitimacy rates but the illegitimacy rates are highest in those areas where the birth rate is highest. Thousands of illegitimate children are born to parents who constitute a stable biological and social union.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

The reader has become highly aware that few precise data are available on the composition and changes in Argentina's population. He should also be aware that it is possible, unless all estimates of the Dirección de Estadística de la Nación, A. E. Bunge, and others are wrong, to know much about the directions and to some extent the contents of changes which have taken place over the 75 years since the first national census of 1869. The major changes and chief directions of change have been: (1) A very rapid expansion of the population from 1869 to 1914, due primarily to a great tide of European immigration; (2) a decline in acceleration after 1914, due primarily to a decline in immigration but in later years due also to a relative decline in the birth rate; (3) every indication that the rate of natural increase will continue to decline, and thus the national population ultimately decline unless there is another substantial tide of immigration. Bunge estimates the nation will have 382,100 less population in 1968 than in 1958.²⁰ (4) As a result of the great number of Italians who have come to the country in the last 75 years, it is almost certain that the ethnic composition of the population is today more Italian than Spanish and that it is overwhelmingly southern European; (5) the sex composition of the population, probably more female than male 100 years ago, early

¹⁹ *El Movimiento Demográfico en los Territorios Nacionales de la República Argentina en los Años 1933-41*, Buenos Aires: Dirección General de Estadística, 1942, Informe No. 91, Series D, No. 9.

²⁰ Bunge, *Una Nueva Argentina*, p. 117.

in the epoch of immigration became predominantly male and has remained such ever since; (6) the age of the population is growing gradually older—in 1869 only 6.33 per cent of the population was over 50 years of age, in 1938, according to Bunge's estimates, 15.62 per cent was over 50 years of age;²¹ (7) the per cent of the country's population living in cities or in towns of as much as 1,000 inhabitants is steadily increasing and in 1938 was 74 per cent.

Many Argentines believe the national population should and will in due time be double its present amount. Argentina cannot, however, successfully absorb a much greater population than it now has unless it drastically changes its economic structure. There is no reason to believe that it will develop into a great industrial nation and thus be able to accommodate and economically support a greatly expanded urban population.²² The only way it could successfully accommodate a much greater farm population would be to change from the present exceedingly extensive system to a less extensive system of agriculture. It would appear, therefore, that its choice is between that of an imminent decline of population—within the next 25 years—or the gradual shift to a more intensive system of agriculture. Its urban population has thousands of government workers, domestic servants, taxi drivers, barbers, bootblacks, and other persons who serve the upper and middle class but do not contribute to basic economic enterprises. They have come from foreign countries and the rural areas of Argentina and constitute an altogether different occupational group than did those early immigrants who developed the cereal, sugar-cane, vineyard, fruit, and cotton belts of the nation. They account for a large percentage of those who have swelled the urban population of the nation and there is probably great error in the assumption that Argentina's urban growth is merely following the patterns of other great cities of the world, practically every one of which carries on giant processes of refining and distribution between a large domestic population and world markets.

It would be easy to conceive of Argentina adequately supporting a population of twenty million, the vast majority of whom could

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

²² There are those who sharply disagree with this viewpoint. See especially A. Dorfman, *El desarrollo industrial de America Latina*, Santa Fe, 1942; Felix J. Weil, *Argentine Riddle*, New York: The John Day Co., 1944, Chap. VI and Appendix C.

live on higher levels of consumption than at the present. This could be done if all those geographic areas adaptable to diversified farming were colonized by family-sized farms such as now prevail in the cereal belt and are developing in the cotton and fruit belts. Under such a system, even then, farm families would need to be highly self-sufficient, otherwise they would quickly overproduce their available markets. If relatively self-sufficient they could easily make a good living for themselves from the land, still supply adequate raw products for the domestic and foreign markets, and greatly expand the Argentine market for urban-made products. This, as was said above, could come only as a part of an entirely different economy and culture than now prevails.

CHAPTER IV

IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR INFLUENCE

THE ARRIVAL AND DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS

The Magnitude of Immigration. The people of no nation, unless it be those of the United States, are more thoroughly the offspring of European immigrants than Argentines, and most of Argentina's immigrants arrived more recently than those to the United States. The magnitude and influence of the foreign peoples who poured into Argentina after 1853 has been so great as literally to remake the ethnic composition of the country's population. Not more than 10 per cent of Argentines today could possibly trace their major lineage to ancestors who were living in Argentina before 1860.

Immediately following the declaration of independence in 1810 the leaders of the new nation began offering encouragement to immigrants. They issued many decrees to accomplish this purpose but with little result for well over a generation later. The Governing Commission (*Junta Gobernativa*) of 1810 guaranteed foreigners all the civil rights of nationals and these rights were confirmed by the federal constitution 43 years later. Juan B. Alberdi, sometimes called the father of the constitution, had written in 1852, "In America, to govern is to populate or people" the country.¹ This became the impulse and ideal of the nation for the next 80 years. The shibboleth is still very often quoted in Argentina.

The first serious attempt to encourage immigration was in the 1820's when Rivadavia was attempting to do everything possible to halt the development of monopoly in landholdings. Had he succeeded in his attempt Argentina would not only have begun her national expansion fully 30 years earlier than she did but might have developed a very different economy and culture than she now has. Relatively little of the lands had at that time been allowed to pass

¹ Juan B. Alberdi, *Bases*, Buenos Aires: Talleres Graficos Argentinos de L. J. Rosso, 1928, p. 89.

into the hands of large holders; livestock production was not yet especially profitable; and European peasants, as immigrants, would probably have developed a balanced agriculture. A series of powerful events turned the development in the opposite direction. Rivadavia had to rent, and even sell, some larger tracts of land to defray expenses of the war with Brazil. The government at Buenos Aires became more and more unsettled and quickly passed into the hands of Rosas who ruled as a dictator for 20 years. It was only after his overthrow and the establishment of a stable national government in 1853 that Rivadavia's dream of a great inflowing of European immigrants took place.²

No immigration records were kept until 1857, but because the first colony of European immigrants did not arrive until January 1856, recorded immigration data are fairly complete. They furnish proof of the statement that Argentina has been one of the population melting pots of the world for nearly a century. From the beginning of 1857 to the end of 1941, 6,611,027 second- and third-class immigrants entered the country. During that same period 3,138,075 emigrants left. Thus the residue of foreign born left in the nation's population was 3,472,952 during the 85-year period.

Because the movements of immigrants and emigrants into and out of Argentina was quite uneven over 85 years of recorded data it is possible to know something about the economic and political forces which attracted and repelled them. There have been three crests and three troughs of immigration, matched to some extent by trends in emigration. Drs. Luis A. Foulon and Alberto Arub have analyzed the relation of immigration to imports and thereby established the degree of correlation between the flow of immigrants and certain economic factors.³ Jefferson, in his *Peopling the Ar-*

² For anyone interested in the details of this early serious attempt to encourage immigration and develop colonies of small holders the following documents are cited: Juan A. Alsina, *La Inmigración en el Primer Siglo de la Independencia*, Buenos Aires: F. S. Alsina, 1910, Chap. I; and *La Inmigración Europea en la República Argentina*, Buenos Aires, 1898, Pt. 1; Alejo Peyret, *Una Visita á las Colonias de la Republica Argentina*, Buenos Aires: Tribuna nacional, 1889, Vol. I, Chaps. I-XVI; Jose A. Wilde, *Buenos Aires Desde 70 Años Atras*, Buenos Aires, 1880, p. 83; and especially for the struggle between Rivadavia and the "feudalists," see Jose Ingenieros, *La Evolución de las Ideas Argentinas*, Libro II, La Restauración, Buenos Aires: Talleres Graficos Argentinos de L. J. Rosso y cía., 1920.

³ L. A. Foulon, *Correlación entre la inmigración y la importación en la República Argentina*, Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1943, Tomo IV, Fascículo 4, Instituto de Economía y Legislación Rural.

TABLE XI
 Number and Per Cent Foreign Born
 per Province and Territory *

Provinces and territories	1895	1914	1938	1857-1941
	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Number</i>
Federal Capital	52.0	49.3	35.6	1,888,109
Buenos Aires	30.9	34.1	22.4	2,095,696
Santa Fe	41.9	35.1	20.7	950,005
Córdoba	10.1	20.5	14.5	573,837
Mendoza	13.7	31.8	21.7	222,131
Entre Ríos	21.9	17.0	7.3	193,042
La Pampa	17.5	36.5	—	112,299
Tucumán	4.9	9.8	7.0	107,099
Corrientes	9.2	7.0	3.6	68,755
Misiones	50.7	38.0	—	54,872
San Juan	6.3	13.8	8.8	52,888
Jujuy	9.7	22.3	18.5	44,294
Río Negro	17.6	34.4	—	36,361
Salta	3.8	8.4	6.4	32,394
Neuquén	62.1	46.1	—	29,750
Santiago del Estero	1.3	3.6	2.4	28,427
Chubut	41.2	45.9	—	27,766
Chaco	27.5	21.3	—	26,444
San Luis	2.6	8.6	6.4	23,800
Formosa	50.5	45.5	—	17,850
Santa Cruz	47.4	65.1	—	11,239
Catamarca	1.1	2.3	1.4	7,933
La Rioja	1.2	2.0	—	4,628
Tierra del Fuego	43.2	69.9	1.9	1,322
Los Andes	—	1.3	—	86
Total	25.4	29.9	—	6,611,027

* Argentine National Census, 1895 and 1914; data for 1938 are from Bunge's estimates from which he eliminated provinces and territories for which data in civil registers were poor, *Una Nueva Argentina*, p. 126. Data in the last column are for the whole 85-year period, 1857-1941, A. E. Bunge, "Ochenta y cinco años de inmigración," *Revista de Economía Argentina*, Tomo XLIII, No. 309 (March 1944), p. 65.

gentine Pampa, relates particular political currents which influenced both immigration and emigration.⁴ Both these sources and a number of others are used in formulating the generalizations which follow. For the most part, however, two articles written by Alejandro Bunge shortly before his death furnish the basis for what is said.⁵

The increase in the flow of immigrants was fairly consistent until about 1880 and then for nine years moved in leaps and bounds. President Sarmiento (1868-74) by his programs of internal improvement and education had created an inviting opportunity for newcomers. The termination of the long series of Indian Wars in 1878-79 had brought a period of peace to the country. President Julio A. Roca, whose administration began just before the end of 1879, vigorously fostered immigration. Agents in foreign countries were paid for securing immigrants, contracts were negotiated with companies, some of them foreign, to develop immigrant colonies, and the federal government, in some cases provincial governments, established programs of assistance for new settlers. None of these things, however, would have been sufficient to increase the number of immigrants from 26,000 in 1880 to almost 219,000 in 1889 had not real economic opportunity been developing along with these other forces. It was during this period that the great Argentine cereal belt was developed by home-seeking colonists. One index to this was the great number of new colonies, which were established during this decade;⁶ another was the exports of wheat, which increased from 157 tons in 1881 to 108,499 tons in 1884. This decade of national economic development was a mutual function of government encouragement and the work of the immigrants themselves.

The decline in immigration and the increase in emigration were precipitated in 1889, and two years later the number of emigrants was more than two and one-half times that of immigrants. In the six years, 1890-95, inclusive, the number of immigrants was less than 50 per cent larger than it had been for the single year 1889. The number of emigrants per year was far greater than for the previous ten years. Political events played a large part in this episode. There

⁴ Mark Jefferson, *Peopling the Argentine Pampa*, Worcester, Massachusetts: American Geographical Society Research Series No. 16, 1926, Chaps. II and VIII.

⁵ Bunge, "Ochenta y cinco," *Revista de Economía Argentina*, Tomo XLIII, No. 308 (February 1944), pp. 31-36, and No. 309 (March 1944), pp. 61-65. See also all of Alsina's works.

⁶ See Chapter VII.

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was a political revolution and the president was deposed. A financial panic resulted from the political disturbance and these two facts served to stop the great inflow of people who were seeking peace and

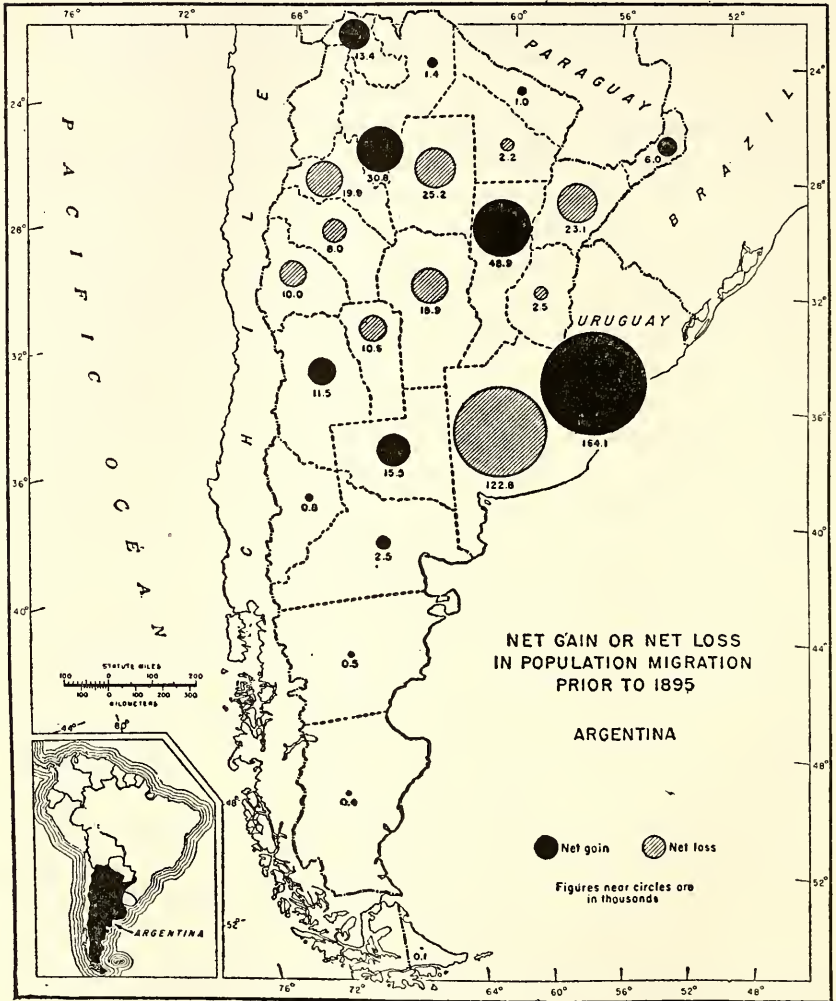


FIGURE 14

security, not revolution and insecurity. It was not until after 1903, when Roca was again elected president, that the tide of immigrants developed to any great magnitude.⁷

⁷ See Ezequiel Ramos Mexia, *La Colonización Oficial y la Distribución de las Tierras Públicas*, Buenos Aires: Ferrari hnos., 1921; and Jefferson, *Peopling the Argentine Pampa*, Chap. II, for relation of President Roca to immigration policy.

From 1904 until the outbreak of World War I, from 125,000 to more than 300,000 immigrants poured into the country each year. The year 1912 was the high tide for the whole 85 years of recorded immigration history. It was during this period that seasonal laborers moved back and forth between the harvests of southern Europe and Argentina. Emigration was, therefore, also high. But out of the flux there were thousands who after a season or two as migrant harvest laborers chose Argentina as a place of permanent residence. The cereal belt was still developing and now included not only wheat but corn and flax. The program of planned colonization was no longer being vigorously promoted but *estancias* were converting their type of production from livestock to crops and dividing large holdings into smaller tenant-operated farms which were still attractive to immigrants and their sons.⁸

The sharp decline in immigration during the period of World War I needs no explanation. It is interesting, however, to note that of the great number of emigrants who left from 1914-19 more than 60 per cent left during the first two years of the war. Those who stayed did so not because they had become naturalized Argentine citizens, for very few of them had, or because they were not subject to military draft by their mother countries. It apparently was due to the fact that they had decided to become permanent residents in Argentina.

The third and last high tide of immigration began in 1920 and lasted into 1930. In 1930 there was another national political revolution and the new government established sharp restrictions on immigration. Argentina also shared in world-wide depression in the early 1930's. These two episodes, one political, the other economic, caused the flow of new settlers into the country to slacken perceptibly in 1931 and 1932. It has never been great since. During the 1920's many Europeans were seeking escape from devastated homelands. Argentina not only had an open-door immigration policy but was offering colonization opportunities in the northern territories of Chaco and Misiones. It was during this period that the present cotton belt was developed in Chaco and this development offered immigrant settlers something approaching the type of opportunities that had been available to earlier settlers in the wheat and corn belts.

⁸ See Thomas J. Hutchinson, *Buenos Ayres and Argentine Gleanings*, London: Edward Stanford, 1865, Chaps. XXVIII-XXIX.

A good many northern and southeastern Europeans went to this area. At the same time German and Polish colonies were established in Misiones.

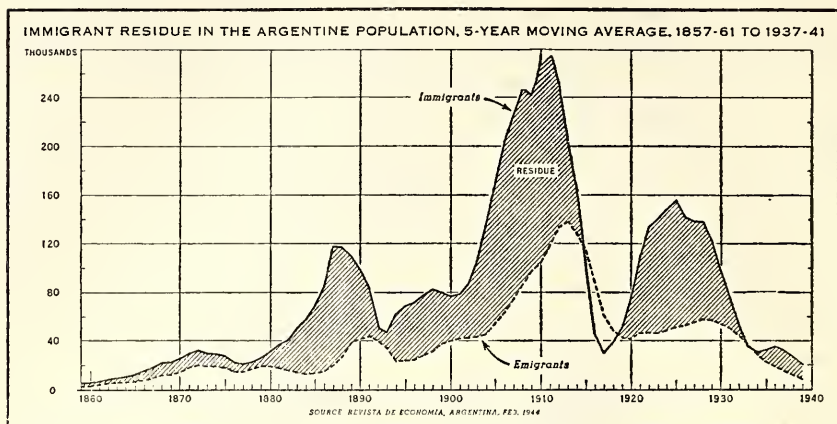


FIGURE 15

The Distribution of Immigrants Throughout the Nation. There are some areas of Argentina whose populations have been built up almost altogether out of Europeans. There are other areas which have received practically no foreign immigrants and still others whose immigrants have come from adjoining South American countries rather than Europe. The earlier great numbers of immigrants came to avail themselves of agricultural opportunities. These opportunities were in the coastal rather than the interior provinces. Great numbers have gone into cities and these, too, with the exception of Mendoza and Tucumán, are in the coastal provinces. The result is, immigration has contributed very unequally to the different geographic areas of the nation.

The periods in which the different areas received their greatest number of immigrants have also varied. Because no complete records of the movements of immigrants within the country have been kept the best measure of their distribution is to be had from the population censuses of 1895 and 1914. In 1895, when only 25.4 per cent of the nation's population was foreign born, there were 7 provinces or territories and the Federal Capital whose populations were more than 40 per cent foreign born. There were 9 other provinces or territories whose populations were less than 10 per cent foreign born. It is only by a knowledge of some of the areas with great im-

migrant populations at that time that one is able to realize how inadequately informed some new settlers must have been about the potential economic capacity of these areas. In Neuquén, for instance, 61.1 per cent and in Formosa 50.5 per cent of the population were foreign born. Neither was then, nor is now, an area of rich natural agricultural resources.

TABLE XII
Geographic Distribution of Immigrants

Provinces and territories	Number of immigrants, 1857-1941 *	Ratio of immigrants, 1857-1941, to population, 12/31/41
Federal Capital	1,888,109	78.4
Buenos Aires	2,095,696	58.8
Santa Fe	950,005	60.2
Córdoba	573,837	43.6
Mendoza	222,131	41.7
Entre Ríos	193,042	25.2
La Pampa	112,299	61.1
Tucumán	107,099	19.0
Corrientes	68,755	12.8
Misiones	54,872	24.8
San Juan	52,888	23.3
Jujuy	44,294	37.4
Río Negro	36,361	31.9
Salta	32,394	14.5
Neuquén	29,750	41.4
Santiago del Estero	28,427	5.6
Chubut	27,766	32.3
Chaco	26,444	9.7
San Luis	23,800	11.7
Formosa	17,850	20.7
Santa Cruz	11,239	55.4
Catamarca	7,933	5.1
La Rioja	4,628	4.1
Tierra del Fuego	1,322	84.7
Los Andes	86	1.1
Total	6,611,027	

* Bunge, "Ochenta y cinco," *Revista de Economía Argentina*, Tomo XLIII, No. 309 (March 1944), p. 65.

As time passed and still greater numbers of immigrants poured into the country they tended to filter with greater surety into those areas with high potential economic capacities. In due time, however, the margins of immediate economic opportunity in the best farming areas were reached and immigrants trended into other areas, not however into some of the sterile areas where earlier comers settled. By 1914 Patagonia had recruited a higher per cent of its population from immigration than any other area but the cereal belt had received far greater numbers than any and all other areas combined. Since 1914 the northern territories of Chaco and Misiones have been the chief agricultural areas of immigrant settlement and an ever increasing number have gone into cities.

COMPOSITION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMIGRANTS

Ethnic Composition. Italians and Spaniards composed more than 75 per cent of foreigners who came to Argentina from 1857 to 1941, and Italians exceeded Spaniards by approximately 888,000. French were third, Poles fourth, and Russians fifth. Three other nationalities each contributed more than 100,000—Turks (and other Ottomans), Germans, and Austro-Hungarians. These eight nationality groups furnished 92 per cent of all immigrants.⁹

The periods at which the various nationality groups came in greatest numbers dictated, to a considerable extent, the areas to which each contributed most and the extent of their influence on the culture of Argentine society. Apparently the earliest small stream of immigration, that which got started under the Rivadavia program in the 1820's, was composed chiefly of Englishmen, Frenchmen, and a few Germans. Those who came a little later, when the meat-and hide-salting industry was booming, were mostly Irishmen.¹⁰ Since then Italians have always ranked first and Spaniards second. Until 1890 the French ranked third, followed, in order, by the British, Swiss, Austro-Hungarians, and Germans. These were the groups who helped develop the cattle, cereal, vineyard, sugar-cane, and sheep belts. From 1890 to 1920 the Italians and Spanish were followed, in order, by Russians, Austro-Hungarians, Germans, and

⁹ Bunge, "Ochenta y cinco," *Revista de Economía Argentina*, Tomo XLIII, No. 309 (March 1944), p. 61.

¹⁰ Beaumont, *Travels in Buenos Ayres*, pp. 100-120; Wilde, *Buenos Aires Desde 70 Años Atras*, p. 83.

British. During this period the old established belts were intensified, their geographic margins settled, and some settlement was started in the cotton belt. Shortly following World War I the Poles began arriving in great numbers and they, with other north and south-eastern Europeans, have ever since constituted a large per cent of all immigrants. They have settled chiefly in the cotton belt of Chaco and the mixed-farming areas of Misiones.

TABLE XIII

Nationality of Immigrants and Residue of Each
Nationality Remaining in the Country, 1857-1940 *
(Second and third class from overseas)

Nationalities	Immigrants	Emigrants	Residues
Italians	2,967,988	1,493,181	1,474,807
Spanish	2,080,011	934,247	1,145,764
Poles	180,348	22,313	158,035
Ottomans	173,779	65,402	108,377
French	239,251	134,147	105,104
Russians	177,285	73,267	104,018
Austro-Hungarians	111,487	47,435	64,052
Germans	152,437	90,984	61,453
Yugoslavians	48,009	13,867	34,142
Portuguese	64,599	30,638	33,961
Swiss	43,870	18,920	24,950
Belgians	25,636	8,471	17,165
British	74,788	58,847	15,941
Danes	17,690	7,646	10,044
Dutch	10,222	5,755	4,467
Swedes	6,591	2,210	4,381
United States	11,978	9,259	2,719
Others	222,761	119,552	103,209
Total	<u>6,608,730</u>	3,136,141	3,472,589

* *Resumen Estadístico del Movimiento Migratorio en la República Argentina, Años 1857-1924*, Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos del Ministerio de Agricultura de la Nación, 1925, Circ. No. 439, pp. 4-5. For the period 1924-40 the data were taken from the records of the Dirección General de Inmigración.

A considerably higher per cent of some nationality groups than others have tended to remain in the country. The residue—immigrants minus emigrants—has been only slightly over 52.5 per cent

over the 85-year period. The Spanish residue has been slightly over 55 per cent and the Italian slightly less than 50 per cent. The Polish residue has been almost 88 per cent and the British only slightly over 21 per cent; the French has been slightly less than 44 per cent and the German slightly more than 40 per cent. Other residues have been: Yugoslavians, 71 per cent; Swedes, 66 per cent; Ottomans, 62 per cent; Belgians, 67 per cent; Russians, 59 per cent; Austro-Hungarians, 57 per cent; Danes, 57 per cent; Swiss, 57 per cent; Portuguese, 53 per cent; Dutch, 44 per cent; United States, 23 per cent.

Sex. Although males have constituted 70 per cent of all immigrants during the 85-year period, their percentage has declined almost steadily over the whole period, starting with 80.5 per cent, 1857-60, and falling to 54.3 per cent, 1931-40. It was highest in those periods when immigration was greatest and lowest when immigration numbers slumped over a considerable period of time. From 1857 to 1924 there were 3,190 males for each 1,000 female immigrants. That this inpouring of males did not throw the sex ratio of the population out of balance more than it did was due to the fact that a larger number of females than males remained as permanent residents and that there was a larger number of females than males in the resident

TABLE XIV
Number of Males per 1,000 Female Immigrants,
per Decade *

1857-60—4,131	1891-1900—2,398
1861-70—3,246	1901-1910—2,653
1871-80—2,373	1911-1920—2,318
1881-90—2,277	1937-1941—1,626

* Various *Memoria de Dirección General de Inmigración*.

population. Furthermore, immigrants coming during any given period never constituted more than a small per cent of the total population into which they were being absorbed. As is always the case with immigrants the majority of the women were in the child-bearing ages and the contribution of their own numbers was quickly exceeded by the contribution of the number of their children which naturally contained almost as many females as males. Nevertheless, immigration was and still is the cause of a pronounced imbalance in favor of males in the nation's population.

It is this shift in sex ratios, through time and by areas, which makes important what analysis is possible of the available data. The analysis starts with the assumption that the populations of such provinces as La Rioja and Catamarca in 1869 were probably similar to most of the geographic area of the nation in the preimmigration period. There were 911 males per 1,000 females in the population of these two provinces in 1869 and there is a probability that the imbalance in favor of females was this great for all the country around 1810, except possibly Buenos Aires. In 1869 it had changed to an imbalance in favor of males—1,061 males per 1,000 females. It is interesting to follow the course of this imbalance in favor of males during the next 55 years, for which there are recorded data. (See Figures 9, 10, and 11, pp. 72, 73, and 74.)

TABLE XV

Males per 1,000 Females for Provinces with High
Male Ratios, Chiefly due to Immigration *

Provinces	1869	1895	1914	Other
Federal Capital	1,243	1,062	1,172	993 (1936) †
Buenos Aires	1,256	1,288	1,251	
Santa Fe	1,245	1,302	1,277	
Entre Ríos	1,140	1,076	1,033	
Córdoba	914	991	1,116	
Tucumán	960	1,099	1,105	
Mendoza	975	1,025	1,146	1,071 (1938) †

* Argentine National Censuses, 1869, 1895, and 1914.

† Bunge's estimates, *Una Nueva Argentina*, pp. 131 and 141.

The explanations of the facts contained in Table XV are: (1) Almost all early immigrants settled in the Provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, and Entre Ríos where and when the grain belt was being developed; (2) they pushed on into Córdoba with the great expansion of wheat and flowed into Tucumán and Mendoza with the rapid development of sugar cane in the one and grapes in the other of these areas after 1880; (3) the declines of male ratios in later years were due to the slackening of immigration.

Age. Each succeeding census report, 1869, 1895, and 1914, reflected a greater influence of immigrants on the age composition of the nation. Immigrants were overwhelmingly in the middle-age groups. If and when they came in family groups they contributed

approximately a full quota of children but never a full quota of old people. During the 14-year period, 1857-70, the early years of immigration, more than 87.8 per cent of all immigrants were in the age groups between 15 and 50. These age groups remained constantly above 80 per cent for 80 years and during that whole period tended to skew the age distribution of the nation's population. Immigrants who were in the 20- to 40-year age groups in 1869 and who were still living had naturally moved into the 45- to 65-year age groups in 1895 and into the 65- to 85-year age groups in 1914. They thus served to increase the percentage of old people in the population in these later years. Their children naturally took their places in the lower and ascending age groups but gradually the birth rates declined and the percentage of old people increased at the same time that the percentage of young people decreased. This resulted in what Bunge calls a coffin-shaped age pyramid—"A symbol of decadent population."¹¹ One need not share his pessimism to recognize the phenomena he describes. (Figures 9, 10, and 11 present the change in the nation's age composition between 1869 and 1938, pp. 72, 73, and 74.)

Figures 9 and 10 (pp. 72 and 73) show clearly the march of the immigrant population up the contours of the age pyramids. Of the few thousand immigrants who had come to and remained in the country before 1869 a relatively small number was children and old people. They, therefore, cause the 1869 age pyramid to bulge noticeably in the 15- to 55-year segment and to bulge to the left—the male side. In 1895 this same section of the pyramid bulges still more because many new immigrants in the middle-age groups had entered during the 26-year period. All those who had been as much as 30 years of age in 1869 had now passed into age groups above 55 and they, together with a percentage of more recent immigrants, served to carry the bulge up the pyramid. Because of exceedingly heavy immigration just preceding the last national census, the 1914 pyramid bulges more in the middle-age group sections than either of the other two pyramids, shows a smaller per cent of the population in the younger age group and a much higher per cent in the age groups over 50.

A comparison of the age pyramids of the native and foreign-born populations of Argentina in 1914 reveals more clearly than anything else the extent to which immigration had molded the age contours

¹¹ Bunge, *Una Nueva Argentina*, Chap. IV.

of the nation's population. Whereas 50.7 per cent of the native born were under 15 years of age only 9.7 per cent of the foreign born were that young, and in every age group above 20 years, except

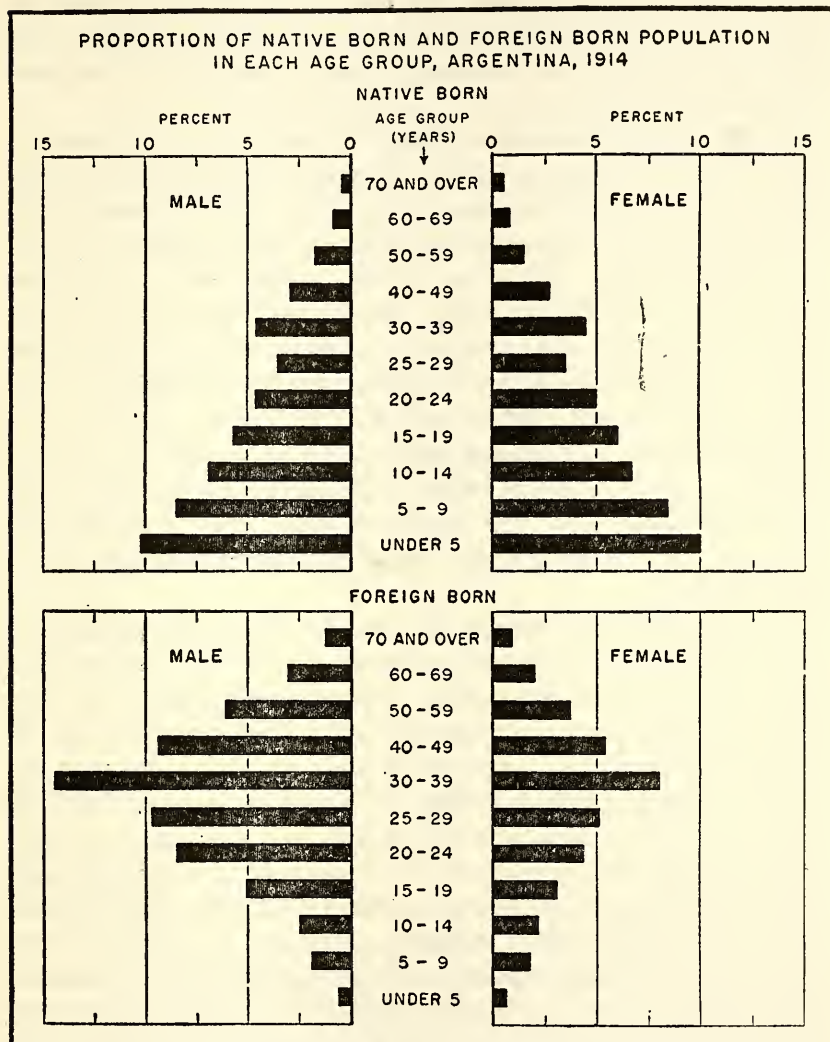


FIGURE 16

those over 90 years of age, the percentages were higher among the foreign born than the native born. The greatest contrast was in the age groups 30 to 54 in which appeared 43.2 per cent of the foreign born and only 16.7 per cent of the native born. There were, in

absolute numbers, 90,992 more foreign born than native born in this age group of the nation in 1914. Even more startling is the fact that in the 30- to 35-year age group appeared almost 12.6 per cent of all foreign born, whereas only 4.9 per cent of the native born were in this most productive and virile age group. Gradually the mechanization of wheat harvesting tended to diminish the migration of these "swallows."

Occupational Composition. The phenomenon of immigration is a corollary of the function which thousands of immigrants served in the country's economy for many years. Many of them came to assist with the harvests, left the country after the harvests, but always returned the next year. They were called "*golondrinas*," or swallows, because they migrated annually. The harvest season in Argentina comes during the winter months in southern Europe and migrant laborers could, therefore, find employment in the Argentine wheat fields during the slack labor seasons in their own countries. The monthly tide of immigration began rising in September, with the planting season, reached its height in December, and fell to low tide by the following July. The emigrants began moving out in great numbers in March and the high tide of outflow continued for about four months.¹²

It is impossible to segregate the number who were coming as a part of the regular stream of immigrants from those who came for only planting and harvest seasons. As has been noted, the number of emigrants was equal to 47.5 per cent of the immigrants for the 85-year period, 1857-1941, and persons were entering and leaving the country in great numbers during all months of the year. Exits for the four months of April, May, June, and July were equal to 82 per cent of entries over the 68-year period, 1857-1924. They were only 19 per cent of the entries for the four months of September, October, November, and December. Stated more simply, for every 100 persons entering the country over the 68-year period, slightly more than 47 later left; only 9 of them left during the four heavy planting and harvest months; and 38 of them left during the four months following harvest. They came in greatest numbers in December and left in greatest numbers in April.¹³ Also, there was an increasing accumulation of *peon* population in the country which offered effective competition for the seasonal migrants. Many, however, who came into the country as a part of this unique flow of immigrants

¹² *Resumen*, p. 52.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-31 and 52.

finally remained as a permanent part of the nation's population.

The chief purpose of the federal government in promoting immigration was the recruitment of farm laborers and agricultural colonists¹⁴ but there were no restrictions on entering nonagricultural immigrants. In recent years the proportion of all immigrants who represent other occupations and professions has increased. The 1936 Census of the City of Buenos Aires showed approximately 37 per cent foreign born.¹⁵ Foreign born at that time constituted approximately only 20 per cent in the nation as a whole. Table XVI presents data on the number and changes in rank of occupations represented among second- and third-class-passenger immigrants.

TABLE XVI
Occupational Classification of Immigrants, Per Cent
Foreign Born, 1857-1941 *

	1857-70	1871-90	1891-1910	1911-24	1857-1941 †
Agriculturists	48.4	49.6	35.2	19.7	32.9
Day laborers	9.8	9.2	19.2	26.8	17.4
General and personal service	0.3	1.5	6.6	5.3	4.3
Merchants	0.5	2.0	3.3	4.7	3.6
Seamstresses, weavers, and milliners	—	0.1	2.3	1.9	1.4
Masons (brick and stone)	1.5	1.5	1.2	1.5	1.4
Carpenters and cabinet-makers	0.3	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.2
Seamen	0.1	0.6	0.9	0.9	0.9
Shoemakers	0.2	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8
Tailors	0.2	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.7
Mechanics and blacksmiths	0.1	0.3	0.4	1.0	1.2
Minor occupations	2.1	0.5	1.4	1.1	6.4
Without profession or occupation	36.5	32.2	26.9	34.4	27.8

* *Resumen*, pp. 21-23. The fact that first-class passengers are not reported serves to magnify the percentage of agriculturists, day laborers, and white-collar workers. From the few data available on first-class passengers it is evident that merchants and representatives of the so-called higher professions constitute the bulk of these immigrants.

† Table from Bunge, "Ochenta y cinco," *Revista de Economía Argentina*, Tomo XLIII, No. 309 (March 1944), p. 64. No distributed data from 1857-1941 available to author.

¹⁴ See Chapter VII on colonization.

¹⁵ *Cuarto Censo General, Municipalidad de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires*, Buenos Aires, 1936, Tomo I, p. 227.

Some significant generalizations can be formulated from the data in Table XVI: (1) Agriculturists have constituted a steadily diminishing per cent of all immigrants; day laborers, merchants, and mechanics have constituted steadily increasing percentages; (2) those in some other occupations—general and personal services, seamstresses, masons, carpenters, etc.—have tended to increase but not consistently; (3) a larger per cent without occupation came during the periods of high immigration tides; (4) if first-class immigrants were included in these data the so-called white-collar professions would undoubtedly show considerably higher percentages than are recorded in the table.

CHAPTER V

ARGENTINE FARMERS AND FARM PEOPLE

HOW MANY AND WHO ARE THE ARGENTINE FARMERS

How Many Farm People. No one knows how many people live on the land in Argentina. The Director General of Statistics in his annual estimate of the nation's population does not attempt to separate rural from urban and the 1937 Agricultural Census does not present data on the farm population as such. This census lists all farms and all farm entrepreneurs (*productores*) but many of these entrepreneurs live in cities. Furthermore, there are many people engaged in agriculture, permanent or seasonal hired men and their families, who are not listed among the producers or as members of producers' families, and there are persons who live in rural areas but do not participate in the farm enterprise. How many of the transient hired men work part time in the city and part time in the country is not known. There are not many nonfarm people in rural areas, but their number is unknown. Garcia Mata has attempted to estimate the number of people who live in towns of not more than 1,000 population, but he does not claim to know how many people live on the land who do not engage in agriculture.¹

Argentina is thought of as a predominantly agricultural nation but is unique because of the great number of people who live in its cities. It is, therefore, of some importance to know just how many and what percentage of its total population do live on the land and are financially and occupationally interested solely or primarily in agriculture. When all persons who depend on agriculture as their primary source of income are counted as farmers they represent all levels of Argentine society from the rich and most cultured—the *estancieros*—at the top to the most poverty-stricken, culturally out-cast—the transient *peones*—at the bottom. Some Argentine farmers

¹ Unpublished manuscript furnished the author by Bunge's Research Institute; some of the same data used in Bunge's *Una Nueva Argentina*, Chap. VII.

are holders of great tracts of some of the richest land in the world. Far more of them are owners of small farms. Still more are tenants.

The 1937 Agricultural Census lists 440,167 noninstitutional farm entrepreneurs. It classifies 306,670 of these producers as married. It is, therefore, clear that this group, producers together with their husbands and wives, constitutes 746,837 persons.² Not all of these people, however, live on the land because there is among them an unknown number of city-dwelling people who are farm entrepreneurs.

In another table is reported the number of children of producers and the number of other members of producers' families. This list includes only those 361,631 farmers who have families. The number of children born to these families is reported as 1,599,080 and the number of "other members of producers' families" as 190,082. All children born to these producers cannot, however, be added to the 746,837 producers and their wives, listed above, because many of them are now grown and are themselves producers or may not even be living on farms.³

Still another table which lists the composition of producers' families—men, women, and children—excludes all producers who have no members of the families working on the farms. In this table are listed 305,344 producers. The same table lists the number of hired men employed by producers of which there are 286,468 year-round employees and 520,619 transient or seasonal employees.⁴ The number of farms employing full-time hired men is recorded as 88,231 and the number employing seasonal workers is listed as 85,200. Since many farms are included in both lists there is reason to believe there is considerable underenumeration of employed laborers. At no place in the census are the other members of farm laborers' families reported.

In Table XVII the reader should now be able to follow, with some understanding, the basis of the estimates of the farm population as gleaned from the 1937 Census of Agriculture and also know something about the precariousness of these estimates.

² *Censo Nacional Agropecuario, Economía Rural, Año 1937* (1937 Agricultural Census), Buenos Aires: Guillermo Kraft Ltda., 1940 (Parte II), p. 114.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

TABLE XVII

Persons Living and Working on Argentine Farms, 1937

Total number of noninstitutional entrepreneurs		440,167
The spouses—husbands or wives—of these entrepreneurs		306,670
The children of farm entrepreneurs		1,599,080 *
Other members of these same producers' families who were living on the farm		190,082 †
Permanent laborers		286,468
Transient laborers	520,619	260,309 ‡
	2	
Total		3,082,776 §

* This figure includes all of the children born to all of the farmers who declared they had families. It can be taken for granted that some of these children are themselves included among farm entrepreneurs and others are not living on the farm at all.

† It is believed that there is no duplication between "other members of the family" and line 2 above because it is probable that any unmarried spouses in the homes were either included in line 2 above or were reported as having other civil status than "single, married, or widowed."

‡ There is no way of knowing how accurate this figure may be. It is based upon the assumption that every transient farm laborer was reported on an average of twice.

§ There is considerable probability that this is a relatively conservative estimate. Those things which might tend to make it too high are (a) the almost certain duplication between "children of producers" and "producers" themselves, and (b) the possibility that seasonal laborers are reported on the average of more than twice. There is, however, one compensating factor which probably more than offsets both of those just listed, namely, the other members of laborers' families who so far as is known are not reported anywhere in the census.

This estimate of farm population is higher than that of Alejandro Bunge who has worked on this same problem. Bunge in his constant attempt to fill gaps due to inadequate census data made some estimates of the percentage of the nation's total population which lived in urban centers of 1,000 or more inhabitants at different periods in the past. His estimate for 1938 for both farm and small-town populations was 3,320,000. This is only slightly greater than is estimated here for the farm population alone. Professor L. R. Canepa's estimates of the percentage of all employed who were engaged in agriculture were so much higher than Bunge's that had he made an estimate of farm population from these same data it would have been

of a much larger rural population than we have here estimated. He estimated that 40 per cent of all gainfully employed on January 1, 1941, were engaged in agriculture. He did not estimate the total farm population but had he done so he would certainly have had to reach a minimum figure of four million.⁵

Distribution of Population—Farm and Other. When an attempt is made to analyze the distribution of the total population of the country among population centers of different sizes it is necessary to use Bunge's various bodies of estimates. Table XVIII presents data from the three federal census reports and from Bunge's estimates for 1938.

While the data in Table XVIII show a steady increase in the absolute numbers of rural population and a steady decline in its percentage of the total, Bunge believes that the rural population of the nation reached its greatest numbers in 1930, when it was 3,580,000. If this were true, then the absolute loss during the next eight years was 260,000. There was relatively little agricultural prosperity among the masses of rural people during this period. The livestock producers have experienced considerable prosperity since 1938 but this has not extended to the cereal producers where farm population is more dense.

More startling than the decrease in rural population since 1930 was the relatively small increase in total rural population between 1914 and 1938, a gross total of only 8,000, or 0.24 per cent. During this same 24 years the urban population increased 4,867,000 or 106.4 per cent. The cities had apparently not only received most of the immigrants but a large portion of the rural natural increase during the period.

Contrary to the general opinion the greatest increase in urban population during the period was not in the capital city of Buenos Aires, where it was only 56.6 per cent. It was 129.8 per cent for nine other large cities combined and 133.9 per cent in the smaller cities and towns. By and large the smaller the class of town, the higher was the percentage of increase.

Carlos Garcia Mata attempted to estimate the population of even smaller towns and calculated there were 863,400 persons living in towns with populations between 1,000 and 2,000 and 724,500 in towns of less than 1,000 inhabitants. These two groups constituted

⁵ Luis Rodolfo Canepa, *Economia Agraria Argentina*, Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1942, Chap. II.

TABLE XVIII

Distribution of Population of Argentina Between Places of Various Sizes and for Various Periods *

Class	1869		1895		1914		1938	
	Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total
Total population	1,737,000	100.0	3,955,000	100.0	7,885,000	100.0	12,760,000	100.0
Rural	1,164,000	67.0	2,294,000	58.0	3,312,000	42.0	3,320,000	26.0
Urban	573,000	33.0	1,661,000	42.0	4,573,000	58.0	9,440,000	74.0
Buenos Aires	187,346	10.8	663,854	16.8	1,575,814	20.0	2,468,000	19.3
Nine other large cities	104,724	6.0	313,288	7.9	903,762	11.5	2,077,000	16.3
Other urban	280,930	16.2	683,858	17.3	2,093,424	26.5	4,895,000	38.4

* Argentine National Censuses of 1869, 1895, and 1914; Bunge, *Una Nueva Argentina*, p. 158.

44 per cent of all population in towns with less than 10,000 population.⁶

TABLE XIX
Distribution of Urban Population Among Small
Cities and Towns, 1938

Size of towns	Population	Per cent of total national population	Per cent of total urban population	Per cent of total small-city and town population
Total urban population in all except 10 large cities	4,895,000	38.4	51.8	100.0
50,000 and over (except 10 largest)	190,000	1.5	2.0	3.9
25,000 to 50,000	636,000	5.0	6.7	13.0
10,000 to 25,000	1,188,000	9.3	12.6	24.3
1,000 to 10,000	2,881,000	22.6	30.5	58.8

There are areas of the country where the small-town population constitutes a very large per cent of the whole urban population and a relatively high per cent of the total population. In the nation as a whole the small-town population is about 14 per cent of the total, but in the provinces or territories of La Pampa, La Rioja, Catamarca, San Luis, Jujuy, and Salta combined it constitutes approximately 25 per cent of the total population and fully 50 per cent of the total urban population. In the Patagonia territories there are 142 towns with less than 1,000 population and 42 with between 1,000 and 2,000 inhabitants.⁷ Even in the four fairly heavily populated Provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, Entre Ríos, and Córdoba there are 1,173 of these small towns; there are almost 2,000 of them in the nation. The significance and importance of both their functions and their populations are lost sight of when they are included as part of the urban rather than the rural population.

Kinds of Farmers. Classified in terms of the type of farms they operate, Argentine farmers range all the way from great ranchers to part-time city dwellers and from extensive wheat growers to small vegetable gardeners. The 1937 Agricultural Census classifies

⁶ Unpublished study of Carlos Garcia Mata, at the time a member of Bunge's staff.

⁷ *Ibid.*

the 452,007 farms of the nation into 19 categories, one of which is miscellaneous and includes 44,357 farms. Of the other 407,650, more than 99 per cent are in 12 major types. These in turn can be placed in three groups—crops, livestock, and horticulture. It is, however, the subclasses of these three major groups which furnish the chief understanding of the work and life of farm people.

TABLE XX

Types of Farms and Farmers

<i>Crops</i>	
<i>Chacra</i> (diversified family farms)	208,883
<i>Mixta</i> (commercialized mixed cereals, or cereals and other products)	70,837
<i>Granja</i> (small diversified farms, generally with some processing)	727
Total	<u>280,447</u>
<i>Livestock</i>	
<i>Cría de ganado</i> (breeding and rearing)	58,846
<i>Invernada</i> (feeding or fattening)	2,034
<i>Tambo</i> (dairying)	12,177
<i>Con ganadería</i> (livestock but not specialized)	19,025
Total	<u>92,082</u>
<i>Horticulture</i>	
<i>Viñedo</i> (grapes)	10,909
<i>Monte frutal</i> (fruit)	7,157
<i>Yerbal</i> (yerba mate)	1,799
<i>Huerta</i> (primarily vegetables)	3,491
<i>Quinta</i> (chiefly fruit, vegetable, poultry, etc.)	8,098
Total	<u>31,454</u>
Grand total in these 12 types	<u>403,983</u>

One would have to classify each type of farm into its various sizes to have something approaching a valid estimate of the extent to which farming in Argentina is of a family type. This is not feasible but it can be said that practically all *chacras* and *granjas*, and the majority of *mixtas*, *viñedos*, *monte frutals*, *huertas*, and *quintas* are operated chiefly by family labor. Probably a good many *con ganadería* are also. Only large cattle and sheep farms, some vineyard, sugar-cane, yerba-mate, and dairy farms are of the plantation type. Because the owners and operators of these large places are important

persons, the more important fact that fully 75 per cent of all farms are primarily family operated is quite generally overlooked. They and their families, however, constitute most of the farm population of the nation and it is about them that most of what is said in this book is concerned.

Ethnic Composition of the Farm Population. From what has already been said it is evident that the farm population of Argentina was built up largely by immigration. It is interesting, therefore, to know whether a higher or lower per cent of farmers than others are foreign born, in which agricultural belts foreign-born farmers predominate, and which nationality groups are most prevalent in various areas. Again data are available for only farm entrepreneurs. Of these, in 1937, the per cent of foreign born (36.2) was slightly smaller than that of the total population of the nation (37.6). There were, however, and are, some local rural areas in which well over 80 per cent of all farmers are foreign born. There are other areas which have practically no foreign-born farmers. In the provinces and territories as wholes the range is from 70.8 per cent in Santa Cruz, chiefly Spanish and Chilean, to 1.9 per cent in Catamarca. There were, in 1937, more than 160,000 foreign-born farmers in the nation, less than 4,000 of them naturalized. Figure 17 presents a graphic picture of the areas of heaviest concentration of various nationality groups.

Figure 17 indicates all counties in the nation—139 of the 420—in which 50 or more per cent of the farm entrepreneurs are foreign born. In 94 of these counties some one nationality constituted 50 or more per cent of all foreign-born farmers. In 43 others not more than two nationality groups constituted the majority of the foreign born. In all the remainder three or more, and in some cases ten or more, nationalities constitute the foreign born. There are eight nationality groups, each of which constitutes the majority of foreign-born farmers in one or more counties—Italians, Spaniards, Russians, Poles, and Germans among the Europeans, and Chileans, Paraguayans, and Brazilians among other South Americans. In 21 counties one foreign nationality group constituted more than 50 per cent of all farmers, foreign and native born.⁸

⁸ For the nation as a whole the census reports 2 per cent for which "nationality is not specified." In La Rioja the per cent not specified is 16.5 per cent and in Catamarca 12.9 per cent. It is fortunate that these are not provinces with heavy foreign-

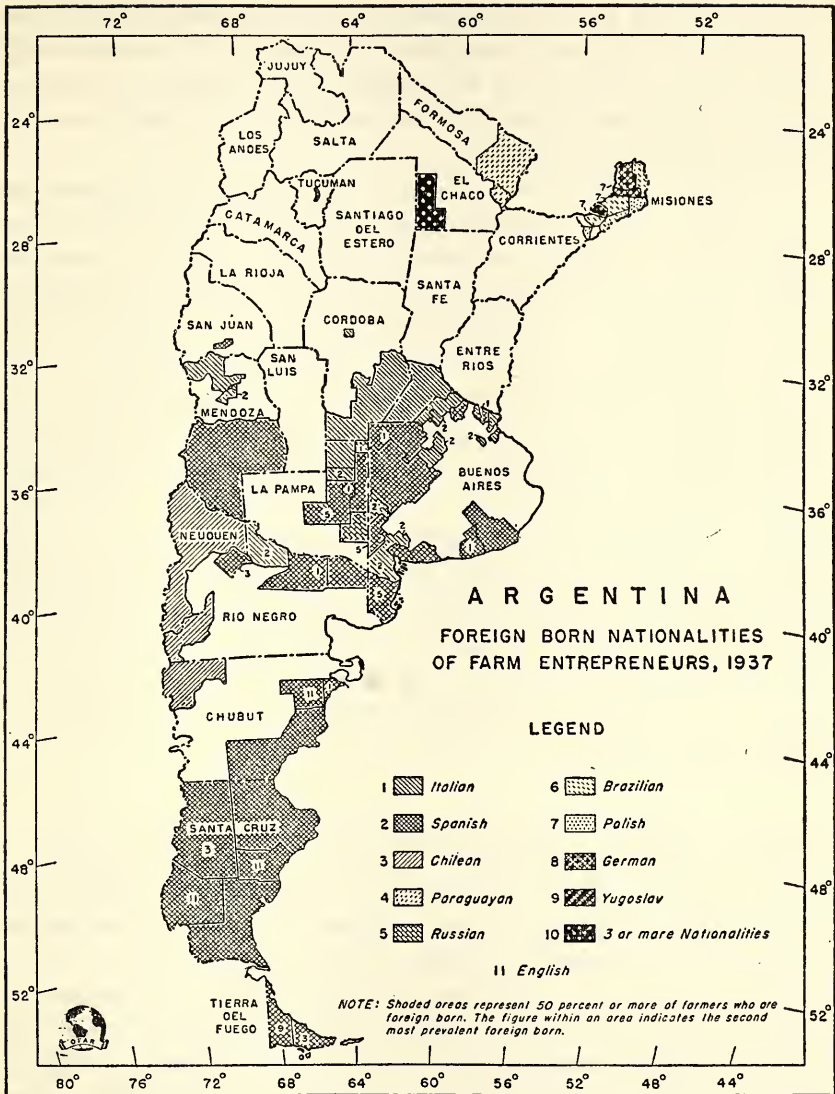


FIGURE 17

Italians are most numerous among foreign-born farmers, followed by Spaniards. A glance at the location on the map of these two groups shows that the Italians have made their chief contribution to the corn and wheat belts and the Spaniards to the livestock and wheat born population and therefore the number whose nationality is not known probably does not vitiate the statistics to any considerable degree.

belts. Both fruit and vineyard belts were also developed by these two groups. The two Russian counties are in the cattle-feeding belt, the one German county and one Polish county are in the yerbamate belt. The South American foreign farmers are each near the border of their own countries.

Something needs to be said about certain other foreign-born groups which are important because of their prevalence in certain areas, but no one of which constitutes a majority in any one county. The British, for instance, have been more important in the sheep belt than Figure 17 would indicate; the Russians and Germans have been more important in Entre Ríos; and the Poles, Yugoslavs, and Czechs are all more prevalent in Misiones and Chaco than is possible to portray on the map. In general Figure 17 shows the areas in which foreign-born farmers live and shows clearly the areas which are dominated by old *Criollo* stock. The only areas of major economic development to which foreign-born farmers have made no major contribution are the sugar-cane belt and the cattle-breeding belt. Foreign settlers came into Entre Ríos early and by 1937 (the date of these data) thousands of farmers of foreign lineage were not counted as such because they were born in Argentina. The same was true at a very early date in the cattle-breeding belt. It was never true in the sugar-cane belt.

MIGRATION BETWEEN AREAS AND FROM RURAL TO URBAN CENTERS

From One Province to Another. It is exceedingly difficult to estimate and impossible to measure the internal movements of population in a nation which has not conducted a population enumeration for thirty years. No one knows accurately today the number of persons living in the nation, much less the number living in the various provinces and territories. Even though the number of births and deaths is reported annually in the civil registers, there is no way of knowing to what extent a given area retains its own natural increase in population and to what extent that increase is siphoned off into other areas. It is, nevertheless, possible, from gross and fragmentary data, to know the general direction of internal population movements over the whole history of the nation. The movement from the interior to the coastal area was described in Chapter III. The 1895 Federal Census listed the population according to place

of birth and place of residence and from its data it is possible to know the net internal migration from area to area and to know which areas had gained and which had lost as a result of this migration. The data are listed in such a way that both total and net in and out migrations can be known. Table XXI on page 116 presents the data on these movements.

There were over 52,000 cases for which no location of residence was listed and over 1,600 naturalized citizens who were not distributed as to residence. There were approximately 450,000 native born living in other provinces or territories than those in which they were born. This was a remarkably small movement, only 15.4 per cent of the total population, but of course does not include foreign born who moved from one area to another. Nevertheless, movements of 450,000 are of great enough magnitude to indicate the attractive power of definite geographic areas. The 1895 Census divided the nation into seven major areas which are designated as subtotals in Table XXI. These subtotals show that it was the *Litoral* and the northern areas which had attracted the greatest number of people from other areas of the nation previous to 1895, and that it was the Central and West Andean areas which had been losing their native born to other areas. All national territories, with the exception of Chaco, had gained by people moving in from the other provinces and territories.

A refinement is accomplished by a careful study of the population of the various provinces and territories on a county basis. This makes it possible to be quite sure that there were some localities within the out-migration areas which gained population by internal migration, and some local areas which lost population even though they were included in provinces or territories which, as a whole, gained by internal migration. Some illustrations are: eastern Chaco, eastern Córdoba, northern Buenos Aires, and southwestern Entre Ríos gained population even though the provinces and territories in which they were located lost by internal migration. Areas in western Formosa, northern Santa Fe, southern Mendoza, and western La Pampa lost population even though these territories and provinces, as a whole, gained by internal migration.

From Rural to Urban Areas. It is also difficult to estimate to what extent the growth of Argentine urban population has been due to migration from rural to urban areas and to what extent due to for-

TABLE XXI

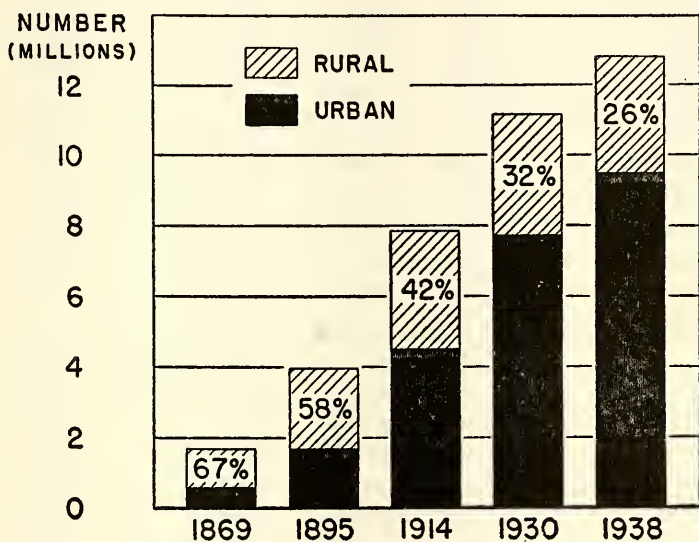
Migration in and out of Provinces and Territories,
before 1895 *

Provinces and territories	Out-migration of native born	In-migration from other areas	Net gain	Net loss
Federal Capital	3,875	167,985	164,110	—
Buenos Aires	161,628	38,833	—	122,795
Santa Fe	14,178	63,030	48,852	—
Entre Ríos	15,274	12,738	—	2,536
Corrientes	26,285	3,175	—	23,110
Total for Litoral	221,240	285,761	64,521	—
Córdoba	39,364	20,507	—	18,857
San Luis	17,241	6,652	—	10,589
Santiago del Estero	32,105	6,913	—	25,192
Total for Central	88,710	34,072	—	54,638
Mendoza	7,981	19,452	11,471	—
San Juan	14,783	4,764	—	10,019
La Rioja	12,125	4,113	—	8,012
Catamarca	24,350	4,755	—	19,595
Total for West Andean	59,239	33,084	—	26,155
Tucumán	10,167	40,939	30,772	—
Salta	11,369	12,819	1,450	—
Jujuy	1,923	15,313	13,390	—
Total for North	23,459	69,071	45,612	—
Misiones	151	6,189	6,038	—
Formosa	72	1,118	1,046	—
Chaco	5,402	3,194	—	2,208
Total for Northern Territories	5,625	10,501	4,876	—
La Pampa	754	16,260	15,506	—
Neuquén	353	1,144	791	—
Total Central West Territories	1,107	17,404	16,297	—
Río Negro	529	3,075	2,546	—
Chubut	50	512	462	—
Santa Cruz	36	407	371	—
Tierra del Fuego	55	116	61	—
Total Southern Ter- ritories	670	4,110	3,440	—

* Segundo Censo de la República Argentina, 1895, Buenos Aires, 1898, Book II, p. CVI.

eign immigration. If Bunge's estimates are even approximately correct then there has been an outstanding movement from farms to cities during almost the total history of the nation. In the 70-year period between 1869 and 1938 the rural population increased only 2,156,000 and the urban increased 8,867,000.

URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION: 1869, 1895, 1914, 1930 AND 1938



URBAN POPULATION = CITIES AND TOWNS
OF 1,000 OR MORE INHABITANTS



FIGURE 18

Fortunately, the 1936 Census of the City of Buenos Aires furnishes data on more than 359,000 persons living in the city at that time who were born in the various provinces and territories of the nation. From these data it is not only possible to know the number of persons who have moved into that city but to know from what areas they came and something about their so-called "civil status," that is, sex, age, and marital status. Table XXII presents some of these data.

TABLE XXII

Origins of 359,245 Persons Living in Buenos Aires in 1936 Who Were Born in Provinces and Territories of the Nation *

Provinces and territories	Total number	Per cent men	Per cent women	Number per 100 of resident population of province and territory, 1936
Buenos Aires	197,669	41.75	58.25	5.95
Tierra del Fuego	130	53.08	46.92	5.94
La Pampa	7,060	40.82	59.18	5.11
La Rioja	5,148	38.68	61.32	4.89
Entre Ríos	28,906	38.08	61.92	4.24
San Luis	7,223	34.02	65.98	3.95
Catamarca	5,442	38.46	61.54	3.88
Santa Cruz	627	47.37	52.63	3.57
Corrientes	16,175	37.43	62.57	3.35
Mendoza	10,676	43.61	56.39	2.24
San Juan	4,271	45.07	54.93	2.17
Tucumán	10,262	39.70	61.30	2.04
Salta	3,994	42.14	57.86	2.03
Santa Fe	27,721	45.45	54.55	1.90
Córdoba	19,424	41.20	58.80	1.63
Chubut	1,251	45.16	54.84	1.56
Santiago del Estero	6,839	30.15	69.85	1.55
Jujuy	1,176	40.48	59.52	1.12
Río Negro	1,364	41.86	58.14	1.06
Neuquén	662	38.22	61.78	0.95
Formosa	473	45.67	54.33	0.95
Misiones	1,633	42.87	57.13	0.97
Chaco	1,103	45.78	54.22	0.41
Los Andes	16	18.75	81.25	0.23
Total	359,245	41.00	59.00	

* *Cuarto Censo General*, Tomo II, pp. 12-13.

Column 4 is added to Table XXII from the population estimates for 1936 in order to reflect the significance of out-migration for the various areas from which these cityward migrants came. It will be noted that the five areas which contributed the highest per cent of their current population to the City of Buenos Aires were, in

order, the Provinces of Buenos Aires, Tierra del Fuego, La Pampa, La Rioja, and Entre Ríos. The five which contributed the smallest per cent were, in order, Los Andes, Chaco, Neuquén, Formosa, and Misiones, all of them national territories. Other significant information contributed by these data are: (1) That 59 per cent of all migrants to the city were women; (2) the largest class of women migrants were widows; (3) the percentage of all migrants who were women was greatest from the interior, that is, otherwise nonmigrant areas; (4) by and large the ratio of migrants to the number of inhabitants living within the provinces decreased as the distance of the provinces from the city increased.

It is apparent that Buenos Aires, and probably other cities of Argentina, like cities the world over, offer greater economic opportunities for women than do smaller places. It is probable that the unbalanced sex ratios of some provinces tend to cause migration out of these areas, although the data are not sufficiently precise to prove that this is true. The fact that there was less migration from those areas where the marriage rates are high would seem to indicate that family cohesion is a deterrent to migration. Probably the greatest causes for migration from rural areas are the relatively higher birth rates in the country, the extent to which the knowledge of city life prevails in an area, the tremendous attractive power of the capital city, and the lack of adequate natural resources in the areas where the birth rates are high.

Dr. Carlos Moyano Llerena has made an analysis from the 1936 Buenos Aires statistics and correlated the rate of migration from the various provinces with the distance those provinces are from Buenos Aires and with the index of the economic capacities of the provinces.⁹ He used Bunge's measurements of "economic capacity per capita." His findings reveal a great deal concerning the push and pull factors in migration, showing that the lack of economic capacity within the area is a stimulus to migration and that distance from Buenos Aires is a deterrent to migration. By and large, the following generalizations are substantiated by this study: (1) A province with low economic capacity but relatively near Buenos Aires has had heavy migration. This is illustrated by Corrientes and San Luis. (2) Areas of high economic capacity even though near the City of Buenos Aires

⁹ Carlos Moyano Llerena, "Las Migraciones Internas en la Argentina," *Revista de Economía Argentina*, Tomo XLII, No. 300 (June 1943), pp. 264-66.

Rural Life in Argentina

have low migration. This is illustrated by the Provinces of Santa Fe and Córdoba. (3) Provinces with relatively high economic capacity which are quite distant from Buenos Aires have very low migration. This is illustrated by the Provinces of Jujuy and Salta. (4) Provinces with low economic capacity, quite distant from Buenos Aires, have high migration in spite of that distance. This is illustrated by La Rioja, San Luis, and Catamarca. There is no way of accurately equating the relative influence of these two factors, although Moyano attempts to do it in a quite interesting fashion. It is, nevertheless, quite apparent by the simple analysis presented here that low economic capacity of an area is a sufficiently powerful push to migration to overcome relatively great distance.

TABLE XXIII

Migration and Economic Opportunity, 1936 *

Province	Economic capacity	Distance to the City of Buenos Aires Kilometers	Emigrants per 1,000 of 1936 population Number
La Rioja	121	1,287	48.9
San Luis	180	789	39.5
Catamarca	95	1,440	38.8
Corrientes	214	1,074	33.5
Mendoza	615	1,063	22.4
San Juan	324	1,219	21.7
Tucumán	400	1,156	20.4
Salta	397	1,621	20.3
Santa Fe	745	481	19.0
Córdoba	680	695	16.3
Santiago del Estero	97	1,014	15.5
Jujuy	444	1,640	11.2

* Moyano, "Las Migraciones Internas en la Argentina," *Revista de Economía Argentina*, Tomo XLII, No. 300 (June 1943), p. 265. Economic capacity index based on Greater Buenos Aires = 1,000.

Not all migration from these areas is to the City of Buenos Aires. The areas which are reflected in the high migration of permanent residents to Buenos Aires are the same areas which furnish many seasonal migrants to other near-by areas. The three provinces from

which have gone the greatest number of migrants to Buenos Aires, namely, La Rioja, San Luis, and Catamarca, are the provinces from which most of the transient laborers are mobilized for the grape and sugar harvests in Mendoza and Tucumán. Corrientes which stands next to these in out-migration furnishes a great many seasonal laborers to the cotton and yerba belts. Probably the chief reason that Santiago del Estero, a province of very low economic capacity, shows so few migrants to Buenos Aires is because its migrants have gone elsewhere. It contributes a tremendous amount of seasonal labor to the sugar harvest and wheat harvest and a considerable number to the grape and cotton harvest. If data were available for the territories as well as the provinces none of these generalizations would be violated as can be seen by a comparison of the data presented in Tables XXI and XXIII.

Another measure of movement from rural to urban areas is the occupational distribution of the working population of the nation. Bunge furnishes estimates for three periods—1914, 1933, and 1940. He shows an increase in numbers of persons engaged in agriculture of only 170,000 from 1914 to 1940. During this same period the increase in industry was 1,524,000, in commerce 401,000, in transportation 49,000, and in other occupations and professions 353,000. Table XXIV presents these data in detail and Figure 19 presents them graphically.

TABLE XXIV

Distribution of Employed Population for 1914,
1933, and 1940, by Bunge *

Occupations	1914		1933		1940	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Industrial †	1,246,000	38.7	2,156,000	43.0	2,770,000	48.3
Agricultural ‡	880,000	23.6	1,137,000	22.7	1,050,000	18.3
Commercial	349,000	10.8	603,000	12.0	750,000	13.1
Transportation	111,000	3.4	151,000	3.0	160,000	2.8
Others	647,000	23.5	971,000	19.3	1,000,000	17.5
Total employed	3,233,000	100.0	5,018,000	100.0	5,730,000	100.0

* Bunge, *Una Nueva Argentina*, p. 165.

† Artisans included.

‡ Does not include family laborers.

Rural Life in Argentina

Professor Luis Rodolfo Canepa presents calculations quite different from those of Bunge in a table entitled, "Distribution of the Population of Argentina and Canada by Occupation."¹⁰ It is almost certain that his estimates are exaggerated in favor of agricultural employment and that Bunge's are exaggerated in favor of other occupations. Both are commentaries on the precariousness of the data

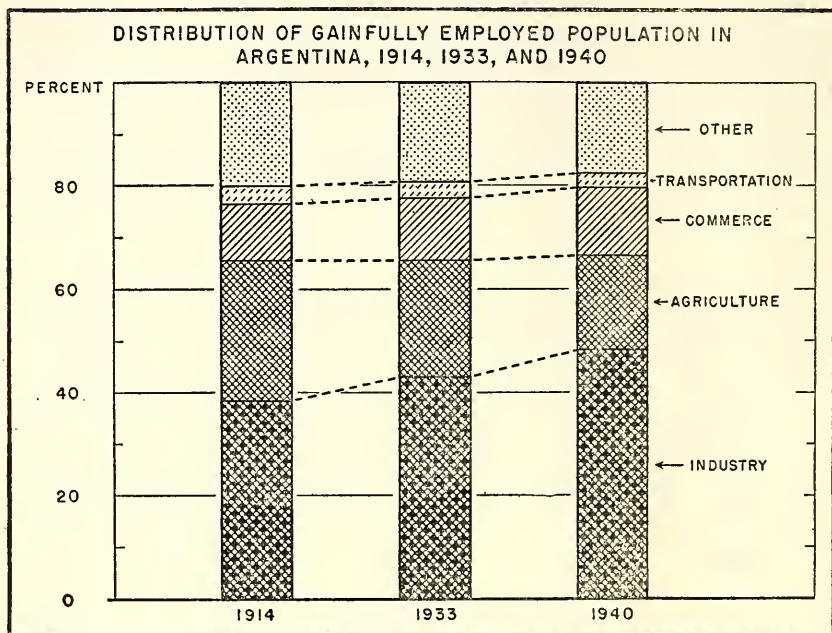


FIGURE 19

with which both authors were compelled to work. Canepa uses the 1937 Agricultural Census figures and adjusts them to January 1, 1941. (See Table XXV.)

With two estimates as widely different as these and with no adequate data available to test either, one is at a loss to know what the facts are. Undoubtedly industrial employment has, in recent years, increased more rapidly than agricultural employment and yet the number of farms is steadily increasing. That there has been an increase in the urban population ratio is apparent. Urban growth in Argentina may be said, however, to be abnormal and one cannot, therefore, generalize from other great cities in discussing the attrac-

¹⁰ Canepa, *Economía Agraria Argentina*, p. 17.

TABLE XXV

Distribution of Employed Population, 1940,
by Canepa *

Occupations	Number	Per cent
Occupied	5,000,000	100
Industry	1,200,000	24
Agriculture	2,000,000 †	40
Commerce ‡	500,000	10
Transportation	200,000	4
Construction	200,000	4
Public administration	300,000	6
Personal services	600,000	12
Unoccupied	8,320,641	

* Canepa, *Economía Agraria Argentina*, p. 17.

† Weil, *Argentine Riddle*, footnote to Table II, p. 264. Weil gives about the same number in agriculture and says it is minimum because the census was taken in the winter when many seasonal laborers were not on farms.

‡ Includes banking and insurance.

tion for population of Buenos Aires. The major economic functions of great cities are the refining and distributing of economic goods. They are centers of manufacturing and commerce. Buenos Aires performs these functions for Argentina, as few other capitals of the world do for their nations, but there is an abnormally large number of persons living in Buenos Aires who are not engaged in these major economic enterprises. The city's population contains thousands of persons, members of landowning families, whose economic enterprises are largely on farms; a tremendous number of government employees; thousands of service persons, barbers, taxi drivers, etc.; and above all hundreds of thousands of domestic servants. Coni, one of the best scholars in Argentina, correctly argues that the urbanward trend is inevitable and good. He does not, however, take into consideration the great number of city workers who do nothing to support the economic enterprises which justify the growth of a city like Buenos Aires.¹¹ An abnormally large number of them are employed to serve families which live on luxury levels of living and a less than normal number are industrial workers.

¹¹ Emilio A. Coni, *Campo y Ciudad, Causas de la concentración urbana Argentina*, Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1942.

CHAPTER VI

HISTORY AND EVOLUTION OF ARGENTINE AGRICULTURE AND RURAL LIFE

THE AGRICULTURE OF EARLY SETTLEMENTS, 1535-1600

Indigenous Plants and Animals Used by the Indians. Some sedentary tribes of Indians were cultivating domesticated plants and using domesticated animals when the conquistadores entered Argentina in the sixteenth century. Domesticated llamas were used as beasts of burden and domesticated alpacas were used for food and wool. The Indians also produced corn, cotton, beans, squash, and *quinoa* (a plant with wheatlike seeds and edible leaves) in addition to using a number of tree products. They apparently did not carry on commerce in any of these products but used them, together with products secured by hunting and fishing, as food and fiber to support themselves. A detailed description of these indigenous plants and animals is not given here because it would yield no great understanding of later agricultural development. The farm products which today constitute the nation's agriculture were practically all introduced from European countries.

New Plants and Animals Introduced by White Settlers. Coni says that it is possible that Mendoza brought wheat, oats, and barley with him to Buenos Aires in 1535; that Cabot planted wheat at Sancti Spiritu as early as 1527; and that Mejía Miraval brought wheat from Chile to Santiago del Estero in 1556, three years after that early settlement was founded. Information that Mendoza brought 62 horses with him in 1535 is well documented. Asses were introduced from Brazil to Asunción in 1542; goats and hogs in 1542; sugar cane to Asunción and to Tucumán from Brazil in 1542; sheep from Peru in 1550; cattle from Brazil in 1555; and cattle and sheep were brought from Peru to Tucumán, Córdoba, and Buenos Aires in 1587.

The expedition which went from Santiago del Estero to establish a settlement at Salta in 1558 took with it hogs, goats, sheep, and cattle. Other expeditions from one place to another carried seeds of

garlic, onions, beans, peas, and other vegetables and such fruits as apples, oranges, peaches, limes, figs, quince, and olives; also walnuts, wheat, honey, and beeswax—all of which are today produced in the areas of these early settlements. From such data as these it is possible crudely to identify the agriculture of various areas before 1600.¹

The earliest commerce in agricultural products was in cotton, carried from the Tucumán area to Potosí, in Peru. The fact that the value of sales of cotton was 100,000 pesos per year by the end of the sixteenth century probably indicates that this was the major agricultural commercial product of the country at that time. Cotton textiles, undoubtedly woven by natives, also constituted an item of considerable commercial value. Coni states that the second authorized ship to leave Buenos Aires, in 1586, carried textiles from Tucumán to Brazil.

From the cattle area around Buenos Aires there were exported tallow, from the grain area some flour, and from the timber area some resin. In addition to export products the early settlers were developing farm products for their own use—grains, animals, vegetables, fruit, cotton, tobacco, and yerba. Even before the end of the sixteenth century there were present in the country practically all the farm products out of which later Argentine agriculture evolved. Ox-wagon routes, from Buenos Aires to Mendoza, passing by Córdoba, and from Buenos Aires directly to Córdoba, but not passing through Santa Fe, were established to facilitate internal trade between the different zones of production.

The agricultural scene in 1600 was then about as follows: The *northern settlements*, occupying an area from the Bolivian and Chilean boundaries on the north and west to as far south as the present Province of Mendoza and as far east as the present Province of Santa Fe (with the exception of Córdoba), were dominated by the production of cotton; in the area around *Córdoba* the produce was wines, grain, and livestock; in the *Mendoza-San Juan* area it was grapes and wheat; in the *northeast* (Misiones and part of Corrientes) it was yerba mate and tobacco; in the *Litoral* (the Provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, Entre Ríos, and part of Corrientes) it was

¹ Emilio A. Coni, "La agricultura, ganadería e industrias hasta el virreinato," *Historia de la Nación Argentina*, Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1940, Vol. IV, Sec. 1, Pt. 1, Chap. III. Also by the same author, *Agricultura, Comercio e Industria Coloniales* (Siglos XVI-XVIII), Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1941; and *Historia de las Vaquerías de Río de la Plata (1555-1750)*, Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1930.

overwhelmingly livestock. In all the area south of Mendoza and south and west of the settlement at Buenos Aires no white settlement had yet been established.²

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD,
1600-1810

Agricultural Development Between 1600 and 1700. From three types of sources it is possible to obtain information on the agricultural products grown in Argentina during the seventeenth century: Ordinances and decrees concerning exports; taxes on agricultural products; and information on trade between various areas of the country and between Argentina and other South American countries. A royal ordinance of 1602, extended by recurrent acts until 1621, specified that flour, jerked beef, and tallow could be exported to Brazil and Guinea. Numerous other requests by Argentine producers and permits and restrictions by Spain concerning exports indicate which farm products came to be of major importance during the century. Taxes levied on adult and young cattle, sheep, goats, and hogs indicated a growing wealth in these animals. Data on the establishment of trade routes and on the commerce which flowed over them offer additional information. Coni assembles and interprets such information as these sources yield to a knowledge of agricultural development during the seventeenth century. Permission to export hides and wool was granted in 1618, Governor Hernandarias having written to the King of Spain in 1615 stating that 16,000 hides were stored in Buenos Aires at that time, most of them from the Tucumán area.

The following conclusions can be drawn about the agriculture of the country at the end of the seventeenth century. The *northern settlements* which had been dominated by cotton production in the sixteenth century continued in that line of production well into the seventeenth century. Gradually, however, wool began to replace cotton in textile products and this, plus the decline in the Indian population which had furnished the weavers, caused cotton production gradually to decline. This area, especially Salta and Jujuy, also furnished feeding grounds for mules on their way from Cór-

² Jose Carlos Astolfi and Raul C. Migone, *Historia Argentina* (El Siglo XIX en la Republica) 6th ed., Buenos Aires: Libreria del Colegio, 1942, Chap. XV.

doba to Potosí and there was a considerable cattle industry in and near Tucumán.

In the area of *Mendoza and San Juan* vineyards were developed on irrigated lands and products of grapes—spirits and dried grapes—together with wheat and flour constituted the chief agricultural products. Near the end of the century the grape industry of the area was almost ruined by prohibitions against shipments of grape products to Buenos Aires. The optimum conditions of the area for grape culture had, however, been discovered and the basis for future development established.

In the *Córdoba* area mixed farming continued but grain and livestock production both developed on substantial bases. Sheep, goats, and mules were produced in great quantities and *estancias* dedicated to the production of nothing but livestock came into existence. The exportation of mules to Potosí became a major enterprise. The production of wheat increased greatly and a substantial flour-milling industry was established.

In *northeast Misiones and northern Corrientes* the Jesuit missionaries as leaders of the Indians had developed corn, yerba, mandioca, sweet potatoes, cotton, tobacco, and livestock and were carrying on a rather elaborate commerce in yerba, cotton cloth, tobacco, hides, beeswax, and honey with other provinces and with Chile and Peru.³

In the *Litoral* agriculture continued primitive and unspecialized. Wild cattle and horses were in abundance but prohibitions against the exportation of livestock products kept this great natural resource from yielding major economic returns. There was apparently some illicit trade in hides, but it was almost a century later before the livestock enterprise of the area came to be of major importance. Some wheat was grown and milled into flour and some grapes produced and converted into spirits. Also the ports of Buenos Aires and Corrientes developed to considerable importance because of trade in agricultural products with interior areas of Argentina and Brazil.

The *Patagonia* area was still unoccupied by white settlers. The total population of the country was probably about 600,000.

³ Raimundo Fernández Ramos, *Apuntes Históricos sobre Misiones*, Madrid: Talleres Espasa-Calpe, 1929, pp. 77-82 and 140.

*Agricultural Development Between 1700 and 1810.*⁴ Shortly after 1700 (the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713), Spain began granting commercial concessions to her colonies, with the result that an increasing number of ships plied in and out of the port of Buenos Aires. Coni records data on the exportation of hides to Spain, France, and England for specific years from 1702 to 1730, the numbers of hides per shipment varying from 13,000 to 36,000. Levene, quoting Ezcurra, states that the total annual exportation reached 1,400,000 after 1783.⁵ This latter figure is probably greatly exaggerated (see section on the cattle belt) but in any case there is evidence that the cattle industry experienced great development during the eighteenth century. Sheep culture made irregular progress and grain farming also advanced considerably. Slaves were imported and the first shipments of farm machinery arrived, both of which indicated an increased activity in farming. Petitions of farmers in the latter part of the century stated, however, that prices for grains were so low, due to lack of export privileges, that there was danger there would not be enough grain sown to provide domestic needs. One thousand tons of flour were imported in 1777 and again in 1781.⁶ In 1796 there was, however, apparently a surplus of wheat in the country and the farmers were pleading for export permits or even for free trade.

In 1797 both the King of Spain, through his viceroy, and Manuel Belgrano promoted the production of hemp and flax, the former in order to obtain imports into Spain and the latter because he said, "Hemp and flax necessitate several operations of the farmer, such as sowing, reaping, and cutting, and also of women, such as combing and spinning."⁷ Grape culture was progressing steadily and areas of grape production were becoming more specialized. Rice entered the gamut of farm crops and sugar cane and tobacco were being produced. Some exports of salted meat had been made and a tanning industry had been begun.

The agricultural scene in Argentina in 1810, at the time the country gained its independence from Spain, showed that the small

⁴ The date of 1810 rather than 1800 is selected for the terminus of this period because that is the date of the successful revolution for independence and thus marks the beginning and end of distinct epochs of national history.

⁵ Ricardo Levene, *A History of Argentina*, tr. by W. S. Robertson, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937, p. 117.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-21.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

amount of change that had taken place during the century was almost startling. The population of the country had increased from approximately 300,000 to not more than 700,000 during the 110-year period and no new agricultural areas had been brought under production. In the *northwest*, Tucumán was making leather and constructing carts to accommodate the commerce which flowed through that area; Salta and Jujuy were producing sugar, tobacco, and rice; Catamarca and La Rioja were producing cotton and cotton and woolen textiles. *Córdoba* had developed some cattle *estancias*, was producing some grapes, wheat, corn, and to a considerable extent specializing in the production of mules for sale in Peru. The *Mendoza and San Juan* area, while it had come to be a specialized region for the production of wine and dried fruit, was also growing and milling wheat. *Misiones and part of Corrientes* were producing yerba and Corrientes had developed rawhide articles and was building boats. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, the Jesuits had been expelled and agriculture in the Misiones area had almost reverted to the primitive state among the Indians which prevailed before white men came.⁸ The *Litoral* was drifting steadily toward specialized livestock farming but also had grains and some horticultural products. *Patagonia* had as yet developed no domestic agriculture. The Buenos Aires settlement which had about 50,000 inhabitants was composed of an area of settlement less than 60 miles wide and about 200 miles long. All other producing areas were of this same character, merely village centers with small agricultural hinterlands. The play of physiographic factors was discernible in the locations of population and the type of agricultural production, but the zones in which future types of production were to become predominant were not yet clearly visible except in the case of viticulture in the Mendoza area and the increasing importance of livestock in the Litoral. It should be noted, however, that sugar cane was already being produced in the northwest, yerba in the northeast, and cotton in the north. These crops were later to become the basis of specialization in these respective areas.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN 1810 AND 1870

The year 1870 is selected as a convenient date for summarizing another stage in the evolution of Argentine agriculture because the

⁸ In addition to authors previously cited, see Ingenieros, *Sociologia Argentina*.

first national census was taken in 1869 and there are thus available considerable data concerning agricultural and population situations at that time. Furthermore, it is more or less an acceptable modal date for the following significant events, cited by the well-known Argentine historian, Ricardo Levene: (1) Sarmiento, the great educational and reform president of Argentina, was elected in 1868 and served until 1874; (2) at the end of the war with Paraguay the boundary between that nation and Argentina was finally determined; (3) immigration was encouraged and foreign population was flowing into Argentina in greater numbers in the late 1860's than at any previous period or for any time until about 1880; (4) colonization settlements were developing rapidly in the central part of the country but had not yet developed in Patagonia; (5) Sarmiento encouraged railroad development, built more than 1,000 schools, and created an atmosphere of general public confidence which laid the bases for the era in which Argentina was to become of age in economic and social development.⁹

The population of the country increased from approximately 500,000, including the Indians, in 1810 to 1,836,000 in 1869 and during the period had begun definitely to shift from the interior toward the coastal areas. In 1810 the northwestern area contained approximately 50 per cent of the nation's people and the Litoral less than 35 per cent. In 1869 the Litoral contained approximately 50 per cent of the population and the northwest well under 50 per cent. The shift in population had taken place in direct response to economic and social developments. Foreign export markets were no longer handicapped by royal orders and decrees after independence was gained with the result, by and large, that Argentina was freed to develop her competitive position among the nations of the world. The newly formed nation, after gaining its independence, passed through approximately 20 years of what has been described as "anarchy"; 20 years of ruthless dictatorship; and 20 years of recovery from dictatorship in the 60 years between 1810 and 1870. None of these epochs nor all of them combined were conducive to rapid economic and social development.

It is fortunate that De Moussy's geographical and statistical description of the Argentine Federation published in Paris, 1860-64, presents a good picture of the agricultural development in all parts

⁹ Levene, *A History of Argentina*, Chaps. LVII and LVIII.

of the country for the period 1855-59. We quote liberally from Volumes I and III of his work, rearranging his descriptions so as to describe the agriculture of the geographic areas used for previous periods of development.¹⁰

In the *northwestern* area, Tucumán, besides producing wheat, corn, and rice for local consumption, was producing sugar cane, tobacco, fruit, grapes, cattle, mules, horses, and sheep. Tobacco, cattle, sheep, and goats were exported to Chile, Bolivia, and the Cuyo Provinces; cheese was made in the mountains and sent to the Litoral; there were "25 big plantations and factories producing annually 1,000,000 kilos of sugar and 7,000 hectolitros of brandy"; and 60,000 hides were being tanned each year. "Carretas" (large carts) and also furniture were "built for all the country." In *Salta* the crops were cereals, fruits, wines, sugar cane, tobacco, cotton. Only sugar, however, was being produced on an industrial basis; the others were produced for local consumption, or for export to Chile and Bolivia. Mules were the most important animals, but horses, sheep, and goats were also produced. Flour and wine made from *café* were also exported. De Moussy said that "agriculture in Jujuy was as advanced as in Salta, the people in the mountains being real farmers." They produced about the same crops as in Salta, "sugar cane and corn being the principal products." They produced a "few cattle and many sheep with excellent wool" for local consumption and export to Bolivia. "The principal industry was that of animals for transportation and loads," presumably mules and burros. *Catamarca* was producing fruit trees, especially fig, on irrigated lands, and wines, also cattle, horses, mules, and sheep. Mules were exported to Chile. Cotton and woolen textiles were being woven. *La Rioja* was producing about these same products although De Moussy does not mention figs or textiles as in speaking of *Catamarca*, and does mention the production of flour, oranges, dried fruit, peaches and cheese and cattle for export to Chile. In referring to *Santiago del Estero* he does not mention cotton but says sheep and goats were rather important although livestock numbers were small, that corn and wheat had high yields, especially in the flood areas of the Dulce River or where its waters were used for irrigation. He says flour was milled and sent

¹⁰ V. Martin de Moussy, *Description géographique et statistique de la Confédération Argentine*, Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères Fils et C^{re}., 1860-64, Vols. I and III. Italics author's.

to Tucumán and Chile. He includes the first information available on *Chaco* and says, "Besides the forests that cover most of it, there are some natural pasture fields, some of which the Indians use for their horses, sheep, and cattle which they keep in small numbers."

In the *Córdoba* area "corn, and wheat for local consumption and alfalfa and fodder for animals" are mentioned by De Moussy. He speaks of "estancias on the plains" and "sheep and goats in the mountains," and says that the production of mules "to be sent to the north" was the principal industry of Córdoba Province. If his description of the situation is adequate then there was little change in this area during the 50 years between 1810 and the time he visited it.

De Moussy states that in *Mendoza and San Juan* the majority of the people of this area were still employed in the production of cereals but that to the products of wines, which had been developed much earlier, were added dried grapes, dried fruits, and oranges. The livestock industry was largely that of "feeding animals from other provinces in the alfalfa fields."

In speaking of the *northeast, Misiones and northern Corrientes*, De Moussy reported that Misiones was almost abandoned and that in northern Corrientes "there is an estancia whose inhabitants live on livestock and what they shoot." They "harvest yerba from the Jesuits' plantation. In the forests there are Indians who have returned to savagery."

The *Litoral* had experienced considerable progress in the 50-year period. In *southern Corrientes* there were organized estancias and *mandioca* and tobacco were produced in the Goya area. "Cotton had been abandoned—because of want of pickers. Orange orchards were yielding great surpluses." There were no cereals except corn. In *Entre Ríos* the great wealth was in livestock—cattle, horses, mules, and "fine breeds of sheep" which had been introduced. Mules were sent to Corrientes and Brazil; 265,000 head of cattle were slaughtered in 1859, 350,000 hides (of cattle and horses) were exported; salted meat was being shipped to Brazil and Cuba and tallow to Europe. "Several tanning plants existed, the leather being used in the province, in Buenos Aires, and Montevideo." Wooden boats and carts were being manufactured. In 1863 it was estimated that the province had 2,000,000 head of cattle, 2,000,000 sheep, and 500,000 horses. The development during 50 years had been very pronounced.

For *Buenos Aires Province* De Moussy listed the following facts: Although livestock was produced almost to the exclusion of every other farm product, crops—corn, wheat, barley, and oats—had developed in the last two years. Sheep were gradually taking first place away from cattle because wool had become the most important export article from the River Plate and fine breeds of sheep had been imported. The production of alfalfa was largely for feeding livestock kept in cities. He quotes statements and statistics from the Buenos Aires Chamber of Commerce for 1859–61 as follows: “Sheep in 1859 yielded 2,613,268 hides and 35,618,000 pounds of wool; the number of cattle slaughtered in *saladeros* [salting houses] reached 531,500 in 1858 but declined to 279,000 in 1861; sheep farms multiply, farmers being satisfied with 100 or 200 hectares instead of 5,000 or 6,000 as before. Crowds of foreigners, Irish, Scotch, and Basques, buy land to produce sheep. Export of animal products from the port of Buenos Aires, including some from other areas were as follows for the year November 1858 through October 1859, cattle hides 1,509,052, horse hides 188,769, salted and dried beef 1,379,000 pounds.”¹¹

A panoramic but fairly categorical summary of the stage of agricultural development in 1870 is as follows: (1) The *Patagonian* area was not yet freed from the Indian menace and therefore contained very little agricultural settlement or development. *Misiones* had pretty much reverted to its wild state and settlement in Chaco and Formosa had not yet begun. (2) Specialization in the production of grapes in the *Mendoza* area had definitely begun to take place and within the next decade was to experience a very great expansion. (3) De Moussy said that “around 1860, Tucumán, Salta, and Jujuy had obtained modern equipment for their sugar industry and that 25 big plantations and factories producing 100 tons of sugar and 1,750 gallons of brandy had been established in the Tucumán area.”¹² (4) Fruits were being produced in substantial quantities in the following areas: (a) oranges in Salta, La Rioja, Corrientes, and Santa Fe; (b) figs in Catamarca; (c) peaches in Mendoza. (5) Commercial production of cheese had begun in the *northwestern provinces*. (6) Livestock, cattle, and horses, but especially sheep, had become tremendously important in the *Litoral*. (7) There was con-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 14–17. Italics author's.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 499–504; Vol. III, pp. 243–46. Italics author's.

siderable industrial development at Tucumán and minor developments such as boat and cart manufacturing, flour milling, tanning, and meat salting elsewhere. (8) Commerce between provinces and between areas in Argentina and Chile, Bolivia and Brazil had increased greatly. (9) Exports of hides, wool, and salted or dried meat, while considerable, did not constitute a foreign commerce of great magnitude. (10) Grain farming was beginning to take root but corn occupied first place and the great cereal belt in Santa Fe Province had not yet developed. (11) There was the beginning of estancia development south of the Río Negro but such establishments were "under the constant danger of Indian massacres."

Thus it is apparent that only a portion of the roots of what today constitutes Argentina's agriculture had been planted by 1860. On the one hand, the old cotton belt was about gone and the new cotton belt not yet begun; the great cereal belt had not yet developed; and the yerba belt had almost reverted to a state of wild culture. On the other hand, there had definitely been evolved those agronomic adaptations which constituted the foundations and started the developments of the sugar-cane, vineyard, and cattle belts of the future.

It is not until a date somewhere around 1870 that one can clearly identify established production belts which in competition with other areas had discovered their best adapted and economically most feasible gamut of farm products. For a period of more than 300 years after Mendoza landed at Buenos Aires, in 1535, and the first permanent settlement was founded at Santiago del Estero, in 1553, agriculturists of Argentina had followed the typical pioneering habit of attempting to produce in each area all farm products necessary to local consumption and to promote those commercial farm products which gave promise of the greatest economic profits, irrespective of the adaptability of these products to physiographic and climatological conditions. Some ecological adaptations, illustrated by grape culture in the Mendoza-San Juan area, were accomplished very early, others continued in the trial and error stage for a considerable time after 1870, but the nuclei of all present major production areas had been established.¹³

¹³ It is for this period that one finds a great many descriptive accounts, some of them undoubtedly quite trustworthy, others quite the opposite. Because most of those which are untrustworthy for factual data present vivid rural episodes they are worth reading. The following is not a comprehensive list: *Buenos Aires Visto por Viajeros Ingleses, 1800-1825*, Buenos Aires: Emece Editores, 1941, Coleccion Buen

RURAL SOCIAL LIFE IN ARGENTINA BEFORE 1800

Poverty of Knowledge of Social Life and Structure in the Colonial Period. Travelers and even historians who were quite precise in the observations of physical facts record only touristic and romantic ideas about the people. About the only facts known concerning social conditions and practices in rural areas before 1700 are pertaining to the various Indian tribes and these facts are of no great significance for the purposes of this account. Some things can, however, be deduced from fragmentary accounts of village life during the early period. It is, for instance, known that a Catholic missionary was conducting a school at Santa Fe as early as 1577, and that the Jesuits installed their "Colegio del Santo Nombre de Jesus" in Santiago del Estero in 1586 where Juan Villagas taught the first letters; that public education was initiated by the Cabildo of Corrientes in 1607 and that school attendance should be obligatory; that the government of Buenos Aires in 1678 decreed that Indians settled in the City of Buenos Aires must attend church every Sunday to receive the teachings of the Christian doctrine; and that houses in Buenos Aires were constructed with mud, roofed with straw, all of one story, but with large rooms and yards.¹⁴ In addition to the fragmentary data, there are broad generalizations from various writers which tell us that before 1700 all articles of necessity except meat were expensive, chickens, eggs, dried peaches, string beans, lentils, peas, fish, butter, cheese, radishes, wine, oil, salt;¹⁵ before 1700 the Negro was of the lowest caste; in practice the Indian came in a way near to being inferior to Negro slaves.¹⁶ "Society was divided into three classes, opposed in interests. . . . First the clergy, robed and imperious; second those rich from monopoly and the caprice of fortune; third the rustics, called 'gauchos and compadritos.' . . .

Aire, No. 1, 84 pp. (synopsis of ten early travel accounts, none of which are listed elsewhere in this book); Capt. F. B. Head, *Rough Notes Taken During Some Rapid Journeys Across the Pampas and the Andes*, London: J. Murray, 1826; Beaumont, *Travels in Buenos Ayres*; Wilfrid Latham, *The States of the River Plate: Their Industries and Commerce*, London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1866, 200 pp. (author had lived in country since 1842); Parish, *Buenos Ayres and the Provinces; MacCann, Two Thousand Miles' Ride*, Vols. I and II.

¹⁴ Levene, *A History of Argentina*. See especially Chaps. XIV, XVIII, XIX, and XXI.

¹⁵ J. A. Garcia, *La Ciudad Indiana*, Buenos Aires: L. J. Rosso, 1933, Chap. XII.

¹⁶ Levene, *A History of Argentina*, Chap. XXI.

The aristocracy was composed chiefly of Spanish, the second class engaged in commerce and industry, and the third, the only producers, were manual laborers." ¹⁷ In summary all that can be said is that there are no written accounts which reveal any data or even descriptions of the people who lived outside villages for the period before 1700.

Between 1700 and 1800. Sources of information are better for the latter part of the eighteenth century. Concerning *housing*, for instance, Concolorcorvo says, "In Tucumán Province (from Córdoba to Jujuy) there are cases of landowners that have twelve leagues of land, on which some poor families live in small 'ranchos,' built in a few hours; asked why they did not build better houses, they answered that they might have to leave the place at any moment or they might be made to pay high rent. . . . The gaucho lives in a branch shelter with poor bed, a stick on which to hang the meat and roast it." ¹⁸ Azara in 1790 said, "The rural houses are low ranchos, with thatched roofs, walls made of sticks and mud, the majority of them with skins instead of doors and windows. . . . Those who crop have their houses nearer each other's and the houses are cleaner and have more furniture than those of the livestock people. These have only a barrel for water, a horn to drink it, a stick to roast the beef, a kettle for the 'mate,' and very seldom, a cooking pot. They sit on their heels or on a cow's head. They sleep on a skin spread on the floor or hung from four short poles, with no mattress or sheets." ¹⁹

Comments by these writers on *food* are few and general. Concolorcorvo says, "In the Tucumán areas the unmarried man has no settled time for meals, whenever he needs to he roasts his beef, which is the first and middle course and dessert as well. . . . In Buenos Aires beef is so abundant, that if a 'quarter' falls from a cart that is carrying it to the market, the driver does not stop to get it back; this I have seen. In the afternoon, much meat is given away from cattle killed for their hides." ²⁰ Azara cited the fact that "shepherds and

¹⁷ Ingenieros, *Sociología Argentina*, p. 51. Italics author's.

¹⁸ Concolorcorvo, *El lazarrillo de ciegos caminantes* (written 1773), Buenos Aires: Argentinas Solar, 1942, pp. 177-78 and 182.

¹⁹ Felix de Azara, *Descripción é historia del Paraguay y del Río de la Plata* (published 1847), republished at Asunción: A. de Uribe y cía., 1896 (2 vols.), Vol. I, pp. 372 and 375.

²⁰ Concolorcorvo, *El lazarrillo*, pp. 47 and 178.

estancieros" ate meat almost altogether while "*agricultores*" (crop farmers) while eating meat also "ate vegetables and bread." The shepherds and *estancieros* "wondered why they [the crop farmers] work and 'eat grass' as they call the vegetables"²¹ instead of living completely on meat.

Concerning *clothing and dress*, Concolorcorvo said that "in Buenos Aires men and women dress like the European Spaniards, but even the 'high life' ladies make their own clothes, and use no tailors. . . . In Córdoba the outstanding men use expensive clothes; not so the women, who dress very plainly and modestly, quite an exception in these countries."²² Azara said, "those who crop have better clothes than those who work with livestock. . . . The *peones* often have no shirts or underdress but always have a poncho, hat, long drawers and '*chiripá*' [chaps] as well as boots."²³

About *education*, these authors record few facts, Concolorcorvo saying only that "in Buenos Aires there are no public superior schools, so many parents send their sons to Córdoba and Santiago de Chile," and Azara said that, "in Paraguay in each parish there is a teacher; not so in the Buenos Aires district, and that is why so few know how to read there."²⁴ Probst, however, records the following facts: In 1730 Fernando Ruiz operated a school at San Isidro, charged three reals for each child but taught the very poor gratis, and in 1788 the Cabildo of Buenos Aires asked the viceroy to found schools "in the camp" under the charge of parish priests of each *partido* (county).²⁵

Concerning *religion*, there is considerable general and some specific information. Concolorcorvo, writing in 1773, says, "In Buenos Aires City there are 22,007 inhabitants and 5 parish churches as well as 7 monks' and nuns' convents. . . . In Córdoba City there are 7 churches, though poor in their interiors."²⁶ Azara, in 1790, says, "Rural people very seldom attend Mass, because they live very far from the churches. Baptisms are also postponed for years some-

²¹ Azara, *Descripción é historia*, Vol. I, p. 375. Italics author's.

²² Concolorcorvo, *El lazarillo*, pp. 40 and 72.

²³ Azara, *Descripción é historia*, Vol. I, pp. 375 and 377. Italics author's.

²⁴ Concolorcorvo, *El lazarillo*, p. 42; Azara, *Descripción é historia*, Vol. I, p. 372.

²⁵ Juan Probst, "La enseñanza primaria desde sus orígenes hasta 1810," *Historia de la Nación Argentina*, Vol. IV, Sec. 2, Pt. 1, p. 135. Italics author's.

²⁶ Concolorcorvo, *El lazarillo*, pp. 43 and 68.

times. But burial in the cemetery is never omitted.”²⁷ Another writer says, “Religion filled the life of the family, it was a continual preoccupation. It not only consoled sorrow but it was the complement of all joys and maintained sociability with its lavish ceremonials. All leading classes were invited to its feasts and its ministers practiced opportunistic morals. They pointed out contemporary vices as bad examples. Religion constituted a powerful tie between families, other groups, numerous fraternities and brotherhoods to which it was good taste to belong. . . . It was not an idealistic religion. It molded itself to the selfish concept of life and was infected by the objectives of the conquerors, which reached into family life.”²⁸

Some information is available on rural *recreation*, though as in other fields most available descriptions are of village life. Concolorcorvo says, “In Tucumán gaucho people met in some pleasant spot and spent their time in a feast consisting of eating *asado* [barbecue], cheese and honey, drinking ‘*aloja*’ [a fermented honey beverage] and singing with their guitars. . . . Between Buenos Aires and Mendoza, the games the countrymen play are: The ‘*chuca*,’ a rough ball game, in which each man tries to hit the ball, and during which broken bones often result; and the ‘*pato*’ [a kind of basketball] played on horseback.”²⁹ Azara describes meetings of country people in “the ‘*pulperías*’ [general stores] to gamble, drink, and play and sing with guitars.”³⁰ Levene says the whites on the farms lived together with the Negroes, Indians, and other castes and were very proud of their gambling, in which they showed how much they possessed. They would get together at the *pulpería* to hear the singing of sad Indian songs, were fond of drinking cheap liquor and were insulted if someone refused a drink which they offered.

In *general social status*, rural people in the eighteenth century were not a part of the nation’s general culture. Concolorcorvo said, “In Buenos Aires I know of no rich farmers except Francisco de Alzarbar, who owns estancias on the other side of the river (in Uru-

²⁷ Azara, *Descripción é historia*, Vol. I, p. 373. Also see the excellent work of M. G. and E. T. Mulhall, *Handbook of the River Plate*, Buenos Aires: M. G. and E. T. Mulhall, and London: E. Stanford, 1875.

²⁸ Garcia, *La Ciudad Indiana*, pp. 91-92.

²⁹ Concolorcorvo, *El lazarillo*, pp. 171 and 187. Italics author’s.

³⁰ Azara, *Descripción é historia*, Vol. I, p. 380. Italics author’s.

guay). . . . In Córdoba there are many wealthy people, the principal line of activities being the mule-feeding industry. . . . In Santiago del Estero, with the exceptions of 20 well-off families, the remainder live in poor houses and have small means. . . . In Tucumán Province the people who live on someone else's land sell some chickens, eggs, and lambs to travelers, but they do not make enough money to buy the clothing not made at home and yerba from Paraguay. They even beg for these things and trade their chickens for them." ³¹ Azara says, "Country people are very hospitable, but they seldom have close friends of their own." ³²

*From 1800 to 1870.*³³ As in the case of agronomic facts, De Moussy's information for the period around 1860 is more complete than all others combined. The following description of rural life for that period is, therefore, entirely from his account. *Housing.* The people in the *pampas* built their own "ranchos . . . made of branches and mud with thatched roofs. . . . A few steps away from this building is a smaller one, the kitchen, with the oven in the middle of it. There generally is a third shelter, a 'ramada' [four poles supporting roof of branches] in which to keep the horses or to sleep the 'siesta.' The furniture is a hide bed, a table sometimes, a bench, a cooking pot, a kettle for the mate, and several mud pots. This is true not only for the pampas but for Córdoba and the Andean regions. . . . The Argentine peon is well satisfied if he has a hide on which to sleep and a 'ramada' under which to live." ³⁴

Food. "The food of the Argentine *peon* is a piece of meat roasted in the open air, with no bread, and often with no salt. This meal takes place only once a day, the mate helps him to wait for it. A glass of wine or of *caña* [sugar-cane brandy] and some 'empanadas' [small meat pies] are welcome on special opportunities." Concerning general food habits he says, "After the 'asado' the popular dish is the 'puchero' [a sort of Irish stew]. In the interior, where beef is not so predominant two corn dishes are basic ones: 'mazamorra' [corn boiled in milk] and 'locro' [corn boiled in water with grease and

³¹ Concolorcorvo, *El lazarillo*, pp. 47, 69, 80, and 178.

³² Azara, *Descripción é historia*, Vol. I, p. 380.

³³ Practically all the authors cited in footnote 13 give descriptions of rural homes in which they, as travelers, stopped. These accounts are for the most part touristic rather than analytical.

³⁴ De Moussy, *Description géographique et statistique*, Vol. I, pp. 327-28 and 565. Italics author's.

salt]. Bread is generally eaten now, but earlier was found only in the north and west in agricultural regions.”³⁵

Clothing. “In the country, the costume consists of large cotton drawers, often embroidered at the lower edge, a square piece passing between the legs forming large trousers, and supported by a strip of wool as a belt on which is placed the leather belt with pockets, silver coins, and buttons. Behind, the ever-present knife. A vest, a round jacket, and a straw or felt hat complete the costume, except the poncho that goes on over everything else. . . . They use top boots, except in the Andes, where leather shoes are used instead.”³⁶

Education. “In all population centers there are primary schools for both sexes where Christian doctrine, ethics and good manners, reading, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish are taught. There are secondary schools only in the large cities, and universities in Buenos Aires and Córdoba.”³⁷

Religion. “More complete education for the clergy is necessary; its want causes the lack of good preaching and consequently the religious education of the people is neglected. So it happens that the people, being poorly instructed on real principles of Christianity, easily accept superstitious ideas.”³⁸

Recreation. “The Argentine peon finds pleasure in having the guitar played and seeing dances. . . . These take place on the feast days of the patron saint of his church. Sometimes the feast lasts eight days and he spends all his savings. . . . Recreation in the pampas consists mainly in chasing animals with ‘*boleadoras*’ [three pieces of rope with an iron ball on each end, with one ball grasped in the hand, the others swung above the head and the whole contraption thrown around the legs of an animal or ostrich], and ‘*lazo*’ [lariat], and in horse racing. Cockfights are popular too, and the dances, mentioned before, though in the Litoral they are being abandoned. The Basques have introduced ‘*pelota*’ [a sort of hand-ball game played with paddles] which is played now in many villages. Gambling in card games is not more common than in Europe, but with worse consequences—fights, etc.”³⁹

All of these descriptions are very inadequate. De Moussy, who was an excellent physical scientist, saw with the eye of a tourist when

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 565; Vol. II, p. 332. Italics author's.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 78 and 329.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 634.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 69.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 565; Vol. II, p. 335. Italics author's.

observing social phenomena. The greater the pity because of his extensive travels during a period for which there is a poverty of social information from other sources.⁴⁰

RAPID DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN 1870 AND 1914

It is not accurate to say that modern agriculture began as late as 1870. It in a way began with the arrival of 208 Swiss families at Esperanza in Santa Fe Province in January 1856 and with the considerable flow of European immigrants which followed shortly thereafter. These immigrants established and developed the great cereal belt, later, the sugar, vineyard, cotton, and fruit belts. There were not many of them in Argentina when the first national population census was taken in 1869. The total population of the nation at that time was only 1,836,490, and only 11.5 per cent, 211,992, was foreign born. The high tides of immigrants flowed after 1870. Furthermore, it was not until after 1870 that most of the area southwest and west of the Province of Buenos Aires was opened for settlement and thus the whole geographic area which now constitutes the nation became available for agricultural development. Jefferson points out that in 1865 there were only 373 square miles of tilled land in the whole country, 0.13 acres per capita. By 1914 this had increased to 7.7 acres. This one index, if there were no others, would be sufficient to justify the characterization of those 45 years as a period of rapid agricultural development.⁴¹ But there are other proofs. Between 1870 and 1914 more than 3,600,000 immigrants flowed into Argentina, about 2,400,000 of whom remained. More than 42 per cent of the nation's population was foreign born in 1914, and hundreds of thousands of native born were the children and grandchildren of immigrants who came after 1870.

During this period more than a hundred immigrant settlements were founded on land which had previously been used for extensive cattle grazing. All the cereal belts became established, sheep-production exports overtook and passed cattle-products exports,

⁴⁰ Probably the one most complete account of early social life and conditions is that by José Torre Revello, entitled "Sociedad colonial. Las clases sociales. La ciudad y la campaña" and "Viajeros, relaciones, cartas y memorias" which appear in *Historia de la Nacion Argentina*, Vol. IV, Sec. 1, Pt. 2, as Chaps. I and II. He adequately briefs all the sources here and cites, although without many quotations, from all printed documents of early travelers in Argentina.

⁴¹ Jefferson, *Peopling the Argentine Pampa*, pp. 42-43.

sugar-cane and grape production crowded out most of their competing crops in the Tucumán and Mendoza areas, railroad expansion took place to meet growing demands for transportation of farm products, and national population quadrupled. This was the period of agricultural expansion in Argentina similar to the westward movement in the United States between 1820 and 1870.

The progress of settlement was not, however, westward as in the United States. It took place by a relatively greater increase of population in the coastal region than in the interior, due to a shift from extensive grazing to grain production in areas accessible to ocean and river ports. The Province of Santa Fe led in this development. The increase in the national population during the 45 years was 329 per cent, that of Santa Fe 910 per cent. The Province of Buenos Aires (not including the national capital) followed with 571 per cent. These two provinces, the City of Buenos Aires, and the new territory opened after the Indian Wars, were the only sections of the nation whose population increases exceeded that of the nation as a whole during the period. The provinces that lagged farthest behind the national increase were Catamarca, 25.5 per cent; Salta, 58.5 per cent; Tucumán, 67.8 per cent; La Rioja, 63.6 per cent; Jujuy, 89.8 per cent; and Santiago del Estero, 97 per cent. The grain belt, extending from northern Córdoba and Santa Fe to southern Buenos Aires, and the new sheep belt in Patagonia were the two areas of great agricultural development during these four and one-half decades. This is not to say that marked agricultural progress was not taking place in other areas. As a matter of fact all of the major type agricultural belts, except those of cotton, apples, and pears, developed and became consolidated or entrenched in their present areas of dominance during this period. It was in a sense the period of testing out the adaptability of types of farm production in which the transfer was made from trial and error pioneering to settled agricultural economies.

Since 1914 the population of the nation has approximately doubled but the total area under cultivation has not increased greatly—less than 23 per cent. There have, however, been outstanding increases in areas seeded or planted to some crops. Wheat acreage increased only slightly, corn considerably, and flax tremendously. The acreage seeded to alfalfa increased 325 per cent and cotton increased from 8,150 acres to 1,004,559. Cattle increased from slightly fewer than

26,000,000 to slightly more than 33,000,000. Because no new type-farm production belts, except cotton in Chaco and the fruit belt in Río Negro, have been added to the nation's agriculture since 1914, the story of agricultural evolution will not be carried beyond that date. A note or appendix on mechanization in agriculture, which has been pronounced since 1914, will be added to this chapter because it is a part of the story of the evolution of Argentine agriculture, therefore, logically seems to belong at this point.

APPENDIX

THE PROGRESS OF MECHANIZATION IN ARGENTINE AGRICULTURE

No small part of recent agricultural progress in Argentina has been due to mechanization and no small part of the explanation of the place of the nation in the world trade is due to the fact its agriculture is relatively highly mechanized. A great percentage of the land is in pasture or range and livestock farming and is not subject to the intensive mechanization which can be practiced in crop farming. Nevertheless, it was modern technologies—fences and water systems—as much as anything else that converted a very crude into a quite modern cattle culture.

The earliest pasture boundaries were ditches and the earliest water systems ponds, generally natural rather than artificial. The wire fence was introduced in 1848 and immediately became a great instrument of regularizing and systematizing cattle production. The cattle area of Argentina is probably the best-fenced agricultural area in the world, suggesting elements of pride and social status as well as utility and efficiency. There are no statistics on the number of miles of fences or the amount of money invested in them, but exceptionally efficient fences must be listed as the first and one of the greatest pieces of mechanization in Argentine agriculture.

Windmills were the second type of technology and are the second most important in livestock areas. Only 237 windmills, more than one half of them in Buenos Aires Province, were reported in 1888. Twenty years later there were 21,867, still more than one half of them in Buenos Aires Province. In 1914 there were 69,598, now slightly less than 50 per cent in Buenos Aires Province because modern livestock culture had spread to other areas and other types

of farming were finding them useful. In 1937 there were 168,994 windmills and 48 per cent of them were still in Buenos Aires Province. This fact is emphasized because the windmill, while now found everywhere in the nation, even sometimes in towns and the edges of cities, is primarily a piece of technology which implements modern livestock production. Plenty of water is a prime requisite to this type of agriculture and there are practically no streams. There is always wind, plenty of it, in almost all sections of the country, and wells need seldom be deep. The increase in windmills therefore is and has been almost an index of the spread of modern livestock culture. La Pampa, now a great cattle and sheep area, followed first after Buenos Aires. It had only 2 windmills in 1888, which increased to 1,188 by 1908, to 4,838 by 1914, and to 12,407 in 1937. Then followed, in time sequence, Chubut and Santa Cruz—both great sheep-producing territories. One needs only to contrast these with the northern provinces and territories to be convinced of the major role of windmills in livestock culture.

The "Australian tank" almost universally goes with the windmill to complete a livestock-watering unit. It is a large galvanized or cement tank, elevated only a few feet above ground level, and varies in capacity from 9,000 to 75,000 gallons. It is always located at or near the windmill and serves as a storage tank for the watering troughs from which livestock drink. On a sheep *estancia* of 300,000 acres and 73,000 sheep, visited by the writer, there were 40 watering units each consisting of a windmill, an Australian tank, and drinking troughs. Another sheep *estancia* of 308,000 acres, carrying 149,000 sheep and 4,800 cattle had very few of these units. This *estancia* was located in the foothills of the Andes and was supplied with a number of flowing streams. On a 50,000-acre cattle-feeding *estancia* in the western part of Buenos Aires Province there were 43 such units.

Other technologies in livestock production are motors, sometimes, but seldom, used as a part of the pumping equipment, the universal dipping vats, dehorning and branding chutes, and shearing equipment. There are also planting, some cultivating, and some harvesting machines in the livestock area.

Data on the number of farm machines in the crop-production areas are so ample that a detailed recounting of them would be uninteresting to anyone but an expert in the farm-machinery field.

As early as 1888 there were 160,693 plows, 16,669 mowers, 818 threshing machines, and 62,851 wagons. The plows were scattered throughout the country but approximately 57 per cent of them were in the Provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, and Entre Ríos, where cereal production was advancing rapidly. If data for Córdoba had been reported that province also probably would have ranked high. An additional 26 per cent were in the Provinces of Jujuy, Salta, Tucumán, San Juan, San Luis, and Mendoza, where sugar-cane and grape production were making rapid strides. All of the remainder of the country had only 17 per cent of the plows. Mowers were yet more highly concentrated in the cereal belt and 680 of the 818 threshing machines were in the two Provinces of Santa Fe and Buenos Aires.

Only 1.1 per cent of the country was under cultivation in 1888 and 71.9 per cent of all tilled land was in the three Provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, and Córdoba. It was therefore natural that field-crop machinery should be concentrated in these areas. The startling fact is that there should have been only 818 threshing machines when the wheat acreage alone for that year was more than 2,000,000 acres.¹

By 1908 mechanization was definitely on the march and the cereal belt, of course, was leading in the development. The 1908 Census of Agriculture reported the value of farm machinery for that year as more than 185,000,000 pesos (approximately \$46,000,000), slightly more than 65 per cent of it used in crop production. More than 65 per cent of all crop-planting-, cultivating-, and harvesting-machine values were in the two Provinces of Santa Fe and Buenos Aires. By the year 1914 the value of farm machinery had moved up to more than 405,000,000 pesos (approximately \$100,000,000) but these two provinces had now only 59 per cent of it in terms of values.

Data are so differently listed in the 1908 and 1937 agricultural census reports that it is impossible to measure precisely the progress during this 29-year period. Some generalizations from these two reports and that of the 1914 national census are, however, possible. The first is the observation that those conducting the 1908 census apparently did not consider detailed reporting of types of farm ma-

¹ The fact that approximately 137,000 acres of wheat were in Córdoba for which no farm-machinery data were reported that year would alter the picture. It would, however, still show a low state of mechanization,

chinery important. They grouped all types into seven categories, one of which was wagons and carts, another carriages. Mowers and harvesters were listed together, rakes were reported separately, and a general category—horsepower machines—was used for all other crop machines. Windmills and shearing machines, both important to the livestock industry, were, however, reported. Plows, cultivators, seeders, planters, rollers, shellers, and threshing machines, all important types of crop machinery, were not reported separately. It is therefore chiefly the more than 100 per cent increase in the value of farm machinery and the relatively higher rate of increase in crop than in livestock mechanization between 1908 and 1914 that reflect the rapid advance in mechanization.

Value of farm machinery is not reported in the 1937 Agricultural Census but types of machines are reported in detail. From these data it is possible to know that by that time practically every type of modern mechanization had entered Argentine agriculture and that most old-fashioned equipment, such as chain and hoist pumps and horsepower-driven threshing machines, had been largely replaced by windmill-driven pumps and combines. A survey of the sales of seven principal United States farm-implement firms over a twenty-year period ending in 1941 offers confirmation of this generalization.

These firms imported into Argentina \$183,746,520 worth of machines and \$37,852,108 in spare parts during the 20-year period.² The following is a classified list of the number and types of machines:

Plows		304,945
Riding	188,971	
Walking	84,442	
Tractor	25,432	
Harrow	6,100	
Harrows		164,899
Tooth	112,295	
Disk	52,604	
Planters and drills		172,472
Corn and cotton planters	96,552	
Wheat and flax drills	75,920	
Cultivators		95,407

² Data furnished by Jack Camp of International Harvester Company.

Harvesting machines	121,545
Binders	3,477
Headers and header binders	25,187
Harvester threshers	48,491
Threshers	2,229
Corn shellers ³	42,161
Mowers	61,662
Rakes	47,336
Tractors	27,784
Feed grinders	10,163
Kerosene motors	17,821

One needs only to look at this array of modern types of farm machinery and to know from observation that they are the best and largest that United States implement dealers can furnish to visualize the extent to which Argentine agriculture is mechanized. The fact that there are relatively few tractors is due to the cheapness of horses in Argentina. Camp says, "The all-purpose tractor, such as the 'Farm All' has never become popular in Argentina. Animal power is still so cheap that farmers will not plant or cultivate with tractors except in exceptional cases. Therefore, the tractors in this country are used almost entirely for plowing and for pulling combines. . . . Generally speaking, tractor-sales figures seem to have followed fairly closely the pattern of combine sales." He says that combines were introduced into the country in 1918 and their purchase became significant by 1922, after which for a few years "farm-equipment importers were not able to obtain enough combines from the United States to meet the demand."⁴

Since 1930, with the exception of 1938, cereal producers, the chief users of the types of farm machinery being discussed here, have not been prosperous in Argentina. Since the outbreak of World War II they have been in an economic depression. A low level in farm-machine sales has followed a low level of crop prices. It may be assumed that this condition will be only temporary. There are other conditions of a more permanent nature which may cause mechanization to influence greatly agricultural development in Argentina. Large farm machines not only result from but tend to encourage

³ Corn shellers are included in the list because practically all corn is exported and shelling is therefore a part of its preparation for market.

⁴ Data furnished by Jack Camp.

large-scale agriculture. Exchange control, serving as a tariff on farm-machinery imports, keeps the cost of such machinery very high, so high indeed that only large-scale farmers can afford to mechanize. If this were the only factor involved it might result in the development of a class of large-scale, mechanized farmers on one hand and a class of small-scale, hand-implement farmers on the other hand. In such a situation, the small-scale farmers could compete only by falling to a poverty level of living. There is, however, an increasing volume of domestic manufacture of plows, harrows, and cultivators and there is no reason to expect motor power to replace animal power in Argentina for a long time to come. "All-purpose" farm equipment is being used in the cotton belt where the farms are family sized, and if the division of large holdings should gradually take place there is no reason why mechanization might not serve to encourage rather than handicap that development.

CHAPTER VII

THE SETTLING AND PEOPLING OF THE COUNTRY

RISE AND DECLINE OF COLONIZATION PROJECTS

*E*arly Settlements in Argentina Were Not Agricultural Colonies. During the more than 300 years of historic development which is designated by Argentine historians as the preconstitutional period there were no colonies.¹ In areas where the Indians were peaceful or docile they were used by the whites to form loose settlements; where they were hostile white men did not trespass too far into the lands they occupied. Because immigrants were few and free lands plentiful until well into the nineteenth century there was no great impulse to engage in wars with the hostile tribes in order to obtain lands. The easiest way for white men to have anything approaching social organization was to form it largely out of the resident Indians. That this is what they did is evidenced by the fact that until about 1800, considerably less than half the nation's population was white.

Neither the enumeration in Buenos Aires in 1810 nor De Moussy's estimates for the whole nation for 1797 gave the ethnic composition of the population. Some data are, however, available on the various populations of settlements for earlier periods. In 1622 the population of Santa Fe was 2,083—1,273 Indians and 810 whites; in Corrientes that same year the population was 1,843—1,388 Indians and 455 whites. Indians thus constituted 68 per cent of these two settlements. The Tucumán area in 1766 had a population of 126,004, only 27.7 per cent of which was white, and the region of Cuyo in 1778 had a population of 71,387, only 13.8 per cent of which was white. Buenos Aires, however, in that same year had a population of 37,416, slightly more than 70 per cent white. The combined areas for which data are available in 1766 and 1778 had a total population of 108,803,

¹ This is not strictly true if the unsuccessful colonization program of Rivadavia in the 1820's is considered, but is true in terms of what happened after 1856.

30 per cent of which was white, approximately 30 per cent Negroes and mulattoes, and the remainder Indians or mixed bloods.²

There is evidence that the majority of whites, Negroes, and mulattoes were living in villages and the Indians in the open country during the major portion of the eighteenth century. In Buenos Aires, for instance, 64.2 per cent of the whites and 82.4 per cent of the Negroes and mulattoes were in the village while 75.6 per cent of the Indians were in the country. The village population constituted 72.2 per cent and the open-country population 27.8 per cent of the settlement. It thus had the semblance of a colony, not, however, that of a farm colony such as developed 75 years later when the tide of European immigrants began flowing into the country and settling on farms. Buenos Aires received only 700 immigrants between 1770 and 1810 and only 5 per cent of its population was foreign born at that time.³ It was a city of 45,000 and considered itself as the leading area of the nation, but was apparently not immigration-minded.

After "Independence," in 1810 there was constant agitation for immigration but with little result during the following 50 years. Between 1823 and 1857 there were a number of attempts to establish agricultural colonies such as had prevailed in the United States from earliest settlement, but none of them was successful. In 1823 an Englishman attempted to found a colony at Santa Catalina, 11 miles south of Buenos Aires, but in spite of the protection offered by the Buenos Aires settlement, it was not a success. In 1824 the Province of Entre Ríos negotiated a contract with an Englishman to settle 200 families from Plymouth, England, but the low prices for the land offered to these families caused such a furor that the governor of the province was compelled to resign and the few colonists who had come scattered to various places in the Province of Buenos Aires. In 1825, 14 German families were given land in Chorrain and the settlement of Bella Vista was founded in Corrientes on the basis of free land grants to colonists. Not until 28 years later were there any further attempts at colonization.⁴ In 1852 Dr. Augusto Brougues

² The data used in these estimates are cited in various places in Vol. IV, Sec. 1, of Levene, *Historia de la Nacion Argentina*, see especially pp. 71, 251-60. See also Alsina, *La Inmigración Europea*, Chaps. I-III.

³ Georg Hiller, *Einwanderung und Einwanderungspolitik in Argentinien*, Berlin, 1912, pp. 9-10; Alsina, *La Inmigración Europea*, p. 16. See also Parish, *Buenos Ayres and the Provinces*, p. 418; Peyret, *Una Visita á las Colonias*, Vol. I, p. viii.

⁴ M. A. Carcano, *Evolucion historica de la tierra publica, 1810-1916*, Buenos Aires: Libreria Mendeky, 1917.

contracted with the Province of Corrientes to construct a colony of European immigrants; delivered the immigrants in January 1855, but found provincial authorities unprepared to settle them and the venture failed.⁵ In 1853 the Governor of Santa Fe negotiated a similar contract with Aaron Castellanos which stipulated that he would bring 1,000 foreign farm families at his own expense into the province during the following 10 years, 200 families during the first two years. The province was to grant each family free land, advance 500 pesos with which to build a house, furnish each family 12 work animals, seeds, and flour. All but the land was to be paid for out of the first few harvests. This venture met with a modicum of success; the first 200 families, all Swiss, had arrived by 1856 and founded what is now recognized as the first farm colony in the nation at Esperanza.⁶ Today a pioneers' monument stands in the plaza of the City of Esperanza, as a national memorial to this first European colony.

There Was an Era of Colonization Between 1853 and 1895. Planned colonization projects in Argentina accomplished, in a measure, what pre-emption and homesteading accomplished in the United States, and in the same short period. It is not too clear why colonization of European immigrants into Argentina was delayed for 50 years after they flowed freely into the United States and then rather suddenly broke loose, so to speak, in an epidemic of colonization projects. Some of the conditioning circumstances and basic causes undoubtedly were: (1) World markets for grain became available; (2) Alberdi, the so-called father of the new national constitution, in 1852, preached the doctrine that "to govern is to populate";⁷ (3) President Sarmiento (1856-62) was an exponent of Alberdi's doctrines and fostered immigration; (4) Castellanos, founder of Esperanza colony, was an inveterate optimist and land was so cheap, about one sixth of a cent per acre, that his request to be given an opportunity to colonize was easy to grant; (5) there was population

⁵ F. T. Molinas, *La colonización Argentina y las industrias agropecuarias*, Buenos Aires: A. Molinari, 1910, p. 49.

⁶ Francisco Latzina, "El Comercio Argentino Antaño y Hogaño," in *Censo Agropecuario Nacional*, Buenos Aires, 1908, Vol. III, p. 602; see also Rafael García-Mata and Emilio Llorens, *Argentina Económica*, 2d ed., Buenos Aires: Compañía Impresora Argentina, 1940, p. 26; Jefferson, *Peopling the Argentine Pampa*, Chap. III; and William Perkins, *Las colonias de Santa Fe: Su origen, progreso y actual situación*, Rosario, Santa Fe: El Ferro-carril, 1864 (also published in English).

⁷ Alberdi, *Bases*.

pressure in southern Europe and immigrants were flowing into all parts of the Western Hemisphere; (6) cereal culture was quickly able to compete successfully with cattle culture in the northern part of the *pampas* and immigrants could start grain farming without much capital; (7) the Paraná River offered easy access to the sea and thus to export markets; (8) by 1880 wars had cleared the land of hostile Indians and thus occupancy of new areas was safe; (9) colonization by individuals and companies as money-making enterprises became prevalent and profitable.

The French- and German-speaking Swiss who founded the colony at Esperanza in 1856 were followed by Swiss colonies at San Gerónimo in 1858 and by another at San Carlos in 1859. To the Swiss settlers at San Carlos were added Italians whose numbers soon exceeded not only the Swiss but all other nationality groups combined. In 1871 the ethnic composition of the colony was 1,024 Italians, 501 Swiss, 305 Argentines, and 117 French. From that time forward Italians supplied the majority of all new colonists. These colonists, and others, began almost immediately to practice subsistence and mixed farming—wheat, corn, oats, beans, sweet potatoes, and livestock. They went through all the vicissitudes of pioneers but within a decade had become the forerunners of the population and agricultural development which lifted Argentina from a primitive to a modern agricultural nation.

In addition to the three colonies mentioned, 15 others were established in Santa Fe Province before 1870. They were Swiss, German, French, English, American, Spanish, and Italian, but with the Italian steadily increasing in ascendancy. Railroads joined in the colonization movement and the provincial government of Santa Fe established a commission "to receive the spontaneous immigrants and locate them on lands, in 83.26-acre tracts granted free." By 1880 there were 72 colonies in the province. By 1895 there were 363 including a total of 9,132,650 acres.⁸

The Province of Santa Fe is used here to illustrate the method of land settlement by planned colonization because it was in that prov-

⁸ *Segundo Censo de la República Argentina, 1895*, Vol. I, pp. 652-60; Carcano, *Evolución histórica de la tierra*, pp. 49-282; Hugo Miatello, *Investigación agrícola en la Provincia de Santa Fe*, Buenos Aires: Compañía Sud-Americana de B. de Banco, 1904; Gabriel Carrasco, *La Provincia de Santa Fe y su colonización agrícola*, Buenos Aires: Departamento General de Inmigración, 1894; Jefferson, *Peopling the Argentine Pampa*, Chaps. III and IV.

ince that this movement had its greatest development and because the greatest amount of detailed information is available on its colonies.



FIGURE 20

There were, however, three other provinces—Entre Ríos, Córdoba, and Buenos Aires—which were well represented in the movement. President Urquiza, first president of the newly constituted federal government after 1853, and ex-governor of Entre Ríos, established

the first colony in Entre Ríos at San José in 1857, with families from Switzerland, France, Italy, and Germany. Two other colonies—Las Conchas and Villa Urquiza were projected shortly afterwards and the number had increased to 220 by 1895. In Buenos Aires Province colonies were founded in the counties of Baradero, Chivilcoy, and Mercedes in 1857. By 1888 there were 60 colonies, from 1 to 7 per county, scattered in 29 different counties. In 1887 this province passed a "law of agricultural centers" which provided for "founding of colonies around unpeopled railway stations within 60 miles of the federal capital," and provided further that the owners of the land to be colonized could either undertake colonization enterprises or have their lands expropriated. By 1890, 253 such "centers" had been founded which included a total of 5,457,224 acres of land. In 1898, however, titles to only 669 farms had been definitely transferred and the whole scheme of settlement was declared a failure. In Córdoba colonization was carried out by individuals and companies, as in Santa Fe, and also by the provincial government and by the Central Argentine Railroad.⁹ In 1895 there were 130 colonies in this province including 3,351,920 acres. In these four provinces there were at least 775 colonies, including not less than 13,000,000 acres of land.

In 1869, shortly after the colonization movement started, the first federal census recorded a national population of 1,836,490; in 1895, near the end of the colonization boom, the second census recorded a national population of 3,954,911, an increase of approximately 115 per cent in 26 years. During that period the residue of immigration over emigration was approximately 840,000. This development was very much like the homestead movement in the United States and the area settled by immigrant farmers was comparable to the settlement of the Middle West of the United States. Santa Fe Province was the center of development. Its population increased 345.7 per cent during the period and in 1895 was 41.9 per cent foreign born. Something like an additional 25 per cent were children of foreign-born parents. The population of the adjacent provinces

⁹ Peyret, *Una Visita à las Colonias*, Vol. I, Chaps. XVII-XXI and Vol. II; Guillermo Wilchen, *Las Colonias: Informe sobre el estado actual de las colonias agrícolas de la República Argentina presentado a la Comisión Central de Inmigración*, Buenos Aires, 1873; William Perkins, *The Colonies of Santa Fe: Their Origin, Progress and Present Condition* (English translation), Rosario: Ferrocarril, 1864.

which were involved in the colonization movement increased as follows: Buenos Aires, 199.3 per cent; Entre Ríos, 117.5 per cent; Corrientes, 85.7 per cent; Córdoba, 66.8 per cent. Two other interior provinces were also involved in the development. The population of Tucumán increased 98.0 per cent and that of Mendoza 77.5 per cent. The increase of population of these seven provinces, not counting Buenos Aires City, was approximately equal to the total population of the nation in 1869.

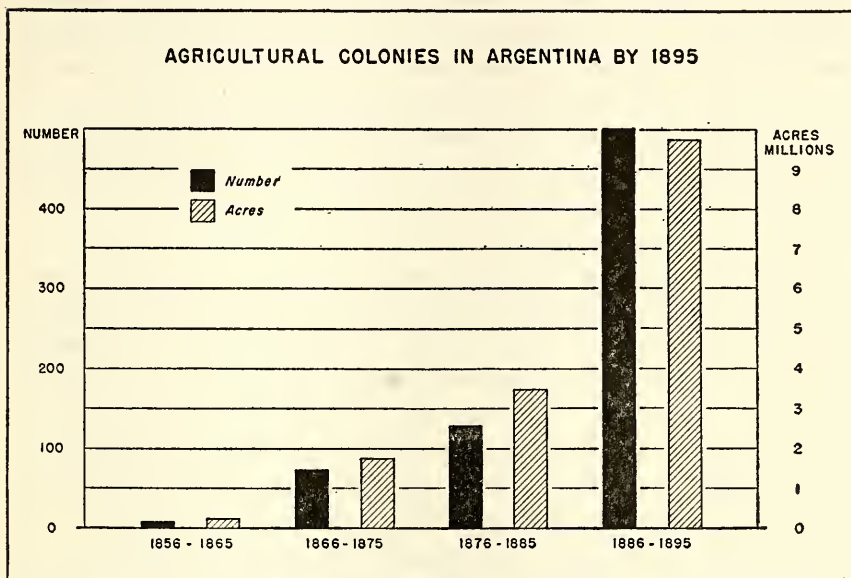


FIGURE 21

Colonization Development Slowed Down After 1895. The tide of immigration continued to flow into Argentina at even higher levels after than before 1895, but colonization development slowed down. The immigrant tide was low in the decade 1891-1900, the residue of immigrants over emigrants being only 319,882, just about one half of what it was in the previous decade. It, however, rose to the greatest height of all time between 1901 and 1910. The number of immigrants during that decade was 1,764,103, the number of emigrants 643,881, and the residue 1,120,222.

The major portion of good lands which *estancieros* were willing to have converted from cattle culture was, however, already occupied. No more was available except at high prices. Expansion of

colonization southward, therefore, was not possible. It would not have been feasible to have expanded into the lowlands south of Buenos Aires but quite feasible to move south much farther than it did. The expansion northward and westward had to go deeper into the interior, away from river transportation, into poorer lands, into areas of less rainfall, and nearer to the areas frequented by locust infestations. With these changed conditions of settlement, new immigrants, in great numbers, became laborers or tenants, not land-owning colonists. The laborers found employment with earlier colonists and with estancieros who were converting large holdings into cereal culture but who retained ownership and began operating large tenanted farms. The tenants became renters on these same types of large farms and on the expanded holdings of earlier colonists. The testimony of present owners and sons of owners in case after case is that after the period 1900 to 1905 it was difficult for immigrants to obtain ownership of land.

Colonization did not, however, completely cease. Some immigrants continued to filter into already established colonies and the federal government promoted colonization in national territories; some private companies also continued to carry on colonization activities. The "Law of Lands" passed in 1903 provided for about the same kind of assistance to settlers in territories as previous national laws had provided, but the assistance came at a time when the bidding for settlers in these more remote areas was no longer in severe competition with other more feasible pampas areas of settlement.

The first legal forerunner of the 1903 settlement law was the national constitution of 1853 which reflected Alberdi's and other leaders' ideas about the need of peopling the country. Article 20 guaranteed to foreigners all the civil rights of citizens and Articles 25 and 67 directed the federal government to promote European immigration.¹⁰ A law of 1862 authorized the negotiation of contracts with immigrant families and granted free to each family 104 acres of land two years after occupancy.¹¹ The well-known Welsh colony at Trelew, near the mouth of the Chubut River in Chubut Territory, was founded under this law in 1865 with 180 colonists, each of whom received 62 acres of land at the time. In 1875 each received

¹⁰ See the Argentine Constitution and also Canepa, *Economía Agraria Argentina*, p. 122.

¹¹ Carcano, *Evolución histórica de la tierra*, pp. 194-95.

247 acres more and the right to purchase an additional 741 acres at 2 pesos per acre.¹² A law of 1876 provided for an elaborate promotion of colonization. Agents were to be sent to various European nations and to the United States to promote immigration and to pay the passage of immigrants to Argentina. Upon arrival in the country each immigrant was to receive and did receive: (a) "free lodging and support in the great immigrant hotel during the first five days, and very low prices thereafter"; (b) the right to enter the occupation of his choosing; (c) free transportation to the area in which he chose to settle; (d) free support for 10 days after arrival at destination; (e) duty-free entrance of luggage and tools.¹³

In order to provide farms for immigrants the law had the following additional provisions: (a) the territories were to be divided into sections of 16 leagues (97,600 acres) and these into tracts of 100 hectares (247 acres), 80 hectares (197.6 acres) in each section to be reserved for a townsite and suburban farms; (b) the first 100 settlers to receive 100 hectares of free land; (c) the federal government to give financial aid to provinces which would colonize their lands; (d) private colonization was to be encouraged and lands set aside for that purpose. The law also reserved lands for Indian reservations.¹⁴

A law of 1884 authorized settlers with 200 pesos capital, who did not own land elsewhere, to be given 625 hectares (1,543.75 acres) to which they would receive title in two years by paying 500 pesos. No colonies were founded under this law until after 1896 when San Martín, Maipú, Sarmiento, and San Antonio colonies in Chubut, and Barcala in Neuquén were founded. A number of additional colonies were founded under the law between 1899 and 1908 in Santa Cruz, some of which failed.¹⁵ It was under the provisions of this law that the first colonies, except the Welsh one at Trelew, were started in Patagonia.¹⁶

Finally, the law of 1903, under which the National Land Office

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 216.

¹³ Ruiz Moreno Giuricich, and Pichot, *El fenomeno migratorio*, Buenos Aires, 1942, Vol. I, pp. 55-65.

¹⁴ *Anuario Geografico Argentino*, 1941, p. 193.

¹⁵ Carcano, *Evolucion historica de la tierra*, pp. 259-61.

¹⁶ Antonio Gomez Langenheim, *Colonizacion en la Republica Argentina*, Buenos Aires: M. Biedma e hijo, 1906. Chaps. VI-XI describe all laws and decrees from those of 1810 and 1813 to 1905.

operated until its functions were transferred to the Nacional Consejo Agrario in 1943, became the legal basis of national colonization. Under this law 176 colonies had been established by June 30, 1940. At that time the Land Office had sold 15,224,628 acres of land and was in the process of transferring title to an additional 1,943,085 acres. Major progress under this law has taken place since 1922; before that time, and even to some extent since, settlement in the northern territories where the most colonies have been founded has been by squatters. Most of these squatters were immigrants from Europe who came into the areas more rapidly than the Land Office could survey the land and make title provisions for them.¹⁷

In addition to these colonies there have been other types which have made colonization history in Argentina. They are the Jewish colonies, those promoted by land-selling companies, those sponsored by the National Mortgage Bank, and those constructed and operated by the Colonization Institute of the Province of Buenos Aires. These will be discussed in Chapter XIV.

ARGENTINA A FIELD LABORATORY IN COLONIZATION

Esperanza, the First Colony. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a greater array of colonization experience in one or many countries than is available in Argentina. Because of that fact and because relatively good source materials are available considerable space is given to the description of these experiences. They started with the Swiss Colony at Esperanza in 1856 and are still in process in the programs of the "Instituto de Colonización" of Buenos Aires Province and of the "Consejo Agrario" of the federal government and by a number of colonization companies.

The founding of the colony at Esperanza, Jefferson says, "was entirely due to the imagination, the vision, and the restless activity of an Argentine . . . Aaron Castellanos."¹⁸ He was a promoter who expected to make considerable money out of his colonization

¹⁷ Mexia, *La Colonización Oficial*.

¹⁸ The major portion of description of Esperanza and other early colonies was obtained from Perkins, *Las colonias de Santa Fe*; Wilchen, *Las Colonias: Informe sobre el estado*; and Jefferson, *Peopling the Argentine Pampa*. Perkins was land agent for the Central Argentine Railway and was commissioned by the government to inspect the colonies in Santa Fe in 1863. Wilchen studied them ten years later for the Central Commission of Immigration. Jefferson was first in Argentina from 1884 to 1889 and visited a number of the colonies in 1918.

ventures, but his faith in the future of his then undeveloped native country was the spark which lighted the fire for European immigrant settlements which for 40 years spread over the northern end of the pampas. He had sought to develop navigation on the Bermejo River in the far northern Province of Salta and Territory of Chaco, had urged the federal government to negotiate a contract with him for colonizing the Rio Chubut Valley in northern Patagonia, and had tried to promote the construction of a railroad, with European capital, from Rosario to Córdoba. Finally, in 1853, he induced the provincial legislature of Santa Fe to negotiate a contract with him for the settlement of 1,000 Swiss families in that province. Urquiza, president of the newly reorganized federal government and a strong believer, even promoter, of colonization, ratified the contract. The colonization movement was therefore started out of a combination of Castellanos' irrepressible optimism, Urquiza's interest and support, and the fact that Santa Fe Province still owned great tracts of land which were literally worthless in the uses then being made of them.

Castellanos was undoubtedly an altruistic patriot but he also expected to make money. The Province of Santa Fe wanted settlers because it was anxious to grow in economic and political national influence and because it wanted to rid itself of the menace of Indians. The province contracted with Castellanos: (a) to supply each group of 200 families with 46,700 acres of good land; (b) to build each family a 15 by 30 foot adobe house with thatched roof; (c) to supply them with tools, oxen, seeds, and supplies—at a total expense of \$200 per family—all of which was to be later repaid; and (d) exempt them from taxes for five years and from military services except for protection of their own possessions. Castellanos was to advance all expenses of recruiting and transporting colonists for which he was to collect 10 per cent interest, receive one third of each of the first five harvests, and a personal grant of 32 square leagues (195,200 acres) of land. He gave bond for the fulfillment of his contract.¹⁹

The first 208 French- and German-speaking Swiss families sailed from Dunkirk and arrived January 25, 1856. The provincial treasury was depleted at the time but Governor Cullen and two other citizens advanced \$900 to meet partially the provision of the contract. The land originally agreed upon was not used because it was

¹⁹ Jefferson, *Peopling the Argentine Pampa*, Chap. III.

too exposed to Indian raids,²⁰ but 53,376 acres of other lands were surveyed, and 20,016 laid out in lots. Some houses were already built and some supplies were on hand. The province, however, fell

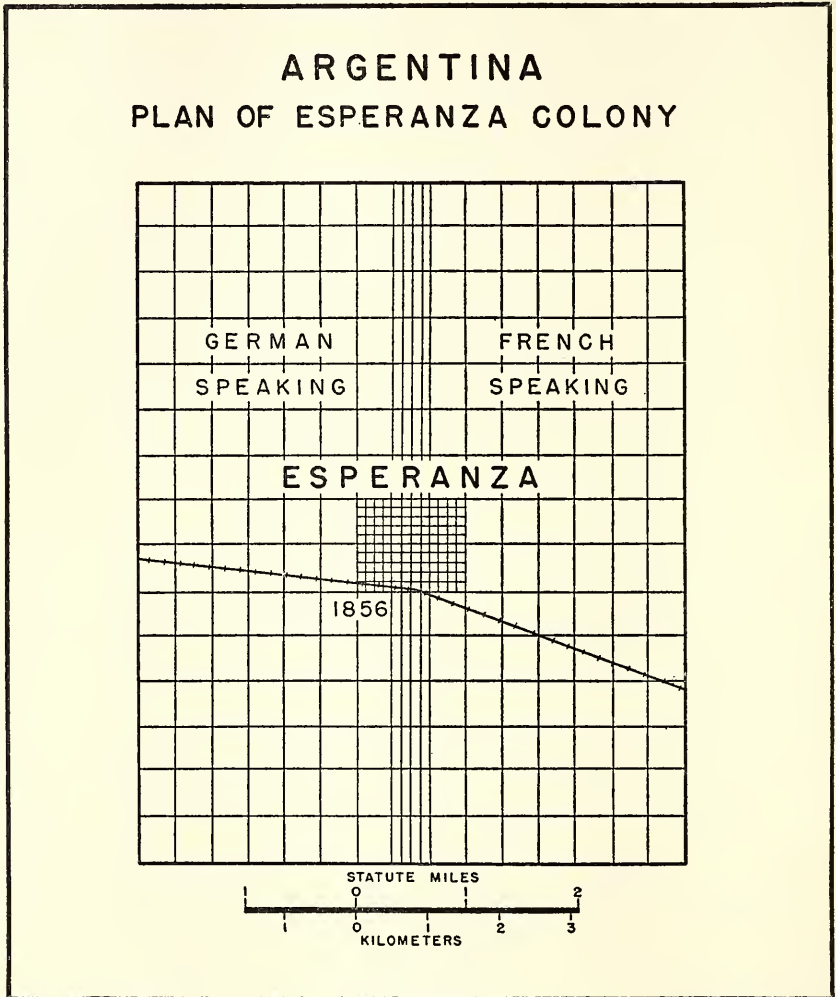


FIGURE 22

far short on its side of the contract and Castellanos complained bitterly.

The pattern of settlement, shown in Figure 22, was a block of 20,016 acres divided into 210 individual farms, with 26,688 acres

²⁰ Wilchen, *Las Colonias: Informe sobre el estado*, p. 21.

surrounding this central block which was to be used as communal grazing land. Through the center of the inner block ran a strip of unoccupied land which was to be used as a townsite. On one side of this strip were settled those who spoke German, on the other side those who spoke French. The individual farms averaged 83 acres in size. The remainder of the land was in the central strip or in roads which ran between farms. The communal pasture lands were never granted by the province and Castellanos felt that many other provisions of the contract were never met. He had not only delivered his first quota of colonists according to the agreement but had returned from Europe with an agreement on the part of European companies to settle 60,000 colonists in the Chaco. President Urquiza paid him 200,000 bolivianos (approximately \$110,000) for his claims against the colonists; the Province of Santa Fe granted him 10 of the 32 square leagues of land promised, and he withdrew from the enterprise. Beck and Herzog, his agents in Europe, continued working and themselves established San Carlos colony. Governor Cullen and, especially, his successor Governor Oroño saved the Esperanza colony by giving sympathetic attention and assistance to the settlers.²¹

The experiences of colonists during the first decade or so of their settlement were those of pioneers in an isolated location of an undeveloped country and furnish a commentary on colonization under such conditions. The French Ambassador to Argentina visited the colony in September 1856, eight months after its founding, and vehemently denounced the conditions under which the colonists were living. He said, "Our workingmen cannot live in miserable huts, naked and hungry, with a guitar and a few gulps of mate, as the poor native gaucho does. They have other necessities and earn too little to buy objects that are more expensive than in France."²² Wilchen, who inspected the colony in 1872, said that very few of the colonists had been farmers in Europe, but rather were people "of the lowest condition in populous cities," that they were not industrious and had very little idea of correct tillage. They sowed corn broadcast among the stumps and did not cultivate it. They planted po-

²¹ Jefferson, *Peopling the Argentine Pampa*, pp. 99-106.

²² Translation from M. M. Cervera, *Boceto histórico del Dr. Manuel M. Cervera sobre colonización Argentina y fundación de Esperanza*, Esperanza, 1906, p. 62, by Jefferson, in *Peopling the Argentine Pampa*, p. 60.

tatoes on the new land and let the weeds crowd them so badly that yields were poor. Gradually colonists turned primarily to the production of wheat and livestock. Potato production fell from 121,250 pounds in 1868 to 15,000 pounds in 1870, to 9,000 pounds in 1871.²³

There were other discouraging conditions. There were no schools, the colonists could not support their ministers and thus were without religious services, and it was 24 miles, three days' round trip with an ox team, to the port on the Paraná River. The resentment against them as newcomers and "pampered colonists" was often expressed. Their land was covered with scrub timber, the roots of which rotted slowly and made tillage difficult. Locusts were bad some years. But the government laid out a 115-foot road between the settlement and the town of Santa Fe, established a stage service in 1864, and reduced payments from one third to one fourth of harvested crops. Nevertheless, many settlers gave up before these improvements and adjustments were made; others left later. Wilchen reported that 136 members of the Esperanza colony left between 1869 and 1871.²⁴

Notwithstanding all the difficulties encountered the colony succeeded, expanded, and became the stimulus for other colonization projects. The first titles to farms were issued in December 1862, a month less than seven years after the colonists arrived and after the good harvest of 1861-62, their fifth year's crop. The values of the 83-acre farms at that time ranged from \$330 to \$440. A colonist who received his title had paid only \$200 and thus had increased his net worth by from \$130 to \$240. Land which had originally been worth less than one cent per acre had come to be worth from \$4.00 to \$5.00 per acre and while this fact caused the owners of the lands which had been used by colonists as community pastures to begin offering them for sale, it also stimulated additional colonization projects. The living conditions of colonists were also steadily improving. In 1861 there were 437 "ranchos" (mud houses with thatched roofs) and only 33 houses with tile roofs. In 1871 there were only 15 ranchos but 220 houses with tile roofs and 150 brick houses with thatched roofs.²⁵

Other Early Colonies followed the experiences at Esperanza, the first ones duplicating the mistakes of too small farms and too little

²³ Wilchen, *Las Colonias: Informe sobre el estado*, pp. 11-22.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8, and 11.

²⁵ Cervera, *Boceto histórico del Dr. Manuel M. Cervera*, p. 79.

agricultural and business guidance. Some, like the one at San Carlos, promoted by Beck and Herzog, were well handled; others were promoted by land speculators and money-makers who were far more concerned with their own financial gains than they were with the welfare and progress of the settlers. As roads and railroads developed in the northern end of the pampas and as early colonists came to be the examples for newcomers to follow, success in colonization became easier. Early colonists suffered many trials and hardships but those who succeeded laid the bases of a sound agricultural development. Some moved away because of dire failure; others were driven out by Indians. Women and even men suffered much from homesickness. Old settlers resented their presence in some cases, and it took at least five years for the most diligent and thrifty to succeed.

Additional colonists created communities, and increasing agricultural development and better means of transportation created markets. Ownership became both easier and more profitable. A farmer in San Carlos, who came to the colony in 1859, by 1863 had 63 cows, 9 horses, and 36 acres of wheat which he calculated was worth \$1,000. Unimproved lots at San Gerónimo in 1872 were worth from \$165 to \$220 and improved lots from \$440 to \$1,100. As early as 1872, 16,678 immigrant families had colonized 904,000 acres of land in Santa Fe, 66,700 in Entre Ríos, and 53,376 in Córdoba.²⁶ Many more families came and succeeded as colonists during the next 20 years, but fewer and fewer immigrants who entered farming followed the patterns of settlement practiced by those who came seeking ownership of modest-sized farms.²⁷

CASE RECORDS OF THE THREE FIRST COLONIES IN SANTA FE²⁸

Esperanza, Founded in 1856. Perkins says the Swiss immigrants "belonged to the poorer classes . . . ignorant, most of them agri-

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

²⁷ Gabriel Carrasco in 1888 attempted to give a complete description of Santa Fe Province in which he included fairly elaborate analyses of the colonies of the province at that time. Gabriel Carrasco, *La Province de Santa-Fe, État Actuel et Progres Realises*, Buenos Aires: P. Coni et fils, 1888, see especially pp. 14-82. See also Alois E. Fliess, *La Produccion Agricola de la Provincia de Santa Fe*, Buenos Aires, 1891, Informe de Alois E. Fliess en el Año 1891; and *Pliego de Condiciones para el Alumbrado Publico de la Ciudad del Rosario de Santa Fe*, Rosario: Republica Argentina, 1902.

²⁸ William Perkins visited the early Santa Fe colonies in 1864, and wrote a series of articles for "ferro-carril" (railway) of Rosario. He later added some statistics

cultural laborers, but by no means vicious or badly disposed," but they were people who "in no part of the world would be able to start as independent proprietors and left to their own resources with any hope of immediate success." During the first four years their hardships were great; the rations of flour were not sufficient to last until the first crops were harvested; the milch cows delivered to them were wild and ran away; swarms of locusts invaded them three years in succession after the first year; and many families gave up and left the colony. New families arrived and were given concessions or purchased lands from those who were leaving, and Perkins said in 1863: "La Esperanza, with its four hundred families is now a flourishing colony, its inhabitants prosperous, and its products have become an important adjunct to the commerce of the country. . . . In the Plaza there are already several edifices; the Catholic church, a respectable brick building with portico and a tower, near to which will be constructed the Protestant church, for which there are already liberal subscriptions collected, and materials ready; an hotel and three or four private houses and shops, and the offices of the Judge and the municipality."

He records the following facts about the population of the colony: In 1863 there were 345 families—230 Catholic, German Swiss; 40 Protestant, Swiss; and 75 Protestant, German. There were 1,561 persons: 553 adults and 203 children, French and Swiss (total 756) and 567 adults and 238 children, German (total 805). In 1862 there were 7,500 acres of cultivated land which was probably increased by 25 per cent in 1863, the greater part of it in wheat but also some in barley and corn. "The families lacked," he said, "many of the products of the most common character, and such as are found in abundance in the kitchen-gardens in Europe, and on the tables of even the poorest peasants." Many of the Germans partially deserted their farms and turned to wood chopping and charcoal burning. The result was that they had not progressed as far as the Swiss and French in either tilling their land or improving their homes; furthermore, they refused to send their children to school on the pretext of not wanting them to learn the Spanish language. French-

and published these articles in book form. Many of his agricultural beliefs are very questionable but his case histories of colonists contain the sort of information seldom available. For that reason the writer believes it worth while to record his observations in some detail.

Swiss colonists had built 60 brick houses, the Germans only 4. New American farm machinery was coming in to replace the more clumsy types. There were already five reapers and four threshing machines and the colonists were also using wire fences.

Perkins speaks of the colonists as "forced immigrants," meaning that they were persons who had no alternative opportunities in their own countries and thus migrated. He concludes, "As a general principle forced immigration is not an advantage to the country, for it is costly, and difficult, and favorable results are very tardy in showing themselves." His reports on cases, which he claimed to have selected at random, are not as discouraging as his generalizations.

Mr. Henry, a Frenchman, not an original colonist, probably the wealthiest man in the colony, has two concessions, i.e., 166 acres, nearly all fenced, 300 head of cattle, a small flock of sheep, a good house in the plaza.

A Swiss colonist who had left his farm uncultivated while he built himself a brick house; neighbors said he "had smoked 20 pipes of tobacco and finished a bottle of whiskey for every course of bricks he laid."

A German colonist who brought with him a few hundred dollars and 8 sows; has a good brick house, fruit trees, has planted a grove of shade trees and is producing wheat, corn, peas, barley and alfalfa, family making and selling \$400 worth of butter per year.

San Carlos, Founded in 1859. This colony was a private enterprise of Beck, Herzog, and Basle, the original foreign agents of Castellanos. The government of Santa Fe donated not only the land to colonists but additional land to the colonizing company. The first families in the colony were similar to those at Esperanza, the later ones from higher levels of culture. The company made very liberal provisions for helping families to get established and started in farming. They were cared for completely at company expense for six weeks after arrival, if necessary.

Perkins describes the administration of the colony when he visited it as follows: "In the center of the colony are the houses and buildings of the administration, and a good church, all of sun-dried bricks or adobe, but well built and commodious. Here also is the model farm, and gardens and fruit-tree plantations belonging to the administration. The model farm was established to teach the colonists the best systems of agriculture. All this is under the charge of an

intelligent agricultural Superintendent, Mr. Vallenweider, whose duties do not cease here, but extend to making visits to every family, personally showing them the best method of working, and giving them valuable advice. The good effects of the procedure are evident in the appearance of the fields, which are far better cultivated than the farms at Esperanza."

The company's contract prescribed that each family should possess one wagon, harness for two horses, a plow, a harrow, 50 feet of chain, 25 pounds of cordage, 8 or 10 hoes and a pick ax, 2 scythes, 2 forks, several reaping sickles, a number of smaller tools, clothing, firearms, and kitchen utensils. If the family was unable to provide these things the company advanced them, or money to purchase them. The colonizing society was to provide to each family 83 acres of land, materials for the construction of a rancho, 2 yoke of oxen, 2 horses, 4 milch cows with their calves, 2 hogs, necessary provisions up to the value of \$60 per each adult—boys under twelve and girls under fourteen to be counted as one-half adult—seeds and plants for cultivation. The colonists were bound to follow prescribed farm practices, cultivate 16 to 20 acres the first year, at least 32 acres the second year and 46 acres the third year. They were to deliver to the company one third of all harvested crops for the first five years, and at the end of five years to deliver one half of the increase in livestock which had been given them. At the end of five years, if all provisions of the contract had been met, the family was to receive an 83-acre farm and all animals not used to pay company obligations. Only every other farm was allotted, the intervening ones being retained for later settlers or to be purchased by families already settled. Each family was given permission to use one adjacent lot as pasture land until it was purchased.

Perkins visited ten families at San Carlos in 1862, three years after the colony was founded. Every other one of his case records is briefed here.

The Goetsche Family, husband, wife, and four sons, a small cultivator in Switzerland, arrived in colony in 1859; by July 1, 1861, had kept up all payments to the company and had 63 cattle, 10 horses, 5 hogs with their litters, an excellent house, outhouses and corrals, a fine garden, and 1,600 peach trees; was chiefly producing wheat, but also corn, potatoes, sweet potatoes, peas, and alfalfa.

The Hammerly Family, husband, wife, three sons, two daughters, all adults, arrived in October 1859; two sons found employment elsewhere and wife died shortly after arrival in Argentina, thus husband, one son, and two daughters operating the farm. In March 1862, they had 43 cattle, 12 horses, 6 hogs and their litters, 30 acres of wheat, 10 acres of corn, one-half acre of peas, one-half of corn, sweet potatoes, 1 acre of alfalfa, a garden, and 1,000 peach trees; were current in their payments to the company although were loaned \$350 when they arrived. Father was a cooper, not a farmer, in Europe.

The Blanck Family, father, mother, and five children, German, father a mason by occupation, owned 21 cattle and 5 horses, had only 18 acres of wheat in crops, had changed farms twice, had not paid debt to company, did not send children to school, house dilapidated, father lazy and addicted to liquor.

Stetler Family, father, mother, and eight children, four of them adult, agricultural laborers in Switzerland. Company had advanced money to pay transportation to Argentina, debt at time of arrival \$850, later increased to \$1,800; had 32 acres of wheat, $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres of corn, 2 acres of peas, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of sweet potatoes, and a number of peach trees, a beautiful flower garden, but had only 12 cattle, 7 horses and 1 hog. Perkins' only appraisal of his net financial condition was, "He is either secretly in possession of money, or the family has squandered much more than it should have done."

Bernardi Family, father, mother, five children, two brothers or brothers-in-law, from Lombardy, Italy; well acquainted with agriculture and hard work in his native country; owed the company \$130 on arrival and was later advanced \$100. Family arrived in January 1860; in July 1863, had 38 cattle, 3 horses, and 3 hogs, plowing with oxen; had 52 acres of wheat, 10 acres of corn, 4 acres of barley, 2 acres of peas, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre each of sweet potatoes and sweet clover, 500 peach trees, excellent vegetable and flower garden, and many chickens, produced considerable butter and cheese. Perkins recorded the opinion that "this family in 10 years will undoubtedly be the owner of large property, great herds of cattle and a decent capital. In fact will be a wealthy family. . . ."

The population of San Carlos in July 1863 was 565, composed of 100 families—219 men, 155 women, and 182 children. The colony had 2,531 cattle, 619 horses, and 265 hogs. Wheat was the principal farm crop and there were 2,150 acres planted.

San Gerónimo colony had a layout similar to that of *Esperanza* but was peopled by what Perkins called "spontaneous immigrants," mostly Swiss mountaineers, all of whom had arrived with some capital—from 2,000 to 20,000 francs each. The land was not wooded and therefore easy to place under cultivation. At the time of Perkins' visit 85 families and 462 persons were in the colony. The government had donated to each family 83 acres of land. The colony was only two years old and 40 families had just recently arrived and had no crops. The others were chiefly producing wheat. There was an average of 20 head of cattle per family, some sheep, and a few hogs. Three or four families had built brick houses and all families were contributing bricks for a church.

It is unfortunate that Perkins did not make as careful a study of *Esperanza* and *San Gerónimo* as he did of *San Carlos*, for all these became prosperous colonies, each following a different line of development. Beck and Herzog failed financially because of their too liberal assistance at *San Carlos*; *Esperanza* lost most of its first settlers because of too little assistance; and *San Gerónimo* stood intermediate between the other two.

San Gerónimo today has no large town at its center and is not so closely settled as *Esperanza* and *San Carlos*. Farms no longer follow the small-size pattern which was originally established and considerable intervening land still remains in grass, some of it not suitable for close settlement. "The beautiful grass and absence of trees" which Perkins described as proof of ease of settlement is due to the existence of large *cañadas*²⁹ which should be utilized for extensive livestock culture.

The old farm outline at *San Carlos* still largely remains and the area is one of prosperous, owner-operated small farms, undoubtedly a fulfillment of the dream of its founders.

Jefferson visited *Esperanza* in 1918. He describes the town of *Esperanza* at that time as "a neat town of 9,000 inhabitants with solidly built brick houses . . . many factories and workshops . . . well smoothed dirt streets . . . grass and palms in the plaza beautifully green."³⁰ When this writer visited the colony in 1942 it was

²⁹ A *cañada* is what we in the United States might call a slough. It is a large area of land that is slightly lower than that which surrounds it and into which the water of the surrounding area drains.

³⁰ Jefferson, *Peopling the Argentine Pampa*, p. 69.

a city of 25,000 inhabitants, with paved streets, still something of an industrial center but primarily a farmers' town, its commerce, industry, and social facilities dedicated to the services of the farmers of Esperanza colony and other colonies for which it is now a trade center. Its farms have increased considerably in size over the original 83-acre pattern. It is a mixed-farming area—crops, dairying, and poultry. The farmhouses are mostly brick and the standard of living of its farm people high. Home ownership is much above the average for the nation and while the land is not the best in the nation the site of the original colony comes near to being the area of the best types of farm life to be found in Argentina.

Two tendencies developed which at the end of 30 or 40 years checked this success and for about 20 years almost destroyed the colonization movement. Because they too are a part of Argentina's colonization experiences not to discuss them would be a measure of delinquency. The first was the growth of tenant farming, the second the difficulty settlers had in obtaining clear title to land.³¹

COLONIZATION ERA ENDS

Immigrants Became Tenants, Not Colonists. Early colonists had introduced, or at least firmly established, cereal culture in Argentina by 1900. Men were making money out of wheat, corn, and flax as well as livestock production. These new uses for land enhanced land values rapidly and those who owned it no longer cared to sell at the low prices which constituted one of the chief causes of success in early colonies. They, therefore, began converting their large grazing holdings into cereal farms, operated by many tenants, but with central ownership intact. Immigrants and their sons who had learned how to farm successfully not only catered to but stimulated this trend by preferring tenant operation of large acreages to owner operation of small acreages. Some early European settlers who had prospered in farming or business and invested their financial accumulations in new, cheap lands became the landlords of later im-

³¹ Peyret in his two-volume work describes a great number of other early colonies and includes two in Chaco—Aquino and Resistencia. Mulhall gives the number of colonists in Santa Fe Province and the number of acres tilled for the years 1865, 1872, 1878, and 1884. The number of colonists increased from 3,300 in 1865 to 66,300 in 1884 and the acres tilled increased from 13,000 to 941,000, Mulhall, *Handbook of the River Plate*, p. 407.

migrants. These new owners held even more tenaciously to the ownership of lands which they could not personally operate than did the old *Criollo* estancieros.

Thus the substitution of tenant farming for colonist farming was not due solely to early land monopoly on the part of estancieros. Colonies had found easy entrance into the northern pampas because it was not as good a cattle country as the central pampas, and cereals therefore more easily gained ground in competition with cattle. Estancieros, of course, had reasons for wanting to retain ownership when the northern pampa lands became more valuable. There is evidence, however, that tenancy started first on other lands. The Central Argentine Railroad from the start practiced renting in its colonization program. It gave ownership concessions of 83-acre tracts for \$400 payable in 4 annual installments or rented for \$20 per year and allowed the rental payments to be applied to future purchase if the colonist so desired.³² It was quite common for colonists who found their original farms too small to rent additional land, and many successful colonists purchased considerable land and rented it to new immigrants. In terms of the culture in which they had lived in Europe this rise to the status of landlords was the acme of success. In some cases such men came to own thousands of acres before the sharp rise in land values.³³

Tenancy developed rapidly in corn areas and spread to wheat areas as tenants gradually became financially able to purchase the farm machinery necessary for wheat farming. Wildcat wheat farming such as developed in both the western United States and western Canada became prevalent. Some producers rented on a sharecrop basis, the landlord furnishing all or part of the working equipment and seed, taking one half of the crop for rent. Where wheat was cut with harvesters, stacked, and threshed great masses of transient laborers came year after year from Italy and Spain for the harvest. Later, when large harvesting and threshing machinery became prevalent, custom operators traveled from farm to farm doing the combining for one third of the sacked wheat. Wheat production thus became one of the most speculative enterprises imaginable. Landowners had cheap land and enough capital to finance sharecroppers;

³² Wilchen, *Las Colonias: Informe sobre el estado*, p. 149.

³³ Antonio Franceschini, *L'Emigrazione Italiana nell' America del Sud: Studi sulla espansione coloniale transatlantica*, Rome: Forzani ec., 1908.

first- and second-generation immigrants had family labor sufficient to operate small wheat farms; and custom operators had the large harvesting and threshing machinery to do the work for larger growers. Transient immigrants furnished a tremendous volume of extra labor for the harvests. This historic episode in Argentine farming probably did more to check the development of colonization than all other things combined. Sons of men who came to Argentina to establish something slightly above peasant types of farming and peasant levels of living were caught up in a frenzy of speculative wheat farming practically every component of which was diametrically opposed to a successful program of sound colonization.

For the time being there was unlimited demand for wheat and money to be made in producing it. This was not true of subsistence crops which it was assumed colonists would desire to produce. The earliest colonists therefore quickly turned to production of wheat. This was true at Esperanza and San Gerónimo, and especially at San Carlos.³⁴ In 1872 the 34 established colonies, containing 3,185 families, produced 795,000 bushels of wheat, about 250 bushels per family,³⁵ not a great amount but enough to indicate that colonists were turning to wheat. In the county (*departamento*) of Las Colonias, in west-central Santa Fe, in 1882 more than 88 per cent of cultivated land was planted to wheat. The domestic demand, which in earlier days had been supplied by imports, together with a rapidly expanding export demand, seemed to be encouraging everyone to plant wheat. The flat lands of the pampas were ideal for the use of large farm machinery, which has always been most adaptable to wheat farming, and the existence of a great mass of Italian and Spanish workmen who had for years been in a habit of migrating to central Europe for the harvests and who were now readily available to Argentina made it economically feasible to expand wheat acreage. The land of large holders which had previously been almost worthless in its wild state had been made valuable by colonists who converted it to higher uses. To sell these lands, even at enhanced prices, left large holders with no alternative investment opportunities in nonindustrial Argentina and they therefore retained its ownership and rented it to willing tenants. Today the vast majority of European immigrants and their sons are tenant farmers or *peones*, not home-

³⁴ Wilchen, *Las Colonias: Informe sobre el estado*, p. 51.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

owning colonists as were the colonists at Esperanza and about 750 other similar colonies.

Land Titles Become Difficult to Obtain. The second thing that has served to deter or make difficult the continued progress of colonization in Argentina has been the precariousness of land titles. Even the early settlers at Esperanza never secured title to the communal pasture lands which were presumably guaranteed in Castellanos' contract with the Province of Santa Fe. Jefferson describes in some detail the difficulties which ex-Governor Oroño of Santa Fe had in securing clear title for colonization land.³⁶ In early colonization experience squatter settlement, sanctioned by the governmental authorities, quickly overran the carefully surveyed areas and has continued to do so to the present time.³⁷ The passage of good colonization laws has been pursued most diligently but until recently inadequate administration of such laws has always prevailed. Jules Huret describes cases in the Territory of Neuquén where colonists who had faithfully fulfilled all provisions of the law were unable to get clear titles to their land for no other reason than lax administration at the national capital.³⁸ In Chaco and Misiones squatter settlement has so far outrun the colonization administration that colonists are often ignorant of and unconcerned about land titles. Regional and national officials of the General Land Office, conscious of these facts and diligent in their attempts to remedy the situations, complain because they cannot convince the higher federal authorities of the effect of inadequate and lax administration on settler morale.³⁹

Notwithstanding handicaps, the colonization movement has never died in Argentina. After it had somewhat spent itself or drifted into a tenancy movement in the pampas it was continued by the federal government in some of the territories, by some provincial governments, and by private colonization companies. Today its chief impulse is to recover or develop owner-operatorship opportunities for

³⁶ Jefferson, *Peopling the Argentine Pampa*, pp. 103-106.

³⁷ J. G. Velardez, "Land Settlement in the Argentine Republic," *International Review of Agricultural Economics*, Rome: International Institute of Agriculture, 1923, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 227-48.

³⁸ Jules Huret, *En Argentine*, Paris: E. Fasquelle, 1912-13, Vol. II, pp. 278-79 and 309-13; see also Mexia, *La Colonización Oficial*, pp. 116-18.

³⁹ Interviews by the writer with colonists, regional and national land-office officials, 1942-43.

the great mass of farm tenants, most of whom are Argentine citizens, many of them the sons of those European immigrants who successfully colonized large areas of the country before the development of farm tenancy gained sway.

CHAPTER VIII

OWNERSHIP AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LANDOWNERSHIP

Everyone Desires and Believes in Landownership. There is probably no society in the world whose members prize the ownership of farm land more highly than Argentina and there is no conviction more widespread among Argentines than the idea that a wider distribution of landownership would help to develop a better and more democratic social order. This conviction is shared alike by many owners of large tracts of rich pampas land and the more than 200,000 tenant farmers—large and small. Most city people, whether or not they know anything about rural life, quite generally believe the same thing. The author asked every tenant farmer he interviewed what he would do with his money if he could make twice as much per year for the next five years as he is making now. Without exception every one of them answered, "Buy land." He asked a number of owners of large holdings what they thought was the major agricultural problem of the nation. In the majority of cases they answered, "An increase in the operator ownership of farms." The anomaly of this universal conviction in the face of the existence of a semimonopoly of the land can be understood only in terms of the historic development and institutionalization of landownership in Argentine culture.

The conquistadores came to the mouth of Rio de la Plata and into the northern and western parts of what is today Argentina seeking silver and gold. Failing to find these precious metals and having come from a country in which owners of landed estates were the elite of society they sought compensation for their disappointments by arrogating to themselves something approaching a monopoly in the ownership of lands. The fathers and grandfathers of the majority of present Argentine farmers, however, came to the country after most of the land was distributed, and the great body of tenants, therefore, are the sons of men who never owned land themselves, not

men who once owned farms and lost them. They are, for the most part, immigrants or sons of immigrants who started farming as hired men and rose to the status of tenants but never advanced any farther up the agricultural ladder. Most of them are occupying the highest tenure status of their lives. Some of them were small holders in Europe but practically all started as hired men in Argentina. On the surface, therefore, it would appear that they are tenants because they are on the tenant rung of the agricultural ladder which naturally stands midway between the farm-laborer rung and the farm-ownership rung. There is an element of truth in this but the picture is not that rosy. Few of them will ever climb the ladder to farm ownership unless assisted by the government.

A population census of the Buenos Aires area in 1744 listed 141 landowners and 233 tenants.¹ Thus 62.3 per cent of all citizens listed at that time as farmers were tenants. In 1937 the percentage for the nation was 44.3 per cent. Again it might appear on the surface that there had been a gain in farm ownership during this 193-year period, but such a conclusion would have little or no meaning because tenancy in the two periods meant very different things.

More than 300 years after the first white settlers arrived, land was plentiful and people were few in Argentina. For the major portion of these three centuries, although the ownership of land was desired, it yielded very little economic return. The expeditionary leaders came from a country where those with the highest social status were owners of large landed estates. They therefore sought landownership, even though so far as they could foresee it would be economically worthless for a long time into the future. Much of it is still held in large estates and is now far from worthless. In 1937, 68.93 per cent of all land in farms was in holdings of 1,250 hectares (3,087 acres) or larger and although there is a slow trend toward smaller holdings, the large landowner is still the most elite citizen of Argentina and social status is still buttressed by large landholdings. This has been true through the whole history of the nation. The land situation in fact has such a natural history as to make a brief recital of its evolution imperative to an understanding of the agriculture and rural life of the nation.

Early Methods of Obtaining Land Allotments. The Spanish con-

¹ Quoted by Jacinto Oddone, *La burguesía terrateniente Argentina*, Buenos Aires, 1936, pp. 29-31.

quistadores did not come to the Western Hemisphere as colonizers. Mendoza, the founder of the first settlement at Buenos Aires, named the great estuary through which he entered the continent "Rio de la Plata"—The River of Silver—but neither silver nor gold was found. Both of them, and other precious metals and stones, were found elsewhere and this resulted in two significant historical developments: First, the neglect of the great pampas while areas farther north and west were explored and exploited; and, second, the development of agriculture, not mining or industry, in the pampas when attention was again turned to that area.

The pampa was thus not the first area of permanent settlement in Argentina although it is today the great agricultural belt of the nation. It was there that the dominant pattern of landholdings was established. The areas farther north and west, which were first settled, have not consistently followed either the land patterns of their own early history or those of the pampas. Today they have the large holdings of the pampas pattern in their poor lands and a combination of fairly large and exceedingly small holdings in their irrigated intensive-production areas.

Immediately upon the re-establishment of the settlement at Buenos Aires in 1580 the distribution of lands began. Between then and 1880 most of the good lands of the nation passed into the hands of private owners and the pattern of landownership, which largely still prevails, was established. In the pampas it was a pattern of large holdings of extremely good land; in other areas the land was not so good but the holdings were large, sometimes larger than in the pampas. During the Spanish conquest, when a new settlement was founded, "the head of the forces" was endowed with the title "distributor of lands," all of which were presumed to belong to the King of Spain. Grants of lands adjacent to the settlement were first given to members of the original colony, later to other persons because of "services rendered" or because they had sufficient influence to obtain it.² The names of the first 80 landowners of the Buenos Aires settlement are listed in the archives of the province and the geographic area in which their land grants were located is known to be a strip 130 kilo-

² Carcano, *Evolucion historica de la tierra*, p. 7. See also MacCann, *Two Thousand Miles' Ride*, Vol. II, pp. 40-59; E. Siewers, "Openings for Settlers in Argentina," *International Labor Review*, Geneva: International Labor Office, Vol. XXX, No. 4 (October 1934), pp. 457-91; and especially Mexia, *La Colonización Oficial*.

meters (approximately 80 miles) along the Atlantic Coast and River Plate north and south of the present City of Buenos Aires—30 kilometers north and 100 kilometers south.³ The size of these grants or how far they penetrated inland seems not to be known. A cattle census of 1713 lists the location of 26 *estancias* in this area but does not give their sizes.⁴ Sarmiento, studying the property map of the province in 1840, said that 33,280,000 acres of land were included in 825 ownerships at that time. This was an average holding of 40,339 acres and indicates what the pattern of landownership was at the period when a substantial flow of European immigrants into the country was just beginning.⁵ By 1880, when immigrants were arriving at the rate of almost 100,000 per year, most of them hungry for landownership, the transfer of most of the good public lands to private ownership in large holdings was approximately completed and the pattern of landownership well established.

It is necessary to know the major types of conveyance by which this transfer was accomplished in order to understand that the disposal of public lands in large holdings was not unnatural in the light of vast areas of easily occupied land and a very small white population. It often happened that the right "to take" (*derecho de vaquear*), a given number of wild cattle, which were exceedingly plentiful and about the only agricultural resource at that time, became a right to the ownership of the land upon which the cattle grazed.⁶ Spanish settlers (*encomenderos*) who were given charge of a number of Indians also easily became the owners of the lands worked by these Indians. The *encomienda* system was never used to any great extent in Argentina because there were relatively few Indians and because extensive grassland culture prevailed for such a long period. To the degree it was used it came near being an Indian-slave system, just as in other South American countries. Immediately after an independent government was established (in 1810) the outright sale of public lands was approved in order to "increase the public funds." This action was approved by the congress in 1813. In 1817 and again in 1819 the congress voted to make grants of land to persons who would accept holdings in "the near frontier line" and in other

³ Oddone, *La burguesía terrateniente Argentina*, pp. 19-28.

⁴ Coni, *Historia de las vaquerías*, pp. 17-18.

⁵ Nicolas Avellaneda, *Estudio sobre las leyes de tierras públicas*, Buenos Aires: Librería "La Facultad," J. Roldán, 1915, p. 125.

⁶ Carcano, *Evolucion historica de la tierra*, p. 9.

more remote areas. Some who received such grants were already living in these frontier areas but others found occupancy of their newly acquired holdings untenable because of the presence of hostile Indians in the areas. This created an excuse, which was used by some who received titles to great extensions of land, for never occupying or in any other way using the lands until much later.⁷ Canepa says, "Until the Revolution (1810) land had no significant economic value, although it did give social status."⁸

Early Attempt at Land Reform—Enfiteusis. In 1822 Secretary Rivadavia, today thought of as the patron saint of land reform, made the first move to retain the public lands for the ownership and use of future generations. He and Governor Rodríguez of Buenos Aires issued a decree which forbade all grants or sales of land until a law could be passed regulating such transfers.⁹ Four months later the provincial legislature passed a law authorizing the negotiation of a loan in London of 15,000,000 pesos with which to operate the government and pledged the public lands as security. The loan was negotiated in 1825, but in 1826 Rivadavia, then president of the nation, forbade the transfer of the ownership of public lands in any part of the national territory. Although war with Brazil had been declared in December 1825 and the government was in great need of funds Rivadavia refused to alter his intentions. Instead, and in order to raise funds, he initiated the now famous, or infamous, law of rents (*enfiteusis*). Rivadavia did not follow the Roman emphyteusis, which gave lifetime tenure rights to renters. Rent periods were for not less than 20 years, but were subject to restrictions. During the first 10 years the holder was to pay an annual rental equal to 8 per cent of the value of pasture land and 4 per cent of the value of cropland. At the end of 10 years the congress was to appraise again the land and negotiate new contracts. No provinces other than Buenos Aires made use of the provisions of this law although Jujuy, Corrientes, and Santa Fe passed rent laws of their own. The system did not prove effective in raising revenue and in the end probably proved to be a further step in the disposal of public lands in holdings of tremendous size. In a decree of May 1827, Rivadavia expressed re-

⁷ Oddone, *La burguesía terrateniente Argentina*, pp. 32-38.

⁸ Canepa, *Economía Agraria Argentina*, p. 53.

⁹ See Gomez Langenheim, *Colonización en la República Argentina*, Chaps. VI-XIV for this and all decrees and laws dealing with the disposal of public lands.

gret for "abuses by people who have taken immense extensions, without possibility of settling on them, and with the purpose of speculating; with the consequence that almost all land within the frontier line has been delivered to a small number of holders." ¹⁰

After the federal government was dissolved (in 1828) the provincial legislature of Buenos Aires passed two laws, one providing for the renting of pasture land, the other for the renting of cropland. The annual rent was reduced to 2 per cent of the value of the land, the period of the contract reduced to 10 years, and the maximum amount of land which any one person could rent was specified as 12 leagues (approximately 73,000 acres). Oddone names 538 renters whose names were listed in the "Book of Public Property," all having received their allotment before 1830; gives the location and acreage of their holdings; and says that the size of holdings averaged 36,600 acres. He adds, writing in 1930, that "the majority of those names are well known. We read them now in the social section of the great newspapers." ¹¹

A decree of Rosas in 1832 provided that steps be taken to collect rents and said, "Until now it has been impossible to obtain payments." Four years later (1836) a law was passed which ordered the sale of 1,500 leagues (more than 9,000,000 acres) of public lands, the funds derived from such sale to be "employed to pay the public debt." Only *enfiteutas* (holders of rent contracts) could buy the lands they were renting, but were not required to do so. The law provided, however, that the rent be doubled on all enfiteusis land not sold. Two hundred and thirty-five buyers purchased 1,247 square leagues (7,606,700 acres) of land under the provisions of this law, an average of 32,369 acres per holding. The lands sold were all located in the best land area of the province and the names of a number of present-day large landowning families are on the list of the purchasers.

This was only the beginning of the end of Rivadavia's attempt to conserve the public ownership of the nation's lands. In 1838 Rosas again renewed some of the enfiteusis contracts, doubling the rent, and ordered the remainder sold. In the sale holders of rent contracts were, for one year, again given first rights to purchase, after which the rights were sacrificed. Again a goodly amount of rented

¹⁰ Oddone, *La burguesía terrateniente Argentina*, p. 48.

¹¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 54-69, for the list of names.

lands passed into the hands of large holders. Between then and 1867, when the enfiteusis system was abolished, there were a number of laws and decrees which dealt with the disposal of public lands. The period of rent contracts was shortened to eight years, rent payments were increased, and the size of holdings reduced within the old frontier—never, however, below 18,300 acres. Counteracting these restrictive measures, the law of 1857 provided that land would “be delivered freely, with no rent payments, outside the frontier line.” At that same time it was revealed that “there were 12 renters holding 40 leagues (244,000 acres) which were subrented for high rents to 371 operators, but that the holders had not paid the government anything for 14 years.”¹² Five years later (1862) a decree expressed regret “that more than 1,500 leagues (9,150,000 acres) of land outside the frontier line have been delivered, of which only a very small part has any settlement, the remainder having been taken for speculation.” Oddone lists the names of 333 persons who rented 1,221 leagues (7,448,100 acres) of land under the provisions of the 1857 law, an average of 22,367 acres per person.

Finally the law of 1867 forbade the renewal of rent contracts under the law of 1857 and ordered the sale of all rented lands. Occupying tenants were given prior right, during a period not to exceed five months, to buy all the land they had under contract; subtenants were given the same rights to all lands they occupied; and all land not purchased by either was ordered sold at public auction in tracts not to exceed one league (6,100 acres) in size. The long battle between the need for public revenue and the desire for landed estates on the one hand and Rivadavia’s homestead type of thinking on the other hand thus came to an end in favor of the large holders, before any large number of land-hungry immigrants arrived on the scene asking for small holdings. Two years later (1869) when the first national census was taken there were only 211,992 foreign-born persons in the nation’s population. Approximately 260,000 arrived during the next decade and more than 1,000,000 arrived during the next two decades.¹³

¹² Emilio A. Coni, *La verdad sobre la enfiteusis de Rivadavia*, Buenos Aires: University of Buenos Aires, 1927.

¹³ There has been little historical research done on the enfiteusis system although it was the most important system of land disposal used in the history of the nation. Emilio A. Coni, in *La verdad sobre la enfiteusis de Rivadavia* has made a careful study of the system; and Oddone in *La burguesía terrateniente Argentina* presents

Systems Other Than Enfitensis for Distributing Ownership of Lands. While Buenos Aires Province was using the enfitensis system of land tenure other provinces were steadily disposing of their public lands by grants and sales, some of them more rapidly than Buenos Aires. The Province of Corrientes disposed of its public lands by decrees of 1826, 1828, 1830, and 1841, and by laws of 1841, 1856, 1859, and 1879, always for the purpose of obtaining funds with which to operate the provincial government. Carcano says the best of the remaining lands in this province were sold under the provisions of the law of 1879. In most instances the size of the tracts was not so large as in the Province of Buenos Aires, being in one case only 4 leagues (24,400 acres) and in another as small as one league (6,100 acres).

In the Province of Santa Fe laws of 1858, 1865, 1866, 1867, and 1868 disposed of public lands in relatively small tracts, two and three leagues (12,200 and 18,300 acres), during the period in which European colonists were pouring into the province seeking holdings of one-fiftieth that size. In Entre Ríos the same thing happened. In the Province of Córdoba all the public domain was transferred to private ownership between 1860 and 1885.¹⁴

In the Province of Buenos Aires, where the enfitensis system was in operation from 1826 to 1867, a great deal of land was also distributed by grants. In 1829 and 1832, tracts of three fourths of a league (4,500 acres) in size, "within the frontier line," were granted to those who would "settle there"; in 1834 the legislature granted Dictator Rosas 60 leagues (366,000 acres) of land "where he should choose"; in that same year it granted 50 leagues (305,000 acres) to 12 "chiefs of the expedition against the Indians"; in 1839 it rewarded "all military and civil officers and employees who had remained loyal to Rosas in a recent revolt with tracts of land varying from one fourth of a league to 6 leagues in size." These last grants were made in bonds which could either be used to purchase land or be sold. Many of them were purchased by persons who thereby gained the ownership of large holdings. Other grants for military service

many precise data, copied from archive and legal records, which are revealing. These two writers together with Carcano, *Evolucion historica de la tierra*, and Canepa, *Economia Agraria Argentina*, are the sources from which the above brief description was formulated.

¹⁴ Carcano, *Evolucion historica de la tierra*, pp. 274-344.

were made in 1835, 1837, 1839, 1865, and as late as 1881.¹⁵ In addition to these grants were many sales. A law of 1857 ordered the sale of 100 leagues of public lands inside the Salado Line at the price of 200,000 pesos per league, and a law of 1871 ordered all the lands outside that line sold.¹⁶ Carcano says that 100 leagues were sold in 1872, 366 leagues in 1874, and that additional sales were made in the following years. In 1878, new territory having been opened after the Indian Wars, enormous extensions of land were ordered sold at auction, in tracts of not more than 8,000 hectares (19,760 acres) to one person. The law provided, however, that all lands not sold in the auction could be sold by private sales, as much as 30,000 hectares (74,100 acres) to one buyer.¹⁷ In addition to these general laws, Oddone lists 16 laws which provided for sale of land in specific counties.¹⁸

The Province of Buenos Aires and the federal government each made grants of land to railroads, the first by selling lands and using the money for railroad construction, the second by granting the lands themselves to the railroad company, even though to do so it was necessary to confiscate some of the lands and compensate their owners by grants elsewhere. Neither the amount of the land nor the amount of money given in the first case is recorded. The amount of land in the second case was a strip 2 leagues (6.5 miles) broad and 283 kilometers (176 miles) long, along the Rosario-Córdoba railroad (732,000 acres).¹⁹

The lands in the national territories, with the exception of those in Misiones, which belonged to Corrientes until 1882, have always been under the control of the national government. Their systematic disposal was first authorized in 1878. From that time until 1903, when the so-called "law of lands" was passed, disposal principally followed the practices already described and public lands were sold in large tracts. Corrientes in 1881 sold what it at that time thought was all of the lands in Misiones, more than 2,127,000 hectares, to 29 buyers, an average of 181,162 acres per purchaser. In 1882 a national law was passed which recognized ownership rights of 126 occupants

¹⁵ Coni, *La verdad sobre la enfiteusis*, pp. 140-95.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 119, for explanation of Salado Line.

¹⁷ Carcano, *Evolucion historica de la tierra*, pp. 353-56.

¹⁸ Oddone, *La burguesia terrateniente Argentina*, pp. 130-32.

¹⁹ Raul Scalabrini Ortiz, *Historia de los Ferrocarriles Argentinos*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Reconquista, 1940, pp. 32, 103-107.

of land in seven of the national territories. The total acreage transferred to private ownership under its provisions was 1,112,899 hectares (2,748,860 acres), an average of 21,816 acres per occupant. In 1885, 4,579,510 hectares (11,311,390 acres) in the southern territories were awarded to 541 officers and soldiers in the recent Indian Wars, an average of 20,908 acres per person. The awards were made in terms of bonds, many of which were sold at 20 centavos per hectare, with the result that their purchasers accumulated some giant holdings.²⁰

Regularizing Disposal of Public Land Begins. President Sarmiento (1868–76) attempted to stimulate colonization—actual settlement—by granting colonization rights to individuals and private companies in Chaco and Patagonia. Blocks of land as large as 160,000 hectares were transferred to these persons and companies. A law of 1876 required that each agency should locate a given number of families or suffer forfeiture of the land or a fine. Oddone says that the companies took the land but did not colonize it and that the government passed a “law of liquidation” in 1891 under which the companies were exempted from their obligations if they would return one fourth of the land in the southern and one half in the northern colonies, or they could keep all the land by purchasing it at 75 centavos per hectare. He claims that the majority of the companies did neither, with the result that 88 holders came into the ownership of 5,248,811 hectares, an average of 147,325 acres per holder.²¹

From 1892 to 1898, an additional 1,850,233 hectares of land in the southern territories were transferred to individuals and companies for colonization purposes²² which, so far as the writer is able to ascertain, was the last of the large grants. The law of 1903 ordered a survey of public lands, their classification, and that they be sold in what were assumed to be family-sized farms, 247 acres of cropland and 6,175 acres of pasture land. The disposal of the public domain since 1903 will be described in a later chapter on colonization.

The writer has deemed it necessary to present this somewhat detailed panorama of the disposal of public lands, practically always in large holdings, in order that the reader may know the history of

²⁰ Oddone, *La burguesía terrateniente Argentina*, pp. 215–17; also Gomez Langenheim, *Colonización en la República Argentina*, Chaps. VI–XIV.

²¹ Oddone, *La burguesía terrateniente Argentina*, pp. 207–10. See also Carcano, *Evolucion historica de la tierra*, p. 203.

²² Carcano, *Evolucion historica de la tierra*, p. 437.



FIGURE 23

the present pattern of landownership. Not all of these original holdings have been held intact. Land titles in Argentina are held in fee simple, land is bought and sold, transferred to and sold by heirs, lost by economic failure, subdivided and consolidated into different ownership patterns according to its agricultural uses. Since, however, it is, and always has been, the nation's one great national resource and since owners have not had a great gamut of outstanding alternative investment opportunities such as exist in highly industrialized countries, they have tended to keep their capital invested in land. Furthermore, Argentine agriculture produces primarily for export markets, tends to operate on a very extensive, low-cost-production basis and, therefore, continues to operate in large farm units. This is especially true in the livestock belts. The pattern carries over into the sugar-cane and yerba-mate belts and is not uncommon in the cereal belts. Large holdings are not prevalent in the cotton belt nor in the vineyard and fruit belts. Furthermore, the number of all farms of the nation which were more than 1,000 hectares (2,470 acres) in size fell from 8.23 per cent in 1914 to 4.36 per cent in 1937. The percentage of all land in these large farms fell from 78.34 in 1914 to 68.93 in 1937.²³ According to the census of 1914 there were 2,958 properties of 5,000 to 10,000 hectares (12,350 to 24,700 acres); 1,474 from 10,000 to 25,000 hectares (24,700 to 61,750 acres); and 485 with more than 25,000 hectares (61,750 acres). Oddone says that some were more than 100,000 hectares (247,000 acres).²⁴

As one travels in the rural areas of Argentina by automobile he may not easily identify landholding patterns in some areas. He can see them easier from an airplane. A large estancia, with large, well-fenced pastures, each with several groves of trees to provide shade for animals, and the long lane of trees leading to the estancia park and mansion stand out clearly. But in the cereal belt a single large holding may be divided into well over a hundred operating units, each with its individual tenant home. There may be numerous small home-owned holdings in the same area and it is impossible, there-

²³ Many question the validity of the trend shown by these two national census reports. A compilation of data which shows a different trend is found in Weil, *Argentine Riddle*, Appendix A.

²⁴ Oddone, *La burguesía terrateniente Argentina*, pp. 172-75; see also Bernardino C. Horne, *Nuestro Problema Agrario*, Buenos Aires: Bernabe y Cía., 1937, especially Chaps. I and II.

fore, to know the landownership pattern. In the sugar-cane belt the farmhouses are generally, though not always, differently located on plantations than on small holdings. In the vineyard and fruit areas nearly all farms are small, with the home owned or rented, and the ownership pattern is not therefore at all apparent to the passerby.

Even the best ownership property maps, unless they carry the name of the owner and are strictly up to date, do not show the multiple ownership of farms. They are, however, more revealing than even the visual impressions of one who travels, no matter how extensively, through the country. It was not possible to obtain useable property maps from all areas of the nation but the following eleven maps will serve to give the reader a concrete picture of landownership and use, in terms of the size of holdings for a number of different areas. All these maps are drawn to the same scale and it is possible, therefore, to compare any two or all of them one with another.

Maps Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 are in the cattle belt and validly depict both the general pattern and diversity of size of holdings which one sees as he travels to and fro in these areas. The following characteristics should be noted: (1) The major portion of the land is in large holdings but the vast majority of holdings are relatively small. (2) The smallest holdings and the greatest number of small holdings are near cities, and in some cases these small-holding areas extend over far more than suburban areas. (3) One can literally note the process of reduction in the size of holdings by noting that adjacent to present large holdings are areas which at one time were large holdings but now are divided into a number of smaller farms. The black spot on Map No. 1 was at one time a single estancia of 36,000 acres. It was purchased by the Institute of Colonization of Buenos Aires Province and has now been divided into 71 family-sized farms. This same process has taken place at a great many other points through natural rather than stimulated processes of settlement. In these five counties of the cattle belt there are 58 holdings of 12,500 acres or larger and 594 holdings of 62 acres or less.

Maps Nos. 7, 8, and 9 are of counties which also lie in the cattle belt but which show a much greater subdivision of large holdings than in typical counties. In Mercedes (Map No. 7) there are a great many small farms but still a few large estancias. It is an area of sharp transition, having shifted quite early out of cattle culture into cereal

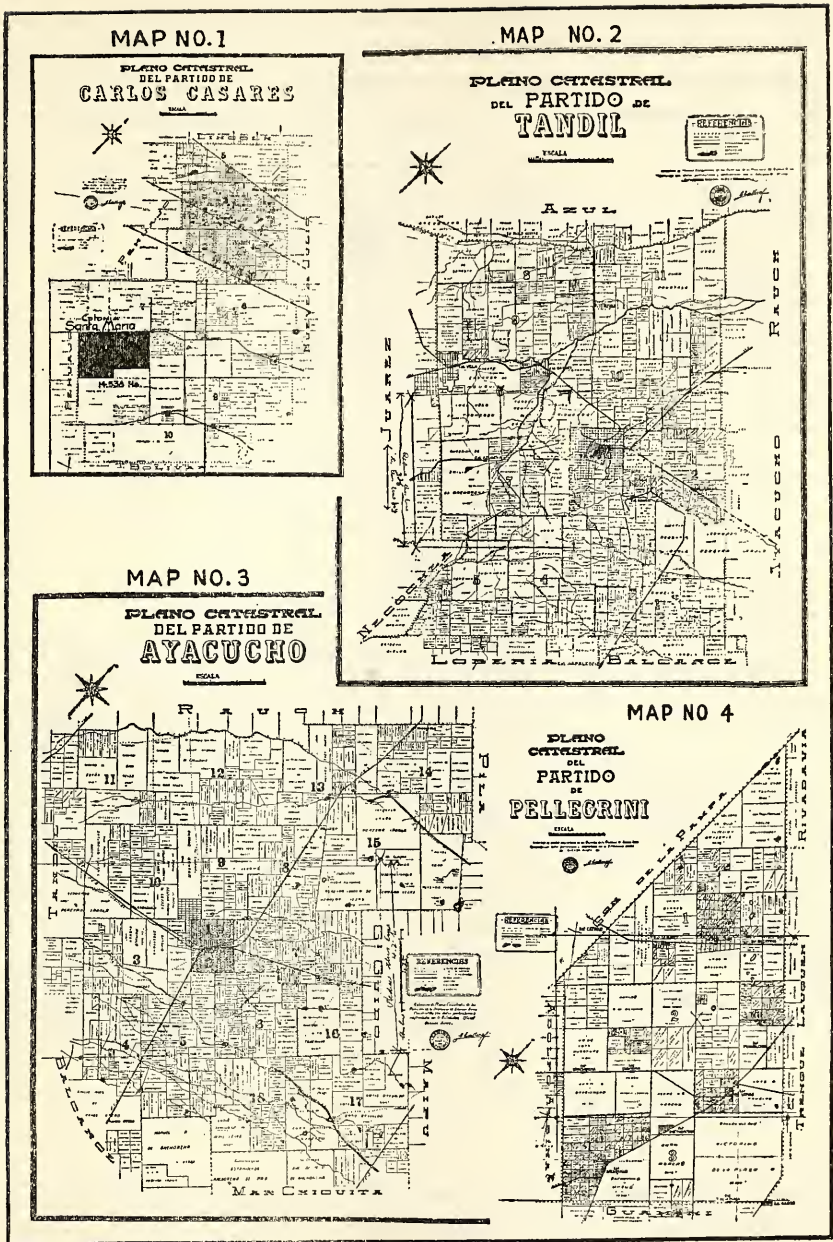


FIGURE 24

Rural Life in Argentina

culture and is now developing considerable dairying and a great deal of mixed farming. Holdings of every size can be found in this county. Lujan (Map No. 8) is within the 50-mile radius of the City of Buenos Aires and while it still has some relatively large-sized farms the num-

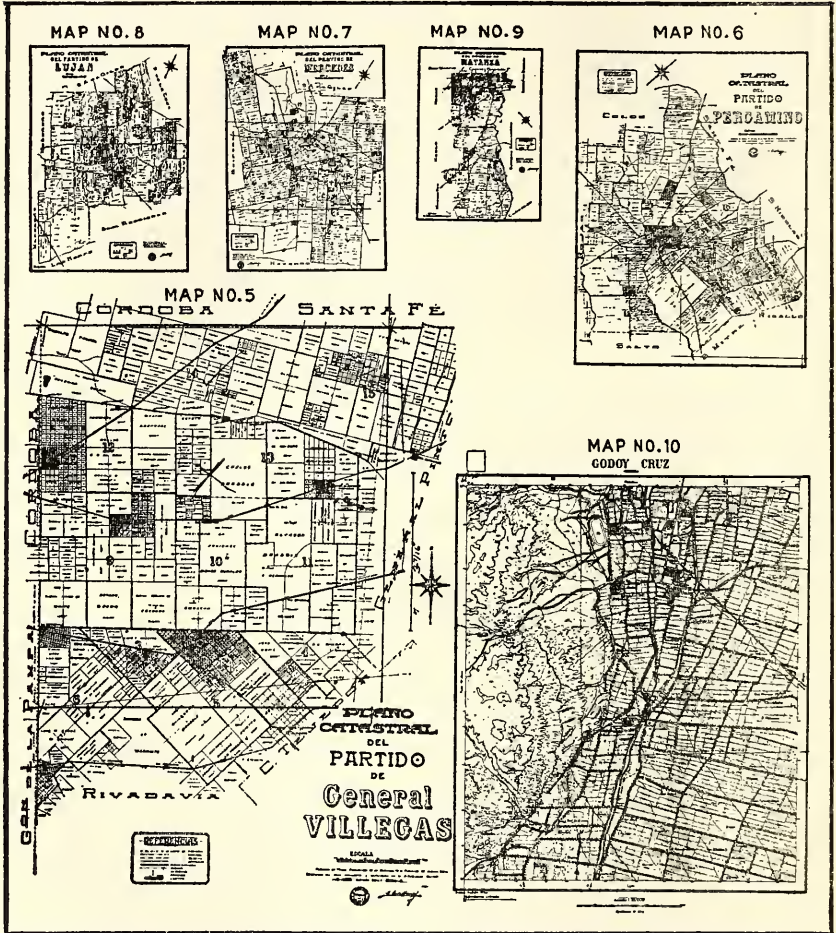


FIGURE 25

ber of small farms is so great that their boundary lines are indistinguishable on the map. Matanza (Map No. 9) shows the extreme influence of urbanization at the upper end of the map and small holdings throughout.

Pergamino (Map No. 6) is primarily a corn-belt county but also

has considerable flax and still has a few large estancias. It also has at its center the City of Pergamino with a population of about 45,000. In the upper lefthand corner of the map are some cattle farms and some large wheat farms. In the lower lefthand corner and lower center are some large cattle farms.



FIGURE 26

Godoy Cruz (Map No. 10) is in the vineyard belt in the Province of Mendoza. There are nothing but small holdings, averaging something like 15 acres, in this irrigated section. To the left of the irrigated area are extensive holdings, many of them not in private ownership.

Figure 26 is of most of the Territory of Misiones—in the far northeast of the nation. Most of the property lines run from the

Paraná River on the west to the Uruguay River on the east. These large tracts were granted in the early days before colonization development up the Paraná River and in the southern part of the province began. Colonization and subdivision has taken place at a number of spots since this map was made but over the major portion of the territory these property lines still indicate ownership units.

FARM TENANCY

The History of Tenancy in Argentina. In Argentina, as in the United States, tenant farming is of so many different kinds that to discuss it as if it constituted a homogeneous problem would be to disregard many of its most important aspects. It is many different things for many different causes. By and large, however, it exists almost everywhere in Argentina because most of the good land of the nation was owned in large holdings before the great mass of European immigrants arrived seeking family-sized farms and expecting to be able to gain ownership with relative ease. The overwhelming majority of the nation's more than 200,000 tenant farmers consists of these immigrants and their children. Additional causes are the relative lack of investments alternative to those in land and the social status which attaches to landownership. Both of those tend to keep the bulk of landownership in the hands of a relatively few families.

It is utterly impossible to present the history or development of farm tenancy in Argentina in terms of statistics for the simple reason that such statistics do not exist. Not until the 1914 census was there a nationwide enumeration of the tenure status of farmers. The only enumeration since that date was in 1937. A comparison of these two bodies of data yields comparatively little analysis due to the category "other forms" of farm administration which in 1937 included almost one fifth of all farms. The comparative data are practically all contained in Table XXVI. The significant facts which they reveal are: (1) That in all the major production areas—the Provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, Entre Ríos, Córdoba, Tucumán, Mendoza, La Pampa, and all of Patagonia—there were increases in the percentages of all farmers who were tenant operators, the increases ranging from 3.6 per cent in Santa Fe to 39.6 per cent in Santa Cruz; (2) there was a decrease in "administration" farming (operation by farm managers of large farms) in all these areas ex-

cept Mendoza (the vineyard belt) and Entre Ríos (a province with many types of production), and a general increase in "administration" farming in the sheep belt, yerba, vineyard, and fruit belts; there was an increase in owner-operator farms in only Tierra del Fuego. There is a high probability that a correct cataloguing of data would have shown an increase in Chaco.

TABLE XXVI

Per Cent of Farms Operated by Various Tenure Forms,
1914 and 1937 *

Provinces and territories	1914			1937		
	Per cent of owners	Per cent of tenants	Per cent of other administration	Per cent of owners	Per cent of tenants	Per cent of other administration
The nation	50.5	38.4	11.1	37.9	44.3	17.8
Buenos Aires	33.8	54.6	11.6	30.9	65.2	3.9
Santa Fe	32.8	59.2	8.0	32.4	62.8	4.8
Entre Ríos	54.8	36.8	8.4	42.5	48.9	8.6
Corrientes	62.9	27.6	9.5	55.9	23.2	20.9
Córdoba	55.4	32.1	12.5	44.3	47.7	8.0
San Luis	73.0	11.1	15.9	61.9	16.0	22.1
Santiago del Estero	77.4	12.7	9.9	35.5	28.6	35.9
Tucumán	76.6	15.1	8.3	74.3	19.3	6.4
Mendoza	72.5	15.6	11.9	53.0	25.1	21.9
San Juan	77.4	13.9	8.7	64.9	14.2	20.9
La Rioja	81.6	5.1	13.3	61.0	6.6	32.4
Catamarca	77.0	10.4	12.6	63.3	13.6	23.1
Salta	34.3	57.7	8.0	25.7	46.3	28.0
Jujuy	34.2	58.9	6.9	24.3	62.1	13.6
Chaco	57.8	24.9	17.3	9.7	26.9	63.4
Chubut	50.6	11.0	38.4	18.3	29.9	51.8
Formosa	62.5	20.8	16.7	2.4	18.5	79.1
La Pampa	33.6	54.3	12.1	27.7	62.2	10.1
Los Andes	91.7	6.7	1.6	0.2	—	99.8
Misiones	70.6	10.7	18.7	35.4	3.1	61.5
Neuquén	52.1	31.6	16.3	9.0	11.4	79.6
Río Negro	66.5	14.9	18.6	24.3	21.7	54.0
Santa Cruz	49.7	27.0	23.3	11.1	66.6	22.3
Tierra del Fuego	21.9	18.8	59.3	31.5	37.0	31.5

* Data based largely on Argentine National Census, 1914; and Argentine Agricultural Census, 1937. The reader's attention is called especially to the areas of high and low rates in 1937. All areas with over 60 per cent tenants, except Jujuy, are high-productivity areas; all with 16 per cent or less are low-productivity areas. It is in the high-productivity areas where tenancy increased greatly between 1914 and 1937.

About all that is known concerning the early existence of tenancy is from a census of the Buenos Aires area taken in 1744. It is known, from various laws, decrees, and reports, that *enfiteutas* (renters of large tracts) had many subtenants on their holdings, and it is known from testimony of some now-wealthy *estancieros* that their fathers, more often grandfathers, at one time managed *estancias* for other persons on a share of the profits basis. The writer was told by a number of small owner operators that their fathers forty years ago advanced from tenant to ownership status. There are, however, no statistical data on any of these trends.

The great volume of farm tenancy in Argentina has by and large come into existence by way of hired men advancing up the agricultural ladder, not by farm owners falling into tenancy by the loss of farm ownership. For the vast majority of those who climbed from hired man to tenant status the agricultural ladder ended there. In many instances large livestock farms have been broken up into smaller-operating, crop-farming units and tenant operation substituted for "administration" operation. When the tenant has made money he has used his increased capital to expand his scale of operation because he could not find land available for purchase. This has resulted in the fact that thousands of farmers whose fathers advanced fairly easily and quite quickly from hired-man, to tenant, to owner status have themselves remained tenants all their adult lives. They universally testify that the next step—to ownership—is very difficult. Both they and the hired men testify that it is now almost impossible for a hired man to advance into tenancy.

Even in the face of these facts most farm tenants do not think of themselves as a tenant class. They generally continue to aspire to ownership status and live in the expectation, or hope, that they will someday own farms. Nevertheless, many of those who own operating capital enough to farm more than a thousand acres of land and could, by converting that capital into land, purchase a small holding, if land were available, continue to expand operations with increasing capital. These men universally testify that they would buy farms if by good fortune they made twice as much money in the next five or ten years as they have in the last five or ten. This universal attitude, together with some outstanding governmental programs which give considerable promise of assisting them to fulfill their aspirations, may write a different story of progress up the

agricultural ladder in the future.²⁵ So far as the writer can judge there is nothing to warrant such hope for the great body of men who work as hired laborers on Argentine farms.

Tenancy figures as a whole cannot be interpreted in terms of tenancy rates in the United States because of the very different methods of operating farms in some Argentine type-production belts. In the National Agricultural Census of 1937, of the 452,007 farm entrepreneurs listed, 80,547 were listed as "other forms" of operation than either owner or tenant. In 10 of the 24 provinces and territories more than 30 per cent of all farms were operated by "other forms" of administration. In some areas, such as Chaco and Misiones, this category included settlers who are, so to speak, legitimate squatters, persons who in due time will be granted ownership rights. Now they cannot be listed as either owners or tenants. In other areas, such as Los Andes and parts of La Rioja, San Juan, and Neuquén, they are squatters who have no expectation of ownership. In the livestock and yerba-mate belts this category includes chiefly "administration" farms, large holdings operated by farm managers. In Chubut, a part of the sheep belt, 51.8 per cent of all farms are operated by "other forms" almost altogether "administration." Some owners of the land and even some renters of large tracts of government-owned land pay little more attention to the operation and management of their properties than does a stockholder in a great industry. Such owners are sometimes stock companies who employ administrators to operate the farms they own or rent.

Farms vary from as high as 65.2 per cent tenant operated in the Province of Buenos Aires—livestock and cereal production—to as low as 19.3 per cent tenant operated in Tucumán—primarily sugarcane production. In the provinces which produce primarily cereals, flax, and sugar cane there is very little "administration" farming. There, from 91 per cent to 96 per cent of all farms are either owner or tenant operated.

Some writers have argued that under the caption "other forms" of tenure reported in the 1937 Agricultural Census are hidden some forms of tenure that almost approach serfdom. Of this the author is not competent to speak. A study of data presented in Table XXVII shows the highest per cent of all farms classified as "other forms" of

²⁵ See Chapters XIV and XV.

administration to be 57.9 per cent in the yerba-mate belt, 45.0 per cent in the cotton belt, and 44.2 per cent in the sheep and goat belt. The author visited many representative farms in all these belts and knows that squatter farmers constitute this "other" group in the cotton belt and administrator-operated farms constitute the majority of "other" farms in both the yerba and sheep belts. The same is true in the vineyard belt.

Farm Tenancy and Types of Farming. There is no correlation on a nation-wide basis between the per cent of land in large holdings and high rates of tenancy. This is primarily due to diverse types of farming. The highest rate of tenancy (66.1 per cent) is in the wheat belt where farms are relatively large but are in fact small when compared to cattle or sheep estancias. The second highest rate (64.8 per cent) is in the cattle-breeding belt where farms are large. The third highest rate (63.4 per cent) is in the corn belt where farms are medium sized. The rate is high in the suburban zones where farms are very small.

TABLE XXVII

Number and Per Cent of All Farmers by Class of Tenure in Various Types of Farming Areas, Argentina, 1937 *

Type of farming area	Total number of farmers	Owners		Tenants		Other	
		<i>Per cent of all</i>		<i>Per cent of all</i>		<i>Per cent of all</i>	
		<i>Number</i>	<i>farmers</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>farmers</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>farmers</i>
Cattle breeding	57,528	17,486	30.4	37,287	64.8	2,755	4.8
Cattle feeding	47,157	18,027	38.2	26,423	56.0	2,707	5.8
Cattle residual	109,093	50,028	45.9	32,309	29.6	26,756	24.5
Sheep and goats	25,362	5,414	21.3	8,738	34.5	11,210	44.2
Corn	56,962	18,620	32.7	36,126	63.4	2,216	3.9
Wheat	42,490	13,262	31.2	28,071	66.1	1,157	2.7
Cotton	48,318	13,015	26.9	13,569	28.1	21,734	45.0
Sugar	20,920	15,780	75.4	3,805	18.2	1,335	6.4
Fruit	4,882	2,106	43.1	2,302	47.2	474	9.7
Vineyards	14,978	8,078	53.9	3,485	23.3	3,415	22.8
Flax	14,171	5,471	38.6	7,789	55.0	911	6.4
Yerba	10,146	3,855	38.0	414	4.1	5,877	57.9
Total	452,007	171,142	37.9	200,318	44.3	80,547	17.8

* Argentine Agricultural Census, 1937. The counties used to calculate these rates are classified by type-production belts shown in Figure 29, Chapter IX.

The high rate of tenancy (64.8 per cent) in the cattle-breeding belt is unique in the western world. In the United States tenant operation is not deemed feasible where any great volume of livestock production is involved, unless it be the renting for cash of range land. In the Argentine cattle-breeding belt there are more than 57,000 farms of all kinds and of these more than 37,000 are operated by tenants, many of whom are not cattle producers. But the tenancy rate is slightly higher among cattle producers than it is among all farmers of the area. It is, however, much lower among the large producers than it is among the smaller producers or among all farmers of the area. (See Chapter IX.)

Tenancy in Argentina, as in most areas of the western world, results in instability of farm occupancy. The great majority of tenants do not remain for a large portion of their productive life on the same farms. Cattle production, because it requires considerable capital investment in installations as well as in herds, generally tends in the direction of inducing longer periods of farm occupancy by tenants than does cereal, cotton, or even sugar-cane production. The breeding belt as a whole, however, is not outstanding in this respect. Over 70 per cent of the tenants in that belt, in 1937, had not lived on the farms they were then occupying for a greater period than 10 years and considerably less than 10 per cent had lived on the same farms for more than 25 years. Apparently tenants with small herds have moved frequently from one farm to another.²⁶ The areas in which there is the highest degree of residential stability are the desert-scrub, vineyard, and sugar-cane areas; and those in which there is the lowest per cent of farmers, who in 1937 had lived on the same farm for over 25 years, were the cotton and yerba areas. Table XXVIII on pages 198 and 199 compiles the only data available by means of which it is possible to make some appraisal of the influence of tenancy upon farm-occupancy stability.²⁷

²⁶ The reader's attention should again be called to the fact that in the tenancy statistics just cited from the census reports there may well be included a number of farms which are in effect operated by owner operators who have rented the land as pasture to supplement that of their own owner-operator farms. But no matter how many variations there may be from the normal tenant pattern it is still unique to find thousands of cattle producers who are tenants.

²⁷ The 1937 Census reported on the number of years which enumerated farmers had resided on the farms which they then occupied. The tables which contain these data did not, however, contain any tenure classifications. Another table classified

Not a great deal can be done by way of generalizing on two areas, yerba and cotton, which have low rates of tenancy due to the fact that "other forms" of tenure than owners or renters constitute so large a portion of all farm operators. The three types of production areas which stand next in low rates of tenancy are, in order, sugar cane, fruit, and vineyard. The production belts with high rates of tenancy are cattle breeding, cattle feeding, corn, and wheat. Table XXVIII is fairly complicated but by careful study the reader will observe that the following generalizations point to tendencies which are fairly clearly revealed: (1) In the vineyard and sugar-cane areas and somewhat the same in the fruit areas, all of which had more than one fifth of all farmers who in 1937 had lived on the same farms for over 25 years, there was a high percentage of farm ownership and a low percentage of tenancy. (2) In both cattle areas, and somewhat the same in the sheep area, there is a high rate of tenancy but a quite low percentage of farmers who in 1937 had lived on the same farms for more than 25 years. (3) In the cereal belts—corn and wheat—there is a high rate of tenancy and a low percentage of farmers who had lived on the same farms for more than 25 years, but a very high per cent which had lived on the farms for more than 5 years but less than 25 years. All three of these generalizations can be converted into the one conclusion that a high rate of tenancy induces a high degree of instability.

It is possible from the data presented in Table XXVIII to obtain some measure of another level of stability, what might be called an intermediate level of stability, namely, a high percentage of all farmers who had lived on the same farm for more than 5 years but not more than 25 years. The production belt in which there is the highest rate of intermediate stability is the yerba area. It, however, has a high percentage of all farms operated by managers and is therefore abnormal in terms of tenancy. The corn belt had 52.9 per cent of all operators and the wheat belt 51.4 per cent of all operators in this class of residents. In neither of these belts were there as many as 10 per cent of the farmers who had lived on the same place for

tenure groups into owners, tenants, and others. As has been explained earlier these others were most often employed farm managers. The reader's attention is also again called to the fact that the sample counties for which data are recorded in Table XXVIII were discovered to be not completely valid samples with reference to farm tenure. It is believed, however, that they are fairly acceptable for the gross interpretations which follow.

more than 25 years. There were, however, 37 per cent of them in the wheat belt and 34.8 per cent of them in the corn belt who had lived on the same farms for less than 5 years. The conclusion can therefore be drawn that farm occupancy in these two belts is fairly sustained for about one half of the farmers, but there is a large turnover in occupancy every 5 years. This same sort of phenomenon was evident in both cattle belts but in each of them there was an even higher percentage of farmers who had occupied the same farms for less than 5 years.

In the cattle-feeding belt types of tenancy are similar to those in the breeding belt but the tenancy rate is not so high (56.0 per cent compared to 64.8 per cent). Because operations are large it is highly probable that a number of the 26,000 tenants in this belt are owner operators who rent additional pasture land. In this belt there are fewer "other" types of farms than in the breeding belt and therefore most of the tenants are cattlemen. As in the breeding belt the rate of tenancy is much higher among the small than among the large farmers. A higher per cent of farmers had, in 1937, lived on the same farms for more than 25 years and a considerably smaller per cent had been on their farms for less than 10 years.

Tenancy developed early in the wheat belt. Colonists, who came to Argentina to develop family-sized farms, allowed themselves to be caught up into speculative, large-scale farming in order to make big money in wheat and invested their money in operating capital instead of in land. Some who came early and had already gained farm ownership expanded their operations by renting additional land for wheat production. Some went so far as to rent great tracts of land, sowed it all to wheat, and hired custom operators to harvest the crop. They were purely speculative sharecroppers. Today there is very little of this wildcat type of farming but there are thousands of tenants who have all their operating capital, and a great deal of it, invested in farm machinery. They are persons who pay share rent but are in no sense sharecroppers as is sometimes asserted. In the corn and flax areas tenant practices are similar to those in the wheat belt.

The typical tenant contract in the vineyard belt is a combination of cash and share rent, generally 85 pesos per hectare (from \$9 to \$10 per acre) and 7 per cent of the sale of grapes based on juice values. There is some subleasing, a large operator renting a large vineyard

TABLE XXVIII

Percentage Tenancy and Length of Residence of Farm Operators,
Selected Counties, Argentina, 1937 *

Belt and county	Type of tenure			Length of residence			
	Owners	Tenants	Others	Less than 5 years	5-25 years	Over 25 years	Not specified
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Cattle-Breeding Belt:							
Ayacucho, Buenos Aires	28.9	67.4	3.7	44.6	38.9	8.3	8.2
Tandil, Buenos Aires	15.8	81.6	2.6	51.6	37.2	3.7	7.5
Cattle-Feeding Belt:							
General Villegas, Buenos Aires	33.1	63.6	3.3	35.7	47.2	8.9	8.2
Pellegrini, Buenos Aires	27.2	69.8	3.0	38.7	48.1	10.7	2.5
Sheep Belt:							
Tehuelches, Chubut	8.9	31.2	59.9	21.8	43.9	10.2	24.1
Guer Aike, Santa Cruz	54.4	36.8	8.8	22.8	43.4	25.0	8.8
Wheat Belt:							
Unión, Córdoba	28.3	69.0	2.7	38.0	50.2	6.5	5.3
Marcos Juárez, Córdoba	27.0	69.5	3.5	35.9	52.6	7.7	3.8
Corn Belt:							
Caseros, Santa Fe	30.2	68.2	1.6	31.0	54.5	11.2	3.3
Constitución, Santa Fe	21.3	77.3	1.4	34.7	52.8	9.4	3.1
Pergamino, Buenos Aires	27.9	70.5	1.6	37.9	51.4	7.1	3.6

Sugar Belt:									
Cruz Alta, Tucumán	80.8	14.9	4.3	27.0	44.6	19.9	8.5		
Monteros, Tucumán	85.4	12.1	2.5	25.2	45.1	20.2	9.5		
Vineyard Belt:									
Junín, Mendoza	71.4	17.0	11.6	10.0	38.5	36.8	14.7		
Pocito, San Juan	56.7	22.3	21.0	38.8	46.8	6.1	8.3		
Yerba-Mate Belt:									
Candelaria, Misiones	23.0	1.1	75.9	33.7	57.6	5.9	2.8		
San Pedro, Misiones	71.6	0.2	28.2	32.5	61.4	2.8	3.3		
Cotton Belt:									
Campo del Cielo, Chaco	6.3	16.4	77.3	47.5	48.5	0.2	3.8		
Napalpí, Chaco	8.6	17.4	74.0	58.0	38.8	0.4	2.8		
Fruit Belt:									
General Roca, Río Negro	52.9	28.0	19.1	40.3	52.8	2.6	4.3		
Bella Vista, Corrientes	83.2	6.0	10.8	17.9	40.9	23.1	18.1		
Desert Scrub:									
Capital, La Rioja	30.4	10.0	59.6	14.7	32.6	20.7	32.0		
Sarmiento, Santiago del Estero	23.6	30.4	46.0	13.6	27.8	26.2	32.4		
Industrialized Zones:									
Merlo, Buenos Aires	47.1	46.3	6.6	35.2	35.5	8.2	21.1		
Rosario, Santa Fe	28.9	67.8	3.3	29.4	52.8	13.0	4.8		

* Data based on Argentine Agricultural Census, 1937, Pt. 1, pp. 47-58; Pt. 2, pp. 88-113.

for cash and subleasing to a number of smaller operators per the type of contract just described. The landlord and not the tenant almost universally provides the house in which the tenant lives. The tenancy rate in the whole belt is only 23.3 per cent.

Three interesting types of tenancy are found among dairy producers. One is a share-milk contract in which the owner of the herd pays the milkers in milk, measuring the amount at the milking yard, marketing the whole product and paying the milkers in their share of the sales prices. Another is where big milk distributors rent herds to men who own the land and then purchase all the milk from them. Another is where the producer rents the land and owns the herd, marketing his milk where he chooses. In some instances the owner of the dairy herd rents his pasture land and has his milking done by share milkers. In this case, the function of a dairyman as an entrepreneur is solely that of owning the herd and marketing the milk.

There is practically no tenancy in the yerba-mate belt (4.1 per cent), a low rate in the sugar-cane belt (18.2 per cent), and in the cotton belt (28.1 per cent).

What It Means to Be a Farm Tenant in Argentina. Agriculture in Argentina is largely extensive, producing for an export market. By tenant operation a farmer can produce on a large scale with relatively little or no capital. In cases where the landowner furnishes all or the major part of the working capital a tenant can farm hundreds of acres of wheat with very little capital. He furnishes his entrepreneurial capacity and the labor of his family, employs additional labor for harvest and takes relatively little financial risk. If the yield is average and the export market good he makes considerable money.

In some cases tenants even rent the machinery with which they farm. This practice was prevalent in the wheat belt a half generation ago but is seldom practiced now. Today with the first accumulation of capital the tenant usually purchases working equipment of his own, and thus gains a larger per cent of the profits from his operations but at the same time increases his risks. In early days a new immigrant could not step immediately into ownership unless he brought considerable capital with him. He was seldom able to make the jump from hired laborer to owner, although a number testified to the writer that such was their expectation when they first arrived

in the country. They, however, had to learn a new system of agriculture, a much more extensive and mechanized system, than they had known in their native country. As hired men they could do this but as hired men they participated very little in the profits from farming. They, therefore, often became tenants at the first opportunity. Most of them have remained tenants but still retain the hope that tenancy may yet be a step toward ownership.

The substitution of crop production for livestock production has resulted in the breaking up of many large estancias operated by "administration," often into more than a hundred tenant-operated, family-sized units. In such cases the ownership unit has not changed but the size of the operating unit has greatly decreased and the number of farm families supported by the same acreage has greatly increased. Had this not taken place the rural population of the country would be much smaller than it is today. So long, however, as the tenant has insecurity of occupancy and little opportunity to transfer his capital into ownership of the land, the increase in the number of operating units means little to him.

From the standpoint of developing a high rural level of living and a dynamic rural culture, many tenant farmers in the past have been at an exceptional disadvantage because they were not permitted to diversify their types of production. Tenant farmers in Argentina, as in other highly commercialized agriculture, are prone to be single-crop farmers. Even if this were not true they would be helpless if contracts deny them the opportunity to participate in the substantial prosperity which has recently prevailed in the livestock industry. The typical written contract is for a period of five years and in the cereal belts permits not more than 10 per cent—in some cases not more than 5 per cent—of the land in grass.²⁸ This generally just suffices for pasture for work stock and a milch cow or two. On the large holdings where the farms are operated partly "administration" and partly tenant, as is very often the case, crop farming is often rotated from one section to another of the large holding for the purpose of renovating the pasture land of weeds. Even though a tenant may be offered a second five-year contract he is often required to move to another section of the large farm, move his house

²⁸ Recent farm-tenancy legislation annuls all contracts which restrict the amount of land permitted in grass to less than 40 per cent. (Law 12,771, 1942, and Decree 14,001, 1943.)

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and equipment, and continue to follow a system of pure-crop farming.

On large farms, partially "administration" operated, or on smaller tenant-operated farms, the owner is completely absentee and very often lives in Buenos Aires or one of the other large cities. In such cases there is no real partnership between tenant and owner. The owner is interested solely in the rent he can collect and the tenant is interested solely in the amount of production he can coax out of the soil during his short contract period. Neither is deeply interested in the long-time upkeep of the farm, the tenant because he cannot afford to be and the owner because he seldom comes to the place. One highly intelligent tenant told the writer that he could burn the fence posts for firewood and the owner would neither know nor care. This farm had at one time been an estancia (a large livestock farm) and well fenced, but fences, wells, windmills, watering tanks, and troughs now are all in decay.

The weakest element in the physical level of living in Argentine rural life is housing, largely due, in the good farming belts, to the short-time tenant contract. The tenant is required to build his own house and because he is not assured of more than five years' occupancy he does not build a good house, even if he is financially able to do so. At the end of his period of tenure he has only three alternatives: To sell the house to the tenant who succeeds him, move it, or abandon it. He, therefore, builds it of mud with a thatched or zinc roof. He and his family are universally dissatisfied with it but there is no escape from the practice. A tenant farmer on the large combination "administration" tenant estancia told the writer that he and his family had lived for more than 20 years in a mud house which had been built upon the expectation of only five years of tenure. The contract had been renewed four times, each time for another five-year period. For each renewal period the family had thought of building a new house but had they done so the new one would have been constructed of mud also because they still had no guarantee of more than another five years' tenure. Three generations were living in this house—the grandmother, whose husband had rented the tract over 20 years ago, the son and present tenant, and his children, the oldest now eleven years of age. Members of this family are now farming a piece of land adjacent to the house for the third time, due to the fact that this tract again needed to be renovated of weeds.

The other five-year tenure periods had, however, required that the family farm tracts be a considerable distance from the house. They had been permitted to live at the same place but required to change farming locations every five years. They farmed 150 hectares (370 acres) and by using a cycle of rotation which brought them back to the same tract every fifth time, the family could keep almost 1,500 acres of pasture land renovated. They were in fact sharecroppers because on this particular estancia the administration furnished all the work stock and other working capital. The father of the present tenant began working on this estancia more than 30 years ago. He had eleven sons, all of whom are now working on this same estancia. This case is slightly atypical in that the family had remained on the same estancia for more than 30 years, had been permitted to live at the same spot for 20 years, and were sharecroppers. It was not atypical in the period of its contract, the restrictions against keeping livestock, or the type of house in which the family lived. Neither was the farmer atypical in his attitudes. When asked if he had heard of the new tenant-contract law and the program of the Instituto de Colonización, he said, "Yes, I have heard something over the radio about them but they will never affect a great place like this, it is too big and powerful, it goes as far as you can see," and he waved his hand in a semicircle pointing to the vast extension of the estancia. There are great administration farmers who furnish the houses in which their tenants live and there are tenants on other such farms who have the hardihood to build good houses, taking chances at longer periods of tenure or of successfully disposing of their houses at the end of their contract periods. The mud house, or some other type of cheap house, is, however, typical of this form of tenure operation and is largely a direct result of farm tenancy.

The greatest disadvantage of the farm-tenant system in Argentina is the relative absence of an agricultural ladder that reaches above tenancy status. There are no available statistics by which to measure progress up the ladder; but the absence of available good land which is for sale in small units, the fact that tenants have been pretty thoroughly restricted to crop farming, and testimony on the part of both tenants and small owners that while farm purchase out of tenant profits was possible 40 years ago it is no longer possible, drive the writer to the conclusion that the class structure—hired man, tenant, owner—is pretty deeply set at this time. An American-born

operator, who employs more than 100 hired men on his estancia and who has been in Argentina for almost 40 years, when asked to give his careful judgment, from his own personal experiences, stated that about 5 per cent of the hundreds of hired men whom he had employed during his long experience had become tenants, and about 5 per cent of tenants had become owners. The climb up the ladder is difficult in spite of the fact that there are tenants who are excellent farmers, many of them having operated large farms for years, and in spite of the fact that few people in Argentina, even owners of large holdings, believe that a system of tenant farming is good. It is difficult chiefly because the pattern of landownership in large holdings is well and long established, the alternative opportunities for investment few, and the social status of large holders a thing to be cherished. The results are that many tenants who make enough money to furnish substantial down payments on farms can find no desirable land for sale and many wealthy families keep their capital in land rather than diversify their investments.

THE INFLUENCE OF LANDOWNERSHIP IN ARGENTINE CULTURE

In the Past. To most non-Argentines, and some Argentines, the land problem of the nation inheres in this so-called "land monopoly." Such people do not know that 84 per cent of all farms in Argentina are family operated. But this fact can be overemphasized or misinterpreted, for 44.3 per cent of these operators are tenants. There are also about 800,000 farm laborers (*peones*) who help to operate Argentina's agriculture. There were, in 1937, 65,000 farms 3,000 acres or larger in size and 69 per cent of all land was in these large farms. Most large landowners in Argentina do not live on farms but something like three million other persons do.

The nation's land problem is not simple. It is complex and every phase of it has a natural history. Briefly, and probably too simply, stated, the natural history of the large holdings and the status of their owners are as follows: Some of them came into existence by free-land gifts in that long period when land had little value and the competition for landownership and use was very slight; some of them came into existence much later, three or four, sometimes not more than two, generations ago. Most large holdings are livestock farms. In as far as the persons or families who own these large hold-

ings are rich, they became wealthy because of the development of a profitable cattle industry. This is true of those who received early large land grants and those who have built up large estates in recent times. Profitable cattle production made otherwise cheap land valuable and made fortunes for those who started in the cattle business early. Thus Argentina is thought of as a country of rich cattlemen. This is not untrue but it is not the whole truth. There are also rich sheepmen, rich sugar-plantation owners, who generally also operate sugar factories, some rich vineyard owners, who generally also operate wine factories, even some rich owners of cereal farms. There are also corporations that own and operate one or more of all of these types of farms. They appear to be growing in number and magnitude. It is, however, only by understanding and appreciating the role of cattle culture in the nation's history that one can understand why large landowners hold the status and wield the influence they do.²⁹

The natural history of tenancy, on the other hand, is the story of hundreds of thousands of European immigrants continuing to pour into the country after land had become so valuable that owners were unwilling to release titles to it for colonization purposes. They, therefore, colonized it with tenants. Continued prosperous livestock production, plus profitable cereal, grape, and sugar-cane production, made land still more valuable. Thus more and more owners became less and less willing to sell land and the march of tenants up the agricultural ladder literally ceased. Today tenants have difficulty in purchasing land even when they have the capital to do so.

The agricultural hired men came from three sources. Many of them are the sons and grandsons of hired laborers who came to Argentina and failed to become either owners or tenants. Many of them are old *Criollo* stock, some of them of gaucho heritage, more of them *mestizos*, offsprings of very early settlers. A great many of them, most of those near the nation's boundaries, are immigrants from adjacent countries. Their wages are so low, from 40 to 60 pesos per month, that they cannot accumulate sufficient capital to become tenants. None of them are serfs, however. Some of them may be perpetually in debt to their employers, in some cases are still compelled to purchase supplies at the plantation commissary, and

²⁹ Carl C. Taylor, "Argentina Loves Her Cattle," *Agriculture in the Americas*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Vol. III, No. 3 (March 1943).

in a few cases are partly paid in script, but all of them are free. Most of them in fact shift from job to job and some of them shift back and forth between farm and urban employment.

The Present. No small part of the land problem in Argentina is due to two factors that are beyond the reach of any of the classes of individuals just described. First is the almost certain excessive value of land in relation to its earning capacity. Second is the fact that Argentina holds her position in world trade by extensive, low-cost production of farm products. There are no carefully compiled cost data by which to determine farm incomes and land sales are too few in number to make possible a careful calculation of land values. There are, however, relatively few investment opportunities alternative to landownership. Therefore, the great bulk of capital invested in land stays there and other capital flows in that direction. This tends to inflate land values, causes landowners who make money to buy more land, and restricts land-purchase opportunities for tenants.

All of this has, of course, gradually tended to develop a landed aristocracy. Thus, the existence of something approaching a land monopoly and the existence of a landed aristocracy are both part of the situation, but one must be careful not to assume that either of these is necessarily a proof of institutionalized feudalism. There are no laws of primogeniture in Argentina and titles of nobility are constitutionally prohibited. Landholdings are, therefore, not noblemen's estates. They are bought and sold continuously. They are divided among heirs each generation unless extended families organize themselves into corporations. But few, if any, landowning families are land speculators. Most of them keep their capital in land, pass its ownership on from generation to generation and thus, of course, tend to constitute and perpetuate a relatively small group of large landowners.

The Future. Once a national economic fabric is built up by such a natural evolution as constructed that of Argentina and becomes institutionalized in fact and tradition, it does not change easily. It is difficult, however, to see how it can persist for a very long time into the future. It could do so with a population no greater than the present but would probably foredoom any successful population expansion. It is doubtful that this would be acceptable even to those who have grown rich through its operation.

A society depending almost altogether on an extensive production of cheap raw products is a slave of export markets, on the one hand, and the exploitation of its lower classes, on the other hand. It is, therefore, socially unhealthy, both domestically and internationally. It can easily maintain a position of superiority among its neighbors while their agriculture is primitive and their industry practically nonexistent. It should seriously ask itself whether it can do so when some of them become industrially diversified and it is still chiefly a producer of raw products.

Those who believe it inevitable that Argentina produce low-cost agricultural products, and therefore produce on a large-scale, extensive basis, say the natural resources of the country do not furnish the basis for the development of industry. There is some truth to this but it is an unduly pessimistic viewpoint. The absence of materials with which to construct industry need not inhibit a substantial development of manufacturing of the very raw products that agriculture produces. In the fields of textiles these products are wool and cotton and can be fiber flax, and possibly jute. In the field of leather the industries could be diverse and of great magnitude. To these could be added linseed oil, a number of other kinds of oil, some chemicals, and medicinal products. In the field of plastics the enterprises need not be at a disadvantage. The present inhibitions to these developments are largely lack of precise and widespread practical knowledge and the traditional thinking of those who hold the pessimistic views already mentioned.

Furthermore, the farm population in Argentina could probably expand and still produce relatively low-cost agricultural export products if the ownership and operation of the land were more widely distributed. This would not necessitate and should not mean the development of small-scale, primitively operated farms. It would only need to mean that most of those who own farms would live on them and operate them by family labor instead of by hired labor. Newly established farms, carved out of large holdings, have already proved that the same amount of land can be made to produce a greater volume of marketable products—both crops and livestock—and at the same time support a great many more families than previously. These new farms are large and they are mechanized, but they are family operated. They are highly self-sufficient in terms of producing a large part of the products which farm families con-

sume and they are efficient in the production of products for sale.

Developing industry, by offering alternative opportunities for the investment of domestic capital, would serve to deflate land values and place more farms within the financial reach of tenants. A widespread system of family-sized farms would increase the number of people making money out of agriculture. Both increased industry and increased farm and industrial populations would serve to increase domestic markets and therefore lessen the relative importance of export markets. This could not come about quickly because it would require a change in highly institutionalized and traditionalized ways of doing and thinking. If it does not take place it is difficult to visualize what kind of a society Argentina can and will be fifty years from now.

CHAPTER IX

AGRICULTURAL AND CULTURAL REGIONS

REGIONS OF VARIOUS TYPES IN ARGENTINA

TOO OFTEN conclusions have been drawn concerning rural life in Argentina by travelers who have seen the agriculture near Buenos Aires and guessed on that for the remainder of the country. Agriculture and rural life in Argentina is considerably different in different sections of the country and cannot be thus so easily understood. From the subtropics in northern Misiones to Tierra del Fuego in the frozen south is a distance of 2,300 miles. From the top of the Andes Mountains on the west to the Atlantic sea level on the east is only 850 miles at the widest point but has a variation in rainfall ranging from almost 0 to over 55 inches. Types of agricultural production and consequently the lives of farmers are highly conditioned by these geographic and climatological factors. Some would claim that they are wholly determined by these factors. It is quite often asserted by persons well acquainted with Argentina that the various type-farm production areas of the country are so clearly marked that anyone can tell when he has moved out of one into another, even from the cattle-breeding into the cattle-feeding belt. There is a large element of truth in this generalization. The truth is not all due, however, to geography or climate. The unique history of the development of each production belt and the legacy of that history are a part of the organization and culture of farm people. Traditions as well as geography and types of production are different in the different areas.

It is easy to overemphasize differences between regions by unduly magnifying the unique or the romantic things in each region. The cattle kingdom in Argentina, for instance, is relatively so old and the owner of cattle farms of such economic and social status that most persons who visit the cattle area see only the famous *cabañas* and great cattle-breeding or feeding establishments. The idea that "this is the *estancia* country" keeps the visitors and appar-

ently even the local residents from noticing that there are some two to ten times as many other types of farms in the various areas of the cattle belt as there are great cattle estancias. It is partly because of this oversight that all type production areas in Argentina are said to be "highly specialized." Anything approaching a close look at either the recorded statistics or at the areas by personal visitation will lead one to see clearly that there are many family-type, mixed farms, a great many dairy and even some cattle-feeding farms scattered throughout the so-called "cattle-breeding belt." There are cattle farms in the hearts of both the corn and wheat belts, and there are areas where it is difficult to know whether one is in a livestock or a crop area. In other words, the acclaimed high degree of specialization is almost as much, sometimes more, due to traditional thinking as it is to actual production factors.

Contributing to this tradition or ideology is the fact that practically all Argentine farm products are sold in the export market and persons who buy these products traveling in the areas come to know the localities as cattle areas, sheep areas, wheat areas, cotton areas, etc. The author over and over again had the experience of talking to an English or an American businessman who thought he knew thoroughly one or more sections of the country but admitted he did not know all of them. If he was a livestock man he knew the cattle and sheep areas but knew very little about the cereal belt. If he was a cereal buyer or a farm-machinery dealer he knew the corn, wheat, and flax areas well, probably knew the cotton belt, but knew little about the livestock areas. Furthermore, these men seldom knew anything about other types of farms in the areas where they traveled than those which produced the type of product they were buying. Their specialization led them to emphasize the specialization of the areas in which they worked.

If one is to generalize on the differences in the rural life of the various areas of the nation he must do so by regionalizing the nation as a whole. The geographers have done this by dividing Argentina into from four to six regions, according to the specific objects each had in mind. James, following leading Argentine scholars, names four "Major Physical Divisions": the "Andean," the "North," the "Pampas," and "Patagonia."¹ Jones names five regions, each

¹ Preston E. James, *Latin America*, New York: The Odyssey Press, 1942, Chap. X, pp. 284-85.

with a gamut of specialized products: "Mesopotamia, with sheep, cattle, and yerba mate; the Chaco with quebracho, cattle and cotton; the Arid West with sugar, wine and goats; Patagonia with sheep, cattle, forests and oil; and the Pampa with beef, wool, wheat, flax, oats, corn and swine."²

The classification most often used in Argentina is that of Franz Kühn, *et al.*, which divides the country into six "Natural Regions." The *Coastal or Pampean Region* includes the Province of Buenos Aires, the central and eastern part of the Province of Córdoba, the Province of Entre Ríos, the central and southern part of the Province of Santa Fe, and the eastern part of the Territory of La Pampa. This region includes the central livestock and cereal belts and has concentrated within it something like 75 per cent of the economic activity of the nation. The *Subtropical Region* includes the Provinces of Jujuy, Salta, Tucumán, Santiago del Estero, and Corrientes, the northern part of the Province of Santa Fe, and the Territories of Chaco, Formosa, and Misiones. Much of it is covered with native forest with a great variety of trees, among them the quebracho and native yerba. Its cultivated crops are mainly sugar cane, cotton, yerba mate, and tobacco, but it also produces many additional field and tree crops. The *Andean and Sub-Andean Region of the North* lies between the Bolivian boundary on the north and the Chilean boundary on the west and runs southward to Patagonia and includes within its boundaries only mountains, steppes, and foothills. Because of its sharp climatological limitations it produces chiefly sheep and goats. The *Semiarid Region of the Central West* is an area of relatively good soils but with an annual rainfall so low that the production of cultivated crops is difficult without irrigation. Within the region, however, are the important and rich vineyard belt of Mendoza and San Juan and many smaller irrigated areas, each supporting a heavy population per irrigated land area. The major portion of the region is in livestock production in which sheep and goats predominate. The *Semiarid Region of Patagonia* includes the overwhelming portion of southern Argentina. It is the great sheep belt of the country but includes also rich irrigated valleys in Río Negro, Neuquén, and Chubut, in which is located a major fruit belt. Just west of the Semiarid Region of Patagonia lies the *Andean and Sub-Andean Region of the South*. It is different from the narrow Andean

² Clarence F. Jones, *South America*, New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930, p. 313.

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strip of the north in that it is supplied by adequate water from mountain streams in whose valleys are produced abundant livestock and a small amount of crops.³ If it were possible to obtain adequate



FIGURE 27

regional social data per Kühn's six natural regions they might well be used for sociological analysis. Such is not the case for this or any

³ Franz Kühn, *Geografía Argentina*, Buenos Aires and Barcelona, 1930. Italics author's.

other comprehensive regional classification. They are presented here for the orientation which they provide and because they are definitive in terms of geography and economics.

In order to analyze or even to describe adequately regional variants in Argentine rural life simpler and less ambitious geographic or ecological areas must be chosen. Those selected are the major type-farming areas or production belts. These areas are fairly homogeneous in the manner, means, and methods by which farm people make a living and each has its own traditional ways of doing things. Many of the geographic, communication, and traditional factors which dictate, or at least sharply condition, types of farming are the same factors that condition social habits and cultural behavior. Added to these are the conditioning influences of identical or similar habits of work, customs and traditions in production, and cycles and rhythms of daily life. The ethnic composition and nationality origins of the country's farmers have little to do with what crops they produce. It is the technologies and techniques they use in production, the tenure systems under which they operate, or the major customs and traditions which control their behavior. Practically all immigrants had to learn new methods of farming when they came to Argentina. Social institutions, other than the family, are considerably different from those which they used in their mother countries, and their aspirations have been stimulated or dulled by the rigorous experiences of pioneering. The melting pot has worked as completely in Argentina as anywhere else in the world and, as in the United States, the new manners, means, and methods of making a living have pretty much dominated everything else. Men who never produced wheat, corn, or cotton before coming to Argentina are now fully a part of the country's cotton culture, corn culture, or wheat culture and the differences between these various cultures are as marked as they are in the United States.

At the time the author was making his field studies there was no accurately constructed type-farm-production map of Argentina and although he has attempted to construct such a map it was not available at the time he was visiting the rural areas of the country. He, therefore, needed some method by which to select local areas, which would represent types of farming, for visitation and study. These were selected (25 counties for 12 types of farming areas) as counties whose pattern of farm sizes most nearly approximated the

pattern for crudely delineated production belts.⁴ In this chapter and a number of others statistical data, and in some cases descriptions, refer to these specific counties.

THE CATTLE BELT

The Breeding Belt. One cannot understand the place of cattle in Argentina's economy and culture without knowing something about the history of cattle development from earliest times. The great humid *pampa* has been a livestock paradise since Mendoza abandoned the first white settlement at Buenos Aires in 1541 and turned a few horses loose on those rich prairies. Forty years later, when the colony was re-established, the pampa abounded in wild horses. The same was later true of cattle, which were permitted to continue in a wild state until well after 1800. Don Felix de Azara estimated the number of cattle at forty-eight million during the last half of the last century.⁵ Emilio Coni⁶ discounts this fabulous figure, but even though the number was only half that it was great enough to furnish the basis for the first real agricultural development in Argentina.

The hunting and slaughter of wild cattle, for their hides only, was the first step in the development of the livestock industry. Hides were being exported as early as 1658 and 825,709 of them were shipped to Spain in 1792 from the estuary of Rio de la Plata. The volume continued to increase until the ruthless slaughter threatened the annihilation of the native herd. Restrictions were placed on the number of cattle any one person could kill, wild dogs which destroyed young animals were hunted down, wire fences were constructed, and herd improvement was begun about 1860. Wild cattle and wild land were organized into great economic organizations—estancias.⁷ First salted and dried, then frozen, now chiller beef sent to hungry European markets became the nation's first great eco-

⁴ See Appendix I of this chapter for detailed description of methodology.

⁵ Azara, *Descripción é historia*, quoted by Herbert Gibson, "La Evolución Ganadería," in *Censo Agropecuario Nacional, 1908*, Vol. III, pp. 55-102.

⁶ Coni, "La agricultura, ganadería e industrias," *Historia de la Nación Argentina*, Vol. IV, Sec. 1, Pt. 1, Chap. III.

⁷ See Jose Hernandez, *Instrucción del Estanciero*, Buenos Aires: C. Casavalle, 1884, for an interesting analysis of the way an estancia should be organized and operated.

conomic enterprise.⁸ Cattle put Argentina on the international map of the world and still does much to keep it there. Of this fact all Argentines are highly conscious.

Cattle are to be found in practically all sections of Argentina and no farming area produces cattle to the complete exclusion of every other type of farm product. In some semiarid areas where goats and small mules constitute the basic farm production, cattle are also found. They still exist in considerable numbers in the relatively newly established cotton belt, in the yerba-mate belt, and even in the citrus, sugar-cane, and vineyard belts. There are many of them in the cereal belt. They are in fact everywhere in Argentina where grazing will sustain them.⁹ Every other major farm-production belt has, one after the other, been carved out of areas occupied at one time by the great Argentine cattle and sheep kingdom. Because of this and because these other type-production belts are now well established, it contributes to an understanding of the regionalization of the nation's agriculture to describe the cattle belt as occupying an area from the northern boundaries of the Provinces of Corrientes and Santa Fe to the southern boundary of the Province of Buenos Aires, including all the areas of those two provinces, all of Entre Ríos, the southeastern one third of the Province of Córdoba and the northeastern one third of the Territory of La Pampa. In this area—the humid pampa and its dry margins—are the hearts of the cattle-breeding, the cattle-feeding, and the dairy belts. (See Figures 27 and 29.)

The cattle-breeding belt is in the humid part of the pampa and it is here that the famous cabañas are located. Stocked with the finest imported purebreds that money can buy, this area produces cattle which could compete favorably in any great cattle exposition of the world. These breeding places keep alive the cattle tradition of the nation. They, however, do much more than this; they keep up and constantly improve the nation's herd of thirty-three million cattle.

⁸ There are a number of vivid descriptions of estancias, gauchos, handling of cattle, and of the early salting industry. See especially Beaumont, *Travels in Buenos Ayres*, pp. 60-83; Parish, *Buenos Ayres and the Provinces*, pp. 333-55; Latham, *The States of the River Plate*, pp. 7-13; and MacCann, *Two Thousand Miles' Ride*, Vol. I, pp. 212-15.

⁹ See P. O. Nyhus, "Argentine Pastures and the Cattle-Grazing Industry," *Foreign Agriculture*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1940).

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The operation of *cabañas* is by no means the sole business of the cattle-breeding belt; it is in fact a small part of cattle production in the area. The commercial production of beef cattle occupies most of the land and is the chief business of the area. As many cows are kept by each producer as his pasture land will support and as many calves as possible are raised, kept until they are past a year old, and then sent to the feeding belt to be finished for market. The owners



Courtesy of the Argentine Ministry of Agriculture

A TYPICAL HERD OF BEEF CATTLE IN THE PAMPA

of *cabañas* are usually also owners of large commercial herds and some of them are owners of *estancias* in the feeding belt. Many tenants who operate farms in this area are also in the business of producing steers to sell to feeders, although some of them, and some owners, also fatten steers for market on the farms which they operate. Not every farmer in this belt is a big cattle producer. Some of them are dairymen and many of them are general farmers (*chacareros*). There are also many small farms (*quintas* and *huertas*), some of them owned and even operated by city persons.

The ownership units are much larger than operator units in the cattle-breeding belt because ownership units are often divided into a number of operating units and rented to a number of different tenants. That tenant operation of a farm enterprise of the great magnitude which prevails in this area and that the breeding and

raising of fine cattle can be done by tenants are unique facts. In the two counties of the belt selected for detailed analysis, 80.7 per cent of all farm operators were tenants in 1937, 90.9 per cent of them renting for cash.¹⁰ In this type of operation the tenant pays from \$2.00 to \$2.50 per acre for the use of the land, owns the cattle, all the working equipment, usually all permanent installations, including his residence, and is, therefore, a true entrepreneur. All the landlord does in such cases is furnish the land; he may not even live as near the property as the adjacent town or city. A small per cent of the farms are operated by managers and about 20 per cent by owner operators.

The two counties originally selected to represent the cattle-breeding belt did not turn out to be representative of the belt as delineated in the later-constructed type-farming-belt map. Farm tenancy for all "possessors" of cattle for the whole belt in 1937 was only 62.7 per cent and was more than twice as high for small as for large producers. It should not, therefore, be assumed that anything like 62.7 per cent of all cattle in this belt are produced by tenants. But neither should it be overlooked that 67.1 per cent of all "possessors" of herds of from 200 to 5,000 head of cattle were tenants, and that they and yet smaller "possessors" owned almost 45 per cent of all cattle in the breeding belt.¹¹ Much less should it be forgotten that these small "possessors" (of herds of less than 200 head) make up 79.5 per cent of all "possessors" of cattle and that they and their families, and the families of nonproducers of cattle, constitute the overwhelming per cent of the people who live in the area. Here we are concerned more with a description of people than cattle and more concerned with human culture than cattle breeding.

The picture which this area presents is one of almost solid grassland, more than 80 per cent of all the farm land in the two counties studied being in pasture. The average number of cattle per cattle farm is just slightly less than 700. At one extreme 87 different men in the two counties owned more than 5,000 head each, but at the other extreme about 35 per cent of all producers owned less than 500 head each. Small and larger operators, tenant farms and cabañas operate side by side with the result that the great cattle-breeding belt can be known either as the area in which great estancias and

¹⁰ The tenancy rate for the whole breeding belt is only 64.8 per cent. See Chapter VIII.

¹¹ See Chapter VIII.

the most magnificent estancia mansions in the nation are located or it can be known as the area in which a very high per cent of all farms are tenancy operated, with many of their occupants living in mud houses and on fairly low levels of living. Both things are true.

In this belt are found those magnificent estancias which have made Argentine cattle and Argentine cattlemen known all over the world. They are the biggest cattle ranches in the world and their owners constitute the richest and most socially elite citizens of the nation. Their Shorthorn, Hereford, and Angus cattle furnish the prize winners at the great annual Palermo Rural Exposition and their traditions dominate the nation's psychology more completely than any other body of thought. These facts make the cattle-breeding belt more than a cattle-producing area. It was the seat of the original cattle industry in the nation and from it stems the great cattle tradition about which operate some of the major prides and prejudices of the Argentine people.¹²

In addition to these significant facts it is possible to know considerably more about the social conditions of this area from data concerning two counties selected for special analysis.¹³ Of the 3,002 heads of farm families 48.4 per cent are foreign born, two thirds of whom are Spanish—many of them Basques. There are 143 Italians and 69 French; very few of other nationalities. As has been said, more than 75 per cent of all farmers are tenants, about 6 per cent of whom have been on the same farms not more than 5 years and about 2.5 per cent who have occupied the same farms for more than 25 years. The degree of stability of all farm entrepreneurs of the area is relatively high, 67 per cent of them having lived in the area and 24 per cent of them having occupied the same farms for more than 10 years. Because of the large size of the farms the density of population is low; many farmhouses (57.2 per cent) are more than 3 miles from the nearest school. Similarly, 31.6 per

¹² Taylor, "Argentina Loves Her Cattle," *Agriculture in the Americas*, Vol. III, No. 3 (March 1943). One who is interested in reading further about the Argentine cattle country is referred to a series of articles by Otto V. Battles entitled, "A Visit to Argentina," *The Aberdeen-Angus Journal*, Webster City, Iowa, Vol. XXII, Nos. 3-12, Vol. XXIII, Nos. 1 and 2 (October 1940 through September 1941); and John L. Strohm, *I Lived with Latin Americans*, Danville, Illinois: The Interstate, 1943, Chap. IV.

¹³ The two counties are Tandil and Ayacucho, both in the Province of Buenos Aires.

fattening and alfalfa as correlates. More than 90 per cent of all acreage in alfalfa in 1937 was in western Buenos Aires, eastern La Pampa, southern Santa Fe, and southern Córdoba, and this area is identical with the major portions of the cattle-feeding belt. More than 75 per cent of packing-plant purchase of chiller-type beef cattle direct from estancias is in this area.¹⁴

Most of the cattle bred and raised in the cattle-breeding belt are shipped to this area when they are between one and two years of age, are pastured on alfalfa, rye, oats, and Sudan grass for a year, sometimes longer, and sold to packing-plant buyers who come to the area to make such purchases. The estancias in the area are, for the most part, purely business establishments and are seldom used by *estanciero* families as locations for summer homes. The number of structures maintained are the minimum essential to the mass handling of livestock, consisting chiefly of fences, windmills, and Australian tanks. Cattle are handled in large droves, in 500-acre and larger pastures, tended by remarkably few herdsmen and require the minimum of overhead in every way. The total working population, including family and seasonal laborers, is only 4.4 per square mile and since the estancias are large units of operation, each with many laborers, estancia headquarters are far apart. The area is well supplied with railroads but approximately 20 per cent of all farms are 9 or more miles from railroad stations and 58.3 per cent of all homes are 3 or more miles from the nearest school, 8.6 per cent of them more than 9 miles.

In the two counties of the cattle-feeding belt selected for detailed analysis,¹⁵ 36 per cent of the farm entrepreneurs, in 1937, were Argentine born and 36.6 per cent Spanish born—many of them Basques. The next largest nationality group is Italian, followed by French, and then by one or more persons born in 14 other nations. Notwithstanding this fact and the fact that schools are far apart the illiteracy rate of the area is relatively low. Although almost every type of house—stone with tile roof, mud with thatched roof, zinc—is prevalent, housing ranks fairly high among the farming belts of the nation. At one extreme are 13.8 per cent with one or two rooms and at the other extreme are 22.8 per cent—more than two thirds of

¹⁴ Nyhus, "Argentine Pastures and the Cattle-Grazing Industry," *Foreign Agriculture*, p. 26.

¹⁵ Pellegrini and General Villegas, both in western Buenos Aires Province.

which are masonry constructed—with six or more rooms. In spite of the fact that more than two thirds of the farmers are foreign born and cattle feeding is a fairly speculative enterprise, over 10 per cent of all entrepreneurs have been on the same farm for more than 25 years. Almost 70 (69.9) per cent of them are tenants, the vast majority (79.5 per cent) renting for cash. Here, as in the cattle-breeding belt, the per cent of tenants among “possessors of cattle” is considerably less than that for all producers—56 per cent as compared to 70 per cent. Tenants have invested a great deal of capital in fences, wells, windmills, and tanks which makes shifting from place to place uneconomical.

THE SHEEP BELT

The sheep industry was the first to divide the field with the cattle industry in economic importance in Argentina. Sheep had been brought into the country at the same time as cattle, 1587, but even though many Spanish settlers were expert in sheep production this fact did not tip the scales against the more powerful facts of the optimum environment for cattle production and the status which cattlemen had come to hold. It was not until about 1800 that a systematic sheep industry was established, and by the end of 40 years the second great arm of Argentine agriculture had been established. Export statistics on shipments of wool, cited by Gibson, are 384,229 kilos in 1822; 2,121,383 kilos in 1837; 17,316,900 kilos in 1860; and 65,704,214 kilos in 1870.¹⁶

The evolution of sheep culture in Argentina from 1587, when about 4,000 animals were brought from Peru, to 1840, when the sheep industry was systematically and successfully dividing the field with cattle, from the best data available seems to have been about as follows: (1) At the time of the conquest of Peru in 1525 there was a breed of indigenous sheep being produced by the Incas. (2) In 1539 sheep were brought from farther west to Asunción, Paraguay. (3) In 1553 sheep were brought from Peru to Tucumán. (4) Four thousand Spanish sheep were brought from Peru in 1587 and distributed in the Provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, and Corrientes. They furnished the foundation stock from which the Argentine sheep industry was developed. (5) Wool was first exported from the

¹⁶ A kilo is 2.2 pounds.

River Plate estuary in 1600, but Spain, being a sheep-producing country itself, placed numerous obstacles, often actual prohibitions, in the way of the exportation of sheep products with the result that there was very little progress in the sheep industry until after 1840. Then some cattlemen began to turn old estancias to sheep production and new sheep estancias began to be developed. (6) In the meantime there had been a number of cases of Argentine sheep producers importing improving breeds into the country. Some wool was exported from time to time. The boiling of carcasses to obtain tallow had developed into a large industry and by about 1866 had definitely established sheep as a major agricultural enterprise in Argentina. At that time the vast majority of the country's sheep were to be found in the Provinces of Buenos Aires and Santa Fe.¹⁷ (7) The territory now comprising Patagonia, in fact all that frontier area south of the Río Negro River, was opened for settlement at the close of the Indian Wars, 1878, and it is this area that today constitutes the country's chief sheep belt. (8) After the dates and events just recorded the sheep industry has trended steadily toward the Patagonia region where in 1937, 38.8 per cent of the sheep were to be found, although about an equal number are in the Provinces of Buenos Aires and Entre Ríos and the remainder in other areas.

The sheep industry in Patagonia is an exceedingly extensive enterprise—large estancias, large flocks, few people. In the two counties selected for detailed analysis 96.5 per cent of all farms are livestock farms and livestock in this area universally means sheep.¹⁸ The average size of farms is 22,157 acres and more than 90 per cent of all land is in farms larger than average, some of them from 500,000 to 1,000,000 acres. The greater part of them (62.3 per cent) are operated by managers who work for the owners and 97.4 per cent of the remainder are rented for cash and operated in the same way. A few are "sharecropped" under owners or tenants—who then generally operate through a manager—furnishing the land and the sheep and giving the share tenant one fourth of the annual production. The marketing is always done by the manager.

The typical personnel of a great sheep estancia is an administrator

¹⁷ Herbert Gibson, *Sheep Breeding Industry in the Argentine Republic*, Buenos Aires: Ravencroft and Mills, 1893. For comments on early sheep production, see also Latham, *The States of the River Plate*, pp. 19-21; Mulhall, *Handbook of the River Plate*, pp. 278-86; MacCann, *Two Thousand Miles' Ride*, Vol. I, pp. 67-68.

¹⁸ The counties—Tehuelches, Chubut; Guer Aike, Santa Cruz.

or manager, his central staff—a bookkeeper, assistant manager, and chauffeur; mechanic, storekeeper, and yard and domestic servants; a number of geographic area supervisors; a number of foremen and a great many herders (*peones*)—a total year-round personnel numbering from 100 to 200; and seasonal sheep shearers in addition. The typical organization is the estancia headquarters and staff; a division of the ranch into areas of from 5,000 to 25,000 acres over which is a supervisor and at whose geographic headquarters are a sheep dip, the supervisor's home, and a barracks for five hired men; as many head herdsman as are required, each overseeing from 10,000 to 30,000 sheep, and a sufficient number of herdsman to care for the total flock if each handles from 1,000 to 2,000 sheep.

Sheep estancias, especially in Patagonia, are not located in areas where owners care to maintain great mansions such as are found in the cattle-breeding area. The climate is not pleasant and the isolation is great. The estancias are, therefore, strictly business places. The density of the working population is only about 0.2 persons per square mile and there are few persons in the area not needed as part of the labor forces. Two thirds of the estancia headquarters are 15 or more miles from trade centers and 50 per cent of the homes are from 3 to 15 miles from the nearest schools.

Less than 50 per cent of the persons working with sheep in Patagonia are native-born Argentines. Britishers—Englishmen, Scotchmen, Australians, and New Zealanders—are most frequently found in positions of managers, and Chileans, followed by Spaniards, make up the bulk of the herders. The overwhelming majority of herders are not married. Rural housing in the areas is the best in the nation, due to the fact that the climate is severe. More than 47 per cent of the rural houses are three rooms or smaller in size but 94 per cent of them are of some type of masonry construction. The physical elements in the rural level of living, with the exception of health facilities, are well supplied but the cultural elements are practically nonexistent for most of the people who live in the extensive sheep belt.

THE CEREAL BELT

Wheat. Just as sheep culture edged in on cattle culture, wheat was the first cereal crop to break the virtual monopoly of livestock

in Argentine agriculture. It was introduced in the country earlier than any other foreign field crop and, in fact, earlier than foreign livestock. Like livestock products, its development was handicapped by export prohibitions until 1806. Unlike livestock it did not and could not increase in a wild state irrespective of its immediate economic value. By the time export restrictions were removed the livestock industry had become sufficiently institutionalized into land-ownership patterns and livestock traditions that cereal production was looked upon as an enterprise of inferior social status. In the Buenos Aires settlement there was a definite attempt to confine so-called "farming" to areas adjacent to the city, reserving the great rich hinterland for cattle culture. The local government of Buenos Aires in 1755 ordered "those who are damaging the livestock industry by having general farms [*chacras*] out in the estancia country immediately to bring their *chacras* into areas near the city which were meant for agriculture."¹⁹ In 1790 the city council (*Cabildo*) of Buenos Aires included among other causes of the decline of livestock "the abuse of sowing wheat, corn, and other crops on estancias."²⁰ Nevertheless, there had been considerable wheat produced in the country previous to 1800. There were small exports as early as 1602 and mills had been established at Córdoba, Mendoza, and Buenos Aires for the manufacturing of flour, some of which was exported but most of which was apparently used for domestic consumption. The chief areas of production before 1850 seem to have been Córdoba, Mendoza, and Buenos Aires, with Buenos Aires distinctly leading. As early as 1793 investigations by the *Cabildo* of Buenos Aires indicated that there were two thousand farmers producing wheat in that area.²¹

Wheat culture as a type of farming, however, made no pronounced headway against the livestock culture which competed with it in its zone of natural adaptation until late in the nineteenth century. Between 1800 and 1870 development of farm machinery,

¹⁹ Ricardo Levene, "Riqueza, industria y comercio durante el virreinato," *Historia de la Nación Argentina*, Vol. IV, Sec. 1, Pt. 1, Chap. IV, p. 264. Italics author's.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

²¹ For descriptions of early development of cereal production see Beaumont, *Travels in Buenos Ayres*, pp. 90-96; Parish, *Buenos Ayres and the Provinces*, pp. 291-300; D. Santiago Alcorta, *La Republica Argentina en la Exposicion Universal de Paris de 1889*, Coleccion de Informes Reunidos, Tomo I, 1890, Sociedad Anonima de Publicaciones Periodicas; Latham, *The States of the River Plate*, pp. 151-53; MacCann, *Two Thousand Miles' Ride*, Vol. II, pp. 64-69.

improvements in transportation, and the arrival of peasant farmers from Europe in great numbers began tipping the scales against the dominance of livestock culture and in favor of cereal production. The first railroad, a six-mile line running southeast from Buenos Aires, started operation in 1857 and was followed immediately by the construction of a line from Córdoba to Tucumán and another from Concordia, on the Uruguay River, to Mercedes in the heart of the Province of Corrientes. River transportation from Corrientes and Santa Fe to Buenos Aires increased and, after the end of the Indian Wars (1878), country-road travel, now comparatively safe and exceptionally easy over the level pampa lands, also came to be transportation routes for wheat. The great wheat port of Bahía Blanca was developed and other ports on the Paraná River became thriving commercial centers. By 1904 exports of wheat and other field crops furnished 46.6 per cent of all export values and by 1905 they exceeded exports of livestock products. At no period since, except during war, have the cereals yielded their dominance in exports.

Wheat spread from the area about Buenos Aires into the area of the Salado Slough when that area was cleared of hostile Indians, next into the area from Rosario to Córdoba, and finally into the semiarid rim of the humid pampa. In the Salado Slough and the semiarid areas wheat culture was entering comparatively undeveloped territory. In the newly developing grain areas of northern Buenos Aires, southern Santa Fe, and southeastern Córdoba it was compelled to make headway against an already established livestock industry. This was accomplished by converting estancias into tenant farms operated by recent European immigrants. This development took place, for the most part, after 1880 and there are still obvious evidences in this area of the incomplete conversion. Some estancias still exist in the area and old estancia fences, most of them in decay, are yet on *colono* farms.

The wheat belt today occupies a great semicircular perimeter of the main cattle belt of the nation, in visual appearance seeming to operate like a pincers movement against a type of agriculture with which it competes for use of the land.²² It still divides the areas with

²² In order to see the location of the total wheat-producing areas, see *Censo Nacional Agropecuario, Economía Rural, Año 1937* (Parte I), p. 33. The type-farming map presented in the final section of this chapter does not show this whole wheat-producing area because in much of it other types of products outrank wheat.

livestock raising, and with corn and flax, two other market crops which entered the field after wheat had established itself.

The density of the farm working population in the two counties chosen as typical of the wheat belt is about 10 persons per square mile.²³ The average size of farms in these two counties is 575 acres and thus rural homes average about a mile in distance from each other. The paucity of population results in rural schools being located far from each other and at considerable distance from many farm homes. More than 64 per cent of all farm homes are more than 3 miles from the nearest school, 10.5 per cent more than 9 miles. The trade-center pattern is such as would be expected in any area of sparse farm population where existed few commercial or industrial enterprises other than those handling farm products. The farmers of these wheat areas are mostly sons, sometimes grandsons, of European immigrants, sometimes European immigrants themselves, and sometimes descendants of families who have been in Argentina for a hundred years.

Corn. The second grain crop to develop into importance was corn, the development having taken place almost altogether since 1895. Like wheat, corn won its way against cattle. It also had to win its way against wheat and maintains itself in the most diversified farming area of the nation, competing with cattle, wheat, flax, alfalfa, and dairy production. In 1888 the principal corn-producing area was west-central Buenos Aires. Today it is grown over a very wide area, but the heart of the corn belt is in southern Santa Fe and northern Buenos Aires.²⁴ Here it is grown as a commercial export product rather than as a grain or roughage for domestic feed. It is produced in mixed-farming operations but not to the same extent as in the corn belt of the United States. Like wheat it is produced as an extensive field crop. There are, however, sufficiently marked differences between the heart of the corn belt and the heart of the wheat belt to warrant separation of the two for analysis.²⁵

Farms in the three corn counties average less than half the size of those in the two wheat counties—260 acres as compared to 575 acres, and there are no corn farms of the immense size of some wheat

²³ Counties were Unión and Marcos Juárez, both in Córdoba.

²⁴ P. O. Nyhus, "Argentine Corn," *Foreign Agriculture*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Vol. I, No. 8 (August, 1937), pp. 393-422.

²⁵ Counties selected to represent the corn belt were Caseros and Constitución in Santa Fe, and Pergamino in Buenos Aires.

farms. Because of this fact the working population in the corn counties is two and one-half times as dense per square mile as in the wheat counties. Farm residences are much closer to each other, but the configuration of the settlement pattern is the same as in the wheat belt; also the farms are closer to trade centers and schools. The trade-center pattern, because it is adjusted to railroad-station locations, does not reflect this difference as markedly as does the school pattern. Less than one half as high a percentage of farm homes are 3 or more miles from schools as in the wheat belt.

The population composition of the two areas is very similar, overwhelmingly Italian stock. Farmers of the corn counties are more recent arrivals and consequently a slightly smaller per cent are Argentine born. Not only have fewer corn-belt than wheat-belt farmers lived in Argentina and in the same area for 25 or more years, but a smaller percentage have been on the same farm for as long as 10 years. This last fact is undoubtedly due chiefly to tenure arrangements.

Corn farming more often than wheat farming is practiced on tenant farms which are yet a part of cattle estancias, and it is easier for a corn farmer than it is for a wheat farmer to shift to other types of farm enterprise. In some cases where estancias are operated partly "administration," partly tenant, a portion of the estancia is in crops for the purpose of renovating pastures of weeds. As soon as this renovation is completed, generally by means of five-year tenant contracts, the tenants are asked to move to another section of the estancia. Tenants subjected to these conditions must be highly mobile. The tenancy rate in the three selected counties of the corn belt is 73.6 per cent as compared to 61.6 per cent in the two counties in the wheat belt and almost twice as high a percentage of corn-belt farmers pay cash rent as do those in the wheat belt.

Farm housing is slightly poorer in the corn belt than in the wheat belt for the same reason. Tenants must build their own homes and short-tenure contracts make it infeasible to construct either substantial or permanent structures. In the three counties selected for detailed analysis, housing in the combined administration-tenant farming area is considerably poorer than that in areas where almost complete conversion to tenant farming has taken place, and very much poorer than in areas where corn and dairy farming are mixed.

Flax. This crop is grown almost altogether in the heart of the

already well-established cereal belt. It entered the field as a major commercial crop about 1900, it has expanded the cereal belt slightly northward and eastward but is otherwise a crop competing with wheat and corn.

Oats, barley, and rye. Also produced in the cereal zone are oats, barley, and rye; and rice is grown in both Corrientes in the northeast and Tucumán in the northwest. None of these, however, constitute extensive belts of major cereal production and, therefore, have not established significant zones of production or important modes of rural life.

THE COTTON BELT

Although cotton was one of the earliest farm crops produced in the country, cotton production in Argentina is not large. More than 80 per cent of cotton today is produced in the Chaco which was not the original cotton belt. There is no farm product of the country which has had a more variegated history but which has more completely found its natural zone. In its first location for commercial production by white settlers, in Santiago del Estero, it had not been produced by the Indians as it had in Corrientes and Paraguay. It was brought to Santiago del Estero from Chile in 1556 and quickly became the major farm crop in a wide area which now comprises the Provinces of Santiago del Estero, Catamarca, and Tucumán. It was at first grown only for home consumption but developed rapidly into a commercial product. Cotton textiles became not only articles for interarea trade but media of exchange, even the salary of the Governor of Tucumán at one time being paid in varas (each vara 2.78 feet) of cotton cloth. Cotton cloth was at first sent to Potosí, later to Buenos Aires, and in 1587 was being exported to Brazil through the port of Buenos Aires. Cotton continued as a major crop of the Tucumán area until into the seventeenth century when as a textile it gradually gave way to wool.²⁶ It continued in Catamarca much longer. According to Levene every home in that province owned a gin and a loom for cotton fabrication as late as the end of the eighteenth century.²⁷ The Jesuit missionaries during their reign had also further developed the production and weaving of cotton

²⁶ Coni, *Agricultura, Comercio e Industria Coloniales*, pp. 48-52.

²⁷ Levene, "Riqueza, industria y comercio durante el virreinato," *Historia de la Nacion Argentina*, pp. 282-83.

among the Guarani Indians in Misiones and Corrientes. Martin de Moussy, as a result of his elaborate investigations, 1855-60, reported that cotton production was at that time confined to Catamarca and was disappearing there in competition with the production of figs.²⁸ It did disappear, although attempts were made in 1863 to revive it, and did not reappear until 1890, then having shifted to the area of the present cotton belt in Chaco and Formosa.

Since 1924 the National Ministry of Agriculture has taken special interest in promoting cotton production in this area. Increase in the acreage planted in cotton was slow for a considerable time, only from 2,560 acres in 1899 to 7,600 acres in 1916. World War conditions further impeded development, but the acreage planted in 1924 was 258,000 acres. In 1934 it had increased to 706,420 and in 1940 was 832,390 acres, 81.6 per cent of which was in Chaco.²⁹

Cotton is produced, so to speak, among the quebracho trees. The Chaco is a timbered belt, containing the valuable quebracho tree, used for distillation of tannin. The growth of this tree is so slow and its value so high that the areas where it is prolific are either held by large companies or reserved by the government. This, together with the fact that much of the area is swampy, results in most farms being located in open spaces, on the slightly higher elevations, and isolated from other farms. In the central part of the cotton belt it is seldom possible to see more than one farmstead from any one point. Since 1903, and especially since 1924, the national government has been trying to move forward with its survey and title-clearance work fast enough to catch up with squatters by whom much of the cotton belt was settled. It is yet far behind and therefore many farmers in the area are neither owners nor tenants, still just squatters.

There was an attempt as early as 1880 to colonize the eastern portion of Chaco, and private owners who secured some 7,000,000 acres of land in the territory before 1903 have divided their holdings, after the valuable timber was removed, and attempted to sell them to settlers. Settlement, however, has since 1924 been largely on government land.

²⁸ De Moussy, *Description géographique et statistique*, Vol. I, pp. 512-13.

²⁹ *El Chaco de 1940*, Buenos Aires: Comisión Organizadora de la Exposición del Territorio Nacional del Chaco, 1941, p. 87; *Anuario Geográfico Argentino*, 1941, pp. 234-35.

To cite data on sizes of farms in the cotton belt would present the reader with a totally erroneous picture of the pattern of settlement in the area, for, while cotton farms are small, more than 60 per cent of all land in the very heart of the cotton belt is in farms of more than 1,543 acres in size. Furthermore, only a small portion of land allotted by the government to settlers is planted to cotton, the remainder being in timber or pasture. In this area of family-sized, intensive farm operation, only about 60 per cent of the farms are 100 acres or smaller in size.

Three things have accounted for the rapid and unique settlement of the cotton belt: First, militant governmental promotion of cotton production since 1923; second, the fact that earlier-settled areas of the nation no longer offered promising opportunities to immigrants; and, third, the development of railroad transportation. Since 1924 there has been no sale of large holdings, even pasture land being allotted to actual settlers in tracts not larger than 625 hectares (1,544 acres). The government does not allot cropland in larger than 100-hectare (247-acre) tracts and requires that the prospective owner build a residence and begin immediately to cultivate some portion of the farm. The National Cotton Board maintains two experiment stations and a number of extension workers in the area and helps the farmers to market both their cottonseed and lint. Immigrants are encouraged to locate in the belt and are allotted farms for small down payments, given easy payment plans and charged no interest while they are getting started. They are encouraged to practice diversified farming, but most of them sooner or later come to specialize in cotton.³⁰

The fact that recent immigrant settlers in the cotton belt are mostly from northern and eastern Europe may lead one visiting the area to conclude that the Chaco is totally a pioneer, European-immigrant settlement. Such is not in fact true. In the two counties in the Chaco selected as most typical of the Argentine cotton belt³¹ more than half of all heads of farm families were Argentine born. There were, in 1937, 5,458 settlers from 28 different nations in the area, represented by 1,144 Spaniards, 936 Poles, 616 Yugoslavians,

³⁰ For additional information on colonization in the cotton belt, see P. O. Nyhus, "Colonization in the Argentine Chaco," *Foreign Crops and Markets*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Vol. 32, No. 25 (June 22, 1936).

³¹ Campo del Cielo and Napalpí, both in Chaco.

472 Italians, 380 Czechs, 329 Paraguayans, 326 Bulgarians, 313 Germans, and 268 Russians, which are the 9 leading nationality groups. More than 50.5 per cent are Argentine born, 43.4 per cent are of the 9 nationality groups just named, and the remaining 6.1 percent are distributed among 19 other nationalities. More than 95.7 per cent of all foreign-born farmers in these two counties came to Argentina after 1912, more than 50 per cent of them after 1925. The immigrant farmers are, therefore, pioneers in two ways: They are newcomers to the country and they are new in cotton production, many of them not having been farmers in their native lands. In spite of this fact and the additional fact that approximately 50 per cent of all cotton is produced by squatters, both settlers and community life are stable. Approximately 70 per cent of all farmers had been on the same farm for no more than 10 years in 1937. Even though squatting, few of them change locations once they have started to farm and different nationality groups have formed communities that are more cohesive than in most areas of Argentine rural life.

Farm homes are distant from trade centers and from schools because of the isolation of farms, but school attendance is good and different nationality groups are accustomed to meet often at certain places in trade centers. Almost 55 per cent of all farms are 9 or more miles from a trade center and 44 per cent of all homes are 3 or more miles from the nearest schools. Housing is poor because the settlers are new and most of them do not yet have assurance of titles to their lands. The climate is not severe and the so-called "rancho" (a house built of poles, plastered with mud and roofed with thatch) is prevalent. Those for transient cotton pickers may be just poles without the mud plaster, or sticks and bows, or pieces of zinc which are being used until required as locust fences. These structures of flimsy materials and the great prevalence of one- and two-room houses are likely to be the only things noticed at first, but there are good houses. Many settlers have themselves built brick residences as soon as they felt assured of titles to the land on which they squatted. Approximately 30 per cent of all farmhouses in the two counties are of some sort of masonry construction and more than 15 per cent of all are larger than four rooms in size. Contrasted with these are 66 per cent no larger than two rooms, almost 20 per cent which are one room, and 70 per cent which are of mud structure or worse.

THE SUGAR-CANE BELT

Sugar cane, like many other Argentine major farm crops, was introduced very early but developed only sporadically until recent times. It was brought to Asunción from Brazil in 1541 and the first samples of new-world production were sent to Sevilla in 1556.³² It apparently had completely disappeared by 1800³³ and did not reappear until sometime about 1820 when sugar cane was brought to Salta and Jujuy from Peru. From these provinces it was brought to Tucumán by the Catholic priest Colombres, now generally recognized as the father of the sugar industry. From Tucumán it spread into Catamarca and Santiago del Estero. De Moussy stated in 1860 that it was produced in the northwestern provinces first named and also in Corrientes.³⁴ The first sugar factory was established in 1840 at Tucumán. By 1860 there were 25, each a part of a great sugar plantation, and in 1876 there were 82.³⁵ After the establishment of the railroad, in 1876, the production increased greatly, from 5,434 acres in 1876 to 13,338 in 1881 and the 82 small sugar factories were converted into 34 powerful "ingenios."³⁶

These large operators in addition to producing great acreages of sugar cane also began purchasing cane from independent farmers and having part of their own plantations farmed by sharecroppers. According to Cross this marked a sharp change in previous methods of operation and established those economic arrangements which now prevail in the sugar-cane belt.³⁷ By 1895 sugar-cane production in Tucumán had expanded to more than 100,000 acres and more than 109,000 tons. In 1896 there was a troublesome surplus which introduced a crisis in the sugar-cane belt. This crisis was weathered and cane acreage advanced to 263,800 in 1914. In 1940 the national production came from 470,000 acres, 78.9 per cent of them in the

³² Coni, "La agricultura, ganadería e industrias," *Historia de la Nación Argentina*, Vol. IV, p. 252.

³³ Latzina, "El Comercio Argentino," *Censo Agropecuario Nacional, 1908*, Vol. III, p. 602.

³⁴ De Moussy, *Description géographique et statistique*, Vol. III, pp. 499-504.

³⁵ William E. Cross, *Notas sobre el progreso de la agricultura y las industrias agropecuarias de Tucumán durante los últimos sesenta años*, Tucumán, 1942, Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 36, p. 14.

³⁶ An ingenio is a sugar factory, generally connected with a large sugar plantation.

³⁷ Cross, *Notas sobre el progreso*, pp. 14-15.

Province of Tucumán, and the tonnage was 538,188 of which 66.1 per cent was in Tucumán.³⁸

It is informative to note the processes of agricultural competition and adaptation by which the Tucumán area was converted to sugar-cane production. During the second half of the sixteenth century and first half of the seventeenth the area constituted the Argentine cotton belt and was also producing great quantities of hides. After that cotton gave way to wool but cattle, mules, and horses were still produced in great numbers. There was also considerable manufacture of traffic vehicles to supply the demand of traffic between provinces farther south and Bolivia and Peru. By 1820 the production of sugar cane had started and by 1860 was well established. There were still 426,869 head of cattle in the province in 1895.³⁹ They had decreased to 173,211 in 1940. The production of sugar is now rigidly controlled, but sugar cane in 1940 occupied 61.4 per cent of all cultivated land in the province and although there are other crops, including considerable citrus, produced in the area, sugar cane predominates so overwhelmingly that it dictates the economic and social patterns of the whole area.

The two counties selected for detailed analysis do not represent the extremes in the sugar-cane belt but are considerably different one from the other.⁴⁰ Monteros is near the City of Tucumán and is an area of many small farms, while Cruz Alta has many large plantations. Monteros is in the center of the sugar-factory area and Cruz Alta gradually fades off into the desert-scrub country to the east. There were 8,660 farms in the two counties, 85.3 per cent of which were producing some sugar cane in 1937. These constituted 44.0 per cent of all sugar-cane farms of the nation and represented 37.0 per cent of the total sugar-cane acreage. Almost 26 per cent of all cane planted in the two counties was on farms which had more than 2,887 acres of cane that year. At the same time more than 80 per cent of all farmers did not have more than 12½ acres of cane. The settlement pattern is, therefore, one of small holdings scattered in among great plantations, 80 per cent of all farmers, large and small, growing sugar cane.

³⁸ *Anuario Geografico Argentino*, 1941, pp. 231-32.

³⁹ *Segundo Censo de la República Argentina*, 1895, Vol. III, p. 106.

⁴⁰ Monteros and Cruz Alta, both in Tucumán.

In the area of most intensive production the farm-working population is more than 100 per square mile and in even the least intensive areas not less than 50. Farms are relatively near railroads and schools and near other farm homes. More than 70 per cent of all farms are within 3 miles of railroads and more than 55 per cent of all farm homes are 0.6 of a mile or closer to schools.

Only 14.2 per cent of farmers in the two counties are tenants, 92 per cent of them renting for cash. A small amount of sugar cane is produced by a sharecropper system in which the owner furnishes the land, already planted to cane, and pays someone by a share of the harvested product for cultivating and harvesting. Most of it, however, is produced by hired labor, the majority of even the small holders not being able to harvest their crops without employing additional assistance. These laborers are brought in or come in from all directions, from the drier farm areas east and south and from the dry Territory of Los Andes and even from Bolivia from the north and west. Sugar factories are in their rush season at the same time the cane harvest is on and it is therefore not possible to recruit field hands from the urban centers of the area. More than 75 per cent of all labor used in sugar-cane production is seasonal and practically all of it is piece work, a given amount per row for cultivating and a given amount per ton for harvesting.

Except for the transient laborers the population of the area is exceedingly stable. More than 91 per cent of all heads of farm families in the area are Argentine born, 68.6 per cent having lived in the area for more than 25 years and 61.1 per cent having been on the same farms for more than 10 years. There is much informal association among the rural people, in their yards, along the roads, and at the local stores but practically no formal rural social organization. The homes of farm families who live continuously in the area are good; those of the transient laborers are some of the poorest in the nation. Of the 3,193 farmhouses in the two counties listed in the 1937 Agricultural Census, 1,655 (51.8 per cent) were masonry constructed, but 1,437 (45 per cent) were either of one room or built of sugar-cane stalks. These latter are the houses built for transient laborers but many of them are used for permanent residences.

THE VINEYARD BELT

Grapes were brought to Argentina from Chile by early settlers and various areas of the nation went through a long period of competition before the Mendoza-San Juan area proved its natural advantages over other areas. Commercial grape and wine production on the Mendoza irrigated oasis did not develop to any great extent until 1880 because the comparative physical advantage which had existed for 300 years could not be converted into a comparative economic advantage until good transportation was developed. Mendoza was 600 miles from the growing center of population at Buenos Aires and had no other means of transportation than mule pack trains, each mule being able to carry two small kegs of wine. Furthermore, the settlement at Buenos Aires, and practically all other early settlements, were trying to produce their own wine. The Mendoza products were, therefore, not sought, even at times having embargoes placed against them. While some wine and a good bit of dried grapes and other fruits were produced in and sent out of the area it was a wheat and pasture area during the first 200 years of settlement. The water power of the area was turned to milling the wheat grown upon the irrigated lands of the oasis and flour, not wine, was Mendoza's first industrial product.

When ox-drawn, high-wheeled carts (the famous Argentine *carretas*) came into use transportation difficulties were eased. When cattle, followed by cereals in the pampa and by sugar cane at Tucumán, absorbed the attention of these areas the Mendoza oasis blossomed into a vineyard. The coming of the railroad in 1880 completed the set of conditions which has established it as the area thought of when wine or grapes are mentioned in Argentina. Other areas produce grapes, the Río Negro Valley, the Chubut Valley, Córdoba, and Misiones, but the Argentine grape and wine industry is primarily located in Mendoza and San Juan. The two counties selected as samples of the vineyard belt are from these two provinces.⁴¹ They produce 10 per cent of all the wine and table grapes of Argentina but they also support other farm enterprises, fruit, alfalfa, and livestock. The data given below apply to all farms and farmers in the two counties, not to grape growers only.

⁴¹ Junín, Mendoza, and Pocito, San Juan.

There were 1,929 farms in these two counties in 1937, 96 per cent of them under 124 acres in size. The areas lying outside the vineyard and fruit zones furnish the other 4 per cent and include 34.4 per cent of all farm acres of the counties. Thus the spatial pattern is one of exceedingly close, almost village-type settlements, ringed by comparatively large-sized farms. Within the vineyard zones there are some large holdings, owned and operated by wineries. Most of these are, however, operated by relatively small-scale tenants and thus do little to alter the configuration of small farms. The farm-working population is 97 per square mile for the whole area and 140 per square mile of cultivated land.

Almost 60 per cent of all farms in the vineyard belt are owner operated but an additional 21 per cent are operated by "administration," that is, by large holders with farm managers. The approximately 20 per cent operated by tenants may be rented for cash, for a share of the crop, or in a few cases may be sharecropped. The most common financial arrangement is for the landlord, whether a winery or a relatively small holder, to pay the tenant \$8.50 per acre of grapes as a salary and 7 per cent of the wine profits. The whole grape industry is so highly integrated that contracts of producers, whether tenants or owners, with wineries are more significant than contracts between tenants and owners. The wineries specify the types of grapes to be grown, the time of harvest, and the prices paid for juice.⁴²

Because of the pattern of close settlement the vast majority of farm families live within walking distance of trade centers and since these centers are real villages with full complements of social and economic facilities the farm families might be said to live in villages. More than 98 per cent of all farmhouses are within 3 miles, 50 per cent of them within 0.6 of a mile of some school. The bulk of the seasonal labor comes from the villages and other near-by farms. There are, therefore, no transient-labor shacks or barracks. The houses are the homes of resident farmers. They are of either masonry construction or adobe, few of them are one- or even two-room houses, and practically none of them have thatched roofs. Fully 80 per cent of them could be described as masonry, either brick or

⁴² Eusebio Blanco, "Las Vinas y los Vinos en Mendoza," *Agricultura*, Buenos Aires: Departamento Nacional de Agricultura, 1884, p. 49; Benito Marianetti, *Los Trabajadores de la Industria Vitivinicola*, Mendoza, 1939.

adobe plastered, and 58 per cent of them have four or more rooms. The majority of them have electric lights, bathrooms, and indoor toilets.

The population of the area is one of the most stable in the nation. Only about 42 per cent of the heads of farm families are native-born Argentines, but approximately 90 per cent of the foreign born are Spanish and Italian immigrants who came to the area a number of years ago and have remained there. Almost 70 per cent of all farmers have lived in the area for more than 10 years, approximately 40 per cent for more than 25 years, and 55 per cent of them have occupied the same farm for 10 or more years.

THE FRUIT BELT

It is not possible to discuss the fruit areas of Argentina because fruit is grown over a fairly wide area and in many localities. Those best known are Mendoza, the Río Negro Valley, and the Tigre area near Buenos Aires. None of these, however, include the citrus areas which are largely in Tucumán, Entre Ríos, Corrientes, and Misiones.⁴³ The two areas selected here are the Río Negro Valley to represent pears and apples and Corrientes to represent citrus fruit, the latter not far below the subtropics.⁴⁴ In each of the two counties fruit farms constitute only a little more than 26 per cent of all farms. In the apple-and-pear belt an additional 30.8 per cent are vegetable and 8.5 per cent grape farms. In the orange belt 8.6 per cent are vegetable, all the remainder mixed or general farms. To attempt to state these same facts in another way, in the orange belt only 34.8 per cent while in the apple-and-pear belt 65.7 per cent of all farms were dedicated to such intensive culture as fruits, vegetables, or vines. In one case horticulture and viticulture almost completely dominate the area, in the other mixed farming dominates, oranges being a part of the mixture. This is most pronounced in cases where even great cattle ranches in eastern Corrientes have orange groves scattered here and there on slightly elevated, small areas of land.

It is probably best to say that the orange belt in Corrientes is not culturally a fruit belt at all. There is no horticultural experiment station in the province and growers do not have the scientific knowl-

⁴³ See F. A. Motz, "The Fruit Industry of Argentina," *Foreign Agriculture*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Report No. 1 (January 1942).

⁴⁴ The counties are General Roca in Río Negro and Bella Vista in Corrientes.

edge or attitudes which go with fruit farming. No group of European immigrants came into the area specifically to promote horticulture and neither the province nor the federal government has a corps of specialists operating in the area. More than 83 per cent of the farmers in the area are Argentine born, 67 per cent of them having lived in the area for more than 25 years. Those who produce oranges live, for the most part, in the generally poor houses just as do other farmers of the area. The majority of them own the farms they operate, are stable citizens, but neither scientific nor even very successful fruit farmers. Because of these facts the remainder of what is said here about the fruit belt will have reference solely to the Río Negro Valley apple, pear, and vegetable belt.

This is a new farming area, carved out of an extensive cattle and sheep area which was held in large holdings until this intensive, irrigated oasis was created some 25 years ago. One comes into and leaves the oasis out of almost bleak desert, a very small portion of which has been converted into a very intensive horticultural belt. The irrigation dam was built in 1915 but the majority of settlers did not come to the area until after World War I. Only a little more than 18 per cent of heads of farm families in the county are Argentine born and less than 37 per cent have been in the area for more than 10 years, only 16.1 per cent for as many as 25 years. There are 14 different nationalities represented by 10 or more farmers in the county, Italians and Spanish being approximately 80 per cent of all the foreign born.

There are no large fruit farms as there are sugar-cane and even grape farms in the other two irrigated, intensive-farming belts. The modal-sized fruit farm has about 15 acres and is owner operated. Family labor supplies a large percentage of the working population and, while some extra assistance is needed during harvest and thinning seasons, most of these laborers live in the homes of the farm families by which they are employed. More than 63 per cent of farm workers are family laborers and less than 25 per cent are seasonal laborers. Thinning of the fruit on the trees in the spring requires much labor, and the production of both apples and pears, many varieties of each, distributes labor over long periods. The residence of the working population is, therefore, pretty stable in the area.

Due to their prevalence, small farms are near trade centers and farm homes near schools. Almost 70 per cent of all farms are within

3 miles of railroad stations and 91 per cent of all farm homes are within 3 miles of schools, 23.8 per cent within 0.6 of a mile. Trade centers are not as highly developed socially as in the Mendoza vineyard belts but supply a full complement of standard economic and social institutions and agencies. Farm housing is being improved so rapidly, as one farmer after the other completes paying for his land, that 1937 Census data give a false picture of the farm-housing situation. According to that census almost 25 per cent of all farmhouses were not more than two rooms in size and approximately 18 per cent were constructed of materials poorer than mud walls and thatched roofs. In 1943, only six years later, the majority of farm homes were of masonry construction and the modal size was about five rooms.

THE YERBA-MATE BELT

It is not too revealing to describe the major farming areas of the Territory of Misiones in northeastern Argentina as a yerba-mate belt. It is true that all the yerba produced in the nation is grown in that territory and a small area of Corrientes adjacent to it, but less than 12 per cent of all farms of the area in 1937 were specialized yerba-mate farms and other types have increased rapidly since that date. Yerba mate is, however, still the chief commercial farm product of the area, and where citrus fruit and tung are developing they are introducing no new social and few new economic arrangements. The mixed, almost self-sufficient, types of farms which constitute 85 per cent of all are owned and operated by recent immigrants of the type described for the cotton belt. In the descriptions of the two sample areas ⁴⁵ which follow these facts should be kept in mind.

More than 89 per cent of all farms in the two counties are smaller than 124 acres and there are few intermediate-sized farms. On the periphery of the area of small farms are great holdings, still mostly in dense timber, and in the center of the yerba belt are some large plantations. These are on lands sold before the national government took over the lands of the territory and began promoting colonization on family-sized farms. A number of large owners have also promoted colonization, and newspapers of the area daily carry advertisements of such projects.

⁴⁵ Candelaria and San Pedro, Misiones.

The two sample areas are so different in ethnic composition that it is necessary to describe them separately. San Pedro is 200 miles up the Upper Paraná River from Posadas, the territorial capital, and is the locale of the largest privately promoted colony in Misiones, Eldorado-Victoria. Only 63 of the 454 farmers living in that county in 1937 were native-born Argentines, 227 were Germans and 12 Poles. Since that date a number of additional Polish families have been settled. In 1937 only slightly more than 37 per cent of all farmers had been in the area for more than 10 years, 11.37 per cent for more than 25 years. In the Candelaria area about one third of all farmers are Argentine born but there are also immigrants from 18 different nations, the leading nationality groups being 918 Brazilians, 791 Poles, 413 Germans, 269 Russians, 220 Paraguayans, and 119 Austrians. There are a few Japanese farmers in this area. Less than 58 per cent of all farmers living in the area in 1937 had been there as long as 10 years but 840 of them, mostly natives, had lived there for 25 or more years, 131 for 40 or more years. Misiones is one of the old settled areas of the nation, but the major portion of its population is composed of immigrants who have arrived during the last 25 years.

Because both areas are peopled with colony settlements their spatial patterns of land occupancy are similar and can be grouped in one description. Both colonies are inland, one reached only by river, the other only by highway. Almost 35 per cent of all farms in San Pedro are more than 9 miles from the nearest port (there is no railroad) and 93.4 per cent of all farms in Candelaria are more than 15 miles from the nearest railroad. Each, however, has a well-organized trade center in its midst. More than 88 per cent of all farm homes are within 3 miles of a school, 20.4 per cent of them within 0.6 of a mile.

These are pioneer but stable and progressive communities. The majority of the settlers are relatively newcomers but only a little more than one per cent are tenants and they are paying for their farms and homes rapidly. Housing is yet poor, more than 50 per cent in Candelaria and more than 30 per cent in San Pedro still being one- or two-room residences. In the Candelaria area, in which there are a number of large yerba plantations, many transient laborers' houses are constructed of mud-daubed bamboo poles—

unequaled as miserable human dwellings anywhere else in the nation.⁴⁶

THE DESERT-SCRUB AREAS

It is hardly feasible to describe what is called here the desert-scrub areas as a type-farm-production belt for two reasons: First, because these areas produce very small quantities of farm products, and, second, because they are culturally unrelated to each other. They lie north of the river valleys of northern Patagonia and between the wheat and cattle belts on the east and the Andes Mountains on the west, their aridity broken only by the desert oases. They constitute the zone described by Jones as the "Arid Plains and Mountains of Western Argentina,"⁴⁷ and include approximately one third of the geographic area of the nation, but less than one fiftieth of the population. Near the Chilean boundary are mountains, just east of that is desert, and between the desert and humid areas types of production and settlement trend gradually toward livestock- and wheat-farming patterns.

Two counties are selected to represent this great area.⁴⁸ Combined data from the two present a more valid picture of life and conditions than if they were to be described separately. The spatial pattern is that of isolated settlement. More than 86 per cent of the land is operated in farms larger than 1,543 acres in size although 50 per cent of the farms are smaller than 124 acres. Almost 30 per cent of all farms are 9 or more miles from the nearest railway station, 15 per cent of them more than 15 miles, and some of them 100 miles distant. More than 70 per cent of all farms—all the large ones—specialize in livestock, chiefly goats, and most smaller ones in subsistence farming. Here and there, near towns, are vegetables and dairying. Less than 25 per cent are tenant operated, 26 per cent are operated by farmers who own small tracts, and 50 per cent are under "other forms" of tenure, either occupied by squatters or by small livestock farmers who pay a certain amount per head for livestock grazing on the land. Many persons from the margins of these

⁴⁶ Juan Antonio Solari, *Trabajadores del Norte Argentino*, Buenos Aires, 1937.

⁴⁷ Jones, *South America*, Chap. XXIV.

⁴⁸ Capital in La Rioja and Sarmiento in Santiago del Estero.

areas furnish the bulk of the transient-labor supply for the sugar, vineyard, fruit, cotton, and wheat belts.

Social conditions are, of course, bad in these areas. Schools, while not overly far from farm homes (approximately 85 per cent being within 3 miles), have few students and are taught by teachers who, for the most part, cannot secure positions elsewhere. There are no country towns, with their typical services, in these areas and no other social meeting places. Farm housing is poor, in fact averages the poorest in the nation. In 1937, of the 967 farmhouses in these two counties, 807, or 83.5 per cent, were not larger than two rooms, 471, or 48.7 per cent, were one room only. The prevailing type of construction is mud with thatched roof, although many are built of less substantial materials. The people who live in these areas are the most purely native Argentines in the nation, 92 per cent of all heads of farm families being Argentine born.

SUBURBAN ZONES

Just as agriculture fades off into the desert in the west and into the jungles in the northeast so it gradually fades into suburban life near the great cities. In these areas are the vegetable, dairy, and poultry farms, small mixed farms, and what in Argentina are called quintas (always small and quite often homes of urban workers). The two counties selected⁴⁹ to represent this type of farming and farm life include some fairly large farms because they extend far enough into purely farming areas to include a number of livestock and grain farms. There are 4,594 farms in these two counties and the farm-working population is approximately 40 per square mile. Slightly less than 22 per cent of all labor is done by others than members of the farmers' families and many other persons besides farmers live in these areas, a thing that is not true in any other type-farming area in Argentina.

More than 67 per cent of all farmers in these counties are tenants, the majority of them paying cash rent to owners who have subdivided all or parts of their larger holdings into small farms in order to take advantage of various types of intensive production to supply consumption demands of city population. More than 70 per cent of

⁴⁹ Merlo, Buenos Aires, and Rosario, Santa Fe.

all heads of farm families are foreign born, the vast majority of them Italians, but also a number of them Spaniards.

Because of the small size of farms, the density of population, and proximity to cities, the people in these areas are near schools, trade centers, and all other social institutions and services. They live in better than average, but by no means the best, farmhouses in the nation. More than 37 per cent of them live in houses with no more than 3 rooms and, in 1937, there were 28 "ranchos"⁵⁰ in these areas. At the other end of the housing scale were 1,466 well-constructed, masonry-built homes with five or more rooms. Some of the poor houses are tenants' or laborers' homes on the properties of the same families who live in the best houses in the areas. The head of the family living in the good house may be a businessman or professional man who works in the city but owns a quinta in the suburban area.

It would not be unnatural to leave this group of farmers out of the national agricultural picture but to do so would be to overlook thousands of farmers in the vicinities of large cities. To fail to call attention to large suburban areas of intensive farming would be to leave the reader unaware of the fact that the immediate hinterlands of Buenos Aires, Rosario, Mar del Plata, and other large cities are very much like those near large cities all over the world.

APPENDIX I

METHOD OF SAMPLING USED IN FIELD WORK

Because field work had to start early some quick method of sampling the whole rural life of the country was essential before the compilation of detailed statistical data could be accomplished. For reasons stated early in this chapter, the types of farm belts were used to divide the country into a relatively few broad regions. It was necessary, furthermore, to select a relatively few geographic spots, presumed to be representative of each belt, if anything approaching detailed studies were to be made. Because it appeared that sizes of farms would somewhat reflect both patterns of population location and habits of life and work, and because data on sizes of farms were

⁵⁰ Rancho is the name used to describe the poor type of country house. It is generally a mud house with thatched roof but sometimes may be adobe and sometimes built of poles.

SOME SOCIOLOGICAL DATA ON FIELD-SAMPLE AREAS

TABLE XXIX

Indicators of Spatial Patterns in Sample Areas of
Production Belts in Argentina

Production areas and sample departamentos in each *	Average size of farms	Per cent all less than 123.5 A.	Per cent of all land in farms over 1,543.7 A.	Farm-working population per square mile	Per cent of farms	
					more or less than 3 miles from R.R. station or port	<i>More</i> <i>Less</i>
<i>Cattle Belt</i>						
<i>Breeding Zone</i>						
Ayacucho, Buenos Aires	1,252.9	22.2	69.3	2.7	81.7	18.3
Tandil, Buenos Aires	592.2	40.3	52.2	6.0	78.6	21.4
<i>Feeding Zone</i>						
General Villegas, Buenos Aires	1,008.4	26.2	64.2	3.8	63.2	36.8
Pellegrini, Buenos Aires	752.3	28.7	52.8	4.8	67.5	32.5
<i>Sheep Belt</i>						
Tehuelches, Chubut	8,323.0	2.7	98.1	0.3	90.3	9.7
Guer Aike, Santa Cruz	59,766.2	6.9	99.9	0.2	92.3	7.7
<i>Wheat Belt</i>						
Unión, Córdoba	615.6	12.0	40.5	8.0	62.8	37.2
Marcos Juárez, Córdoba	522.7	12.8	50.8	10.2	80.1	19.9
<i>Corn Belt</i>						
Caseros, Santa Fe	375.8	53.8	44.3	21.9	66.4	33.6
Constitución, Santa Fe	176.1	46.8	10.0	29.3	56.1	43.9
Pergamino, Buenos Aires	229.1	40.5	17.5	21.5	57.3	42.7

<i>Sugar Belt</i>						
Cruz Alta, Tucumán	103.7	93.4	64.2	63.1	23.4	76.6
Monteros, Tucumán	45.4	96.4	40.5	100.2	50.3	49.7
<i>Cotton Belt</i>						
Campo del Cielo, Chaco	365.5	40.2	51.7	12.1	87.4	12.6
Napalpí, Chaco	199.7	67.2	64.6	28.8	84.5	15.5
<i>Yerba-Mate Belt</i>						
Candelaria, Misiones	88.4	88.3	26.2	71.0	98.5	1.5
San Pedro, Misiones	438.1	89.7	81.5	82.4	76.1	23.9
<i>Desert Scrub</i>						
Capital, La Rioja	1,970.5	48.6	95.1	1.9	67.9	32.1
Sarmiento, Santiago del Estero	682.5	51.5	66.6	2.8	78.9	21.1
			Per cent of all land in farms over 494.2 A.			
<i>Vineyard Belt</i>						
Junín, Mendoza	65.2	89.5	37.3	82.2	22.9	77.1
Pocito, San Juan	61.3	93.1	46.6	106.4	23.6	76.4
<i>Fruit Belt</i>						
General Roca, Río Negro	823.3	88.1	93.7	16.1	30.2	69.8
Bella Vista, Corrientes	324.8	72.8	76.3	16.2	91.5	8.5
<i>Industrialized Zones</i>						
Merlo, Buenos Aires	80.4	82.0	23.0	34.3	16.2	83.8
Rosario, Santa Fe	90.6	80.6	18.7	40.1	30.1	69.9

* Data based on Argentine Agricultural Census, 1937. These 25 countries are those used in actual field work as samples of type-production belts. The production belts are the same as those in the type-farming map except that industrial zones are not included in the type-farming map and the desert-scrub probably is not completely identical with the residual livestock belt.

Indicators of Social Life and Conditions in Sample Areas of Production Belts in Argentina

Production belts and sample departamentos	Education			Stability				Housing			
	* Illiteracy of producers	Distance from farm homes to school		Number of years residence on farm				Per cent with 3 or less rooms	Per cent with 4 or more rooms	Number of children per producers' families	Per cent of foreign-born producers
		3 mi. or less	More than 3	Not more than 10	11 to 25	More than 25	Index + number				
Cattle Belt											
<i>Breeding Zone</i>											
Ayacucho, B.A.	6.13	41.90	58.10	71.96	18.75	9.29	15.40	40.86	59.14	4.09	29.98
Tandil, B.A.	3.16	43.43	56.57	75.99	19.98	4.03	12.89	52.33	47.67	3.92	60.80
<i>Feeding Zone</i>											
Gen. Villegas, B.A.	7.80	42.53	57.47	62.90	27.36	9.74	15.84	39.93	60.07	4.77	69.95
Pellegrini, B.A.	5.24	40.56	59.44	58.84	31.09	10.07	14.46	43.10	56.90	4.04	66.66
<i>Sheep Belt</i>											
Tehueldes, Chubut	20.22	16.49	83.51	53.37	33.14	13.49	13.26	59.25	40.75	4.42	44.23
Guer Aike, S. Cruz	—	13.45	86.55	41.94	30.65	27.41	20.09	18.02	81.98	3.54	69.89
<i>Wheat Belt</i>											
Unión, Córdoba	5.11	37.68	62.32	64.01	29.15	6.84	18.23	31.08	68.92	4.54	56.99
Marcos Juárez, Córdoba	12.41	33.81	66.19	62.89	29.14	7.97	18.77	25.13	74.87	4.79	61.34
<i>Corn Belt</i>											
Caseros, S. Fe	22.70	74.03	25.97	55.05	33.34	11.61	17.76	29.11	70.89	4.51	68.63
Constitución, S. Fe	20.96	75.24	24.76	59.83	30.42	9.75	15.06	32.04	67.96	4.51	66.41
Pergamino, B.A.	13.76	63.53	36.47	62.53	30.13	7.34	14.35	36.19	63.81	4.52	63.09

<i>Sugar Belt</i>											
Cruz Alta, Tucumán	35.74	93.54	6.46	31.59	53.55	14.86	7.55	86.58	13.42	4.76	12.98
Monteros, Tucumán	36.38	95.96	4.04	46.31	31.38	22.31	7.44	89.00	11.00	4.60	6.31
<i>Cotton Belt</i>											
Campo del Cielo, Chaco	23.26	61.23	38.77	71.00	28.75	0.25	8.23	84.23	15.77	4.23	54.83
Napalpí, Chaco	24.61	51.61	48.39	82.82	16.81	0.37	6.62	85.05	14.95	3.81	45.17
<i>Yerba-Mate Belt</i>											
Candelaria, Misiones	20.25	91.40	8.60	59.64	34.25	6.11	10.49	77.71	22.29	3.82	66.72
San Pedro, Misiones	8.33	80.33	19.67	57.56	39.50	2.94	13.55	60.61	39.39	3.48	86.12
<i>Desert Scrub</i>											
Capital, La Rioja	30.63	66.40	33.60	40.55	29.03	30.42	8.62	79.69	20.31	4.37	18.99
Sarmiento, S. del Estero	59.10	91.05	8.95	33.40	27.80	38.80	5.43	96.29	3.71	3.81	3.40
<i>Vineyard Belt</i>											
Junín, Mendoza	19.56	99.30	0.70	22.52	34.35	43.13	15.53	40.68	59.32	4.67	54.77
Pocito, San Juan	22.26	98.55	1.45	61.86	31.46	6.68	14.92	42.90	57.10	4.51	60.38
<i>Fruit Belt</i>											
Gen. Roca, R. Negro	15.87	91.09	8.91	73.49	23.83	2.68	14.08	51.86	48.14	3.84	81.72
Bella Vista, Corrientes	19.05	89.86	10.14	35.73	36.05	28.22	9.71	74.67	25.33	5.05	16.85
<i>Industrialized Zones</i>											
Merlo, B.A.	4.20	92.11	7.89	67.67	22.00	10.33	14.51	57.01	42.99	3.50	55.38
Rosario, S. Fe	25.62	84.72	15.28	52.65	33.67	13.68	16.48	35.57	64.43	4.33	71.09

* The illiteracy figures used here are those reported in the 1937 Census of Agriculture and are thoroughly untrustworthy. About the only significance they have is that they do probably show some very crude comparisons between the different counties. This comparison may be no more precise than to say that Monteros in Tucumán showing 36 per cent of the producers illiterate undoubtedly has a higher rate of illiteracy than Tandil in Buenos Aires Province with the rate shown as 3 per cent. The figures are so untrustworthy, however, that they cannot be trusted in a comparison, let us say, between Tandil and Pelligrini.

† The index number for the nation for rural housing is 12.76.

available in the 1937 Agricultural Census reports, it was decided to use them as a means of selecting counties to which field trips would be made.

Sizes of farms vary greatly in all regions and in most counties. Furthermore, it was impossible, at that time, to know surely to which type-production belts all counties should be assigned. Sizes of farms were therefore classified into five groups and all counties about which there could be no question were assigned to their respective belts. All the farms of all counties assigned to each belt were then classified into the five statistical groups and patterns of farm-size distribution obtained for each belt. Once these patterns were known, those two counties in each belt the farm-size patterns of which were most similar to that of the whole belt were selected as samples.

Studies of county sample areas consisted of two things, sometimes one, sometimes the other preceding in time, according to when field trips to the areas were made. A field visitation was made to at least one, in some cases to both, of the counties selected to represent each type-production belt and all detailed, sociologically significant, statistical data available were compiled for all sample counties.

It is freely admitted that this was a crude, and in many ways an unsatisfactory, method of sampling the rural life of the nation. It did, however, tend to reduce field work to something better than episodic or touristic observations and to make possible an average of from 10 to 30 farm visits and family interviews in each type-farming belt.

APPENDIX II

A TECHNICAL DISCUSSION OF TYPE-FARMING AREAS

If a map such as is presented here had been available before field work in Argentine rural areas began, or even before many of the statistical tables used at various points in this book were compiled, it would have done much to guide both field work and statistical compilations. Such was not the case; in fact the map was constructed after practically everything presented in this monograph was written. Field work necessarily had to start early if all areas of the nation were to be visited. Therefore, sample areas had to be selected without very much preliminary analysis. As was explained earlier in this

chapter, none of the geographers' "regions" adequately portray economic behavior, much less social behavior. It was therefore decided to use the different types of farming belts as major samples of the rural life of the nation. They are traditionally well known and are the foci of considerable descriptive materials. Furthermore, they reflect, in their modes of work and life, and even to some extent in their social organization, important, if not dominant, components of culture. (See map at end of chapter.)

Most geographic descriptions of areas are less useful for cultural analyses than are well-known production belts which are no more precisely delineated than by traditional thinking. Even dot maps of the total areas in which each product is grown contribute little knowledge of the extent to which the mere presence of a type of production dominates the lives of people. Furthermore, a series of dot maps depicting the distribution of crop acreages and livestock numbers contains so much overlapping as to be confusing. Northern Buenos Aires and southern Santa Fe, for instance, appear on the corn, wheat, flax, and cattle maps. Parts of Entre Ríos, Corrientes, Córdoba, and La Pampa appear on two or more maps. If, therefore, one map is to be used to depict "type production" in all areas of the nation, it is necessary to allocate each county to one, and only one, type-production belt. It is recognized that doing this makes each type-production region or belt appear to be more highly specialized than it is and that all minor types of production in each county are disregarded. Other products than the most dominant one are produced in nearly every area of the country. Other types and sizes of farms than those which produce the dominant type product are to be found in most areas, and consequently some persons and families in each area are living different kinds of lives than those who practice the major type of farming in the area. There is, nonetheless, a contribution to be made to the general reader, and possibly to agricultural analysts, by a single map which blankets the whole geographic extent of the country and shows which type of farm production outranks all others in each county of the nation. Once the classification of each county is determined counties can then be grouped into production belts.

The only statistics available, for the nation as a whole, and per county, are for the production year 1936-37, as reported in the 1937 Agricultural Census. The degree of excellence, indeed the cor-

rectness of the map constructed, is automatically dictated by the nature or correctness of these census statistics. It is recognized that the value of products would be a better common denominator of the relative importance of types of farm production in any given area than are acres utilized for different types of production. Value statistics were not, however, available in the census reports or in any other source which presents statistics for the whole nation and for any one period of time. The only census data which could be used critically to compare and measure types of farm products for all counties in the nation were the number of acres dedicated to each type of product.

It is clearly recognized that data on acres dedicated to types of production are not common denominators to all areas because some types of production are very intensive and others exceedingly extensive in terms of acres. Fruit, vines, yerba, sugar-cane, and even cotton farming are more intensive types of production than wheat, corn, or flax. Pasture and livestock production is more extensive than any type of field-crops production. For areas of intensive production other criteria of classification than "acres seeded" are therefore used.

The census classifies "all land" as "cultivated," "pasture," or "not suited for cultivation or pasture." In lands classified as "not suited for cultivation or pasture" there is, however, considerable land seeded to crops and a great deal of land which is grazed. It was therefore decided to classify all land not used in intensive crops into two broad classes—crops and pasture. Before this step could be taken, it was necessary to shift acres seeded to alfalfa and other grasses and all small grains, except wheat and rice, out of the crops class into the pasture class because these crops are widely used for pasture or hay. This was easy to do because the acres seeded to each type of production were recorded in the census by county.

Because the census classified so much land as "not suited to crops or pasture," there were only 91 of the 440 counties for which the census reports listed as much as 30 per cent of "all land" as "pasture" and/or "crops." These were therefore the first to be selected for classification; 87 of them were in five provinces, 51 of them in Buenos Aires, 13 in Santa Fe, 10 in Córdoba, 8 in La Pampa, and 5 in Entre Ríos. Some of them were almost entirely pasture, as Rivadavia and Trenque Lauquen in Buenos Aires, and some of them

were almost entirely crops, as San Cristóbal and Iriondo in Santa Fe, and Rio Segundo in Córdoba. If as much as 40 per cent of the land was classified as "seeded acres," the county was listed as a crop county, otherwise it was listed as a livestock county. Of the 91 counties, 56 of them were classified as crop and 35 of them were livestock.

By these criteria a county would be classified as in crops, even though it thus had only 12 per cent of "all land" in crops (that is, 40 per cent of 30 per cent). This was in fact true in the case of a number of counties. A county would be classified as livestock if only 18 per cent of "all land" was in pasture (that is, 60 per cent of 30 per cent). This statistical fact furnished the prescription for classifying all counties which, even though they had less than 30 per cent of "all land" in pasture and/or seeded acres, had as much as 12 per cent of "all land" in crops or 18 per cent of "all land" in pasture. This made possible the classification of 221 additional counties.

Three-hundred-thirteen counties were thus placed in two broad classes—crops and pasture (or livestock). They were not yet classified as cattle, sheep and goats, wheat, corn, and flax counties. The assignment to a specific crop was determined by whichever crop had the greatest number of seeded acres during 1936-37. The assignment to types of livestock was determined by whichever type had the greatest number of livestock basic units, on a ratio of 5 sheep or goats equal 1 cow.

There remained still the task of allocating cattle counties to breeding or feeding belts. It was at first thought that this could be done by whichever type of cattle farm (*cría de ganado* or *invernada*) was reported in greatest number, per county, in the 1937 Census reports. This proved to be utterly impossible because of the very few feeding farms (*invernada*) listed by the census in counties that are in the heart of the well-known feeding belt. An attempt was then made to use acres seeded to alfalfa as proof that a county should be allocated to the feeding belt. This too proved to be untrustworthy because of the greater use made of the forage and small grains for pasture in some areas than in others. The problem was finally solved by using the percentage that the number of steers were of the number of all cattle. The percentage of steers for all cattle counties was slightly more than 17 per cent of all cattle. Since steers constitute the major type of cattle shipped out of the breeding belt into the feeding belt,

it was assumed that any county which had considerably less than 17 per cent of all cattle which were steers indicated an out-shipment of steers. The line of demarcation was set at 15 per cent. All counties with 15 per cent or less steers were considered definitely as breeding-belt counties. All others were placed in the feeding belt. A test check of counties about which there could be no doubt indicated that this criterion of classification was acceptable.

Once this prescription was adopted an attempt was made to resolve all doubts about counties which were borderline between the two belts. There were, however, five counties, about which the statistics left a great deal of doubt. They were Balcarce, General Alvarado, San Andrés de Giles, Carmen de Areco, San Antonio de Areco, all in Buenos Aires Province, and had to be classified by interpretation.

A different criterion was used for classifying cotton counties. Every county which in 1936-37 produced as much as 437,340 pounds (197 *toneladas* or approximately 875 bales) of cotton was placed in the cotton belt.¹ The 36 counties thus classified produced more than 90 per cent of all the cotton produced that year in the 128 counties which were reported as having some acreage planted to cotton. Cotton did not occupy the majority of acres in any of these counties but neither did any other major farm crop, nor in fact all crops combined. The area does produce considerable timber products—especially quebracho extract and wood—but these products are not for the most part farm produced.

For the yerba, sugar-cane, vineyard, and fruit belts the dot maps of the 1937 Agricultural Census report were utilized.² Areas of scattered production were disregarded and only a few counties as a whole were listed in these various belts. Contours of these belts on the map follow the Census dot maps rather than county lines. Seldom are whole counties included in the belts.

At this point there were 43 counties not yet allotted to any type-farming belt. Many of them near Buenos Aires were so small that grouping a number of them which were adjacent to each other

¹ San Javier County in Santa Fe Province produced 250 tons of cotton during 1936-37 but because the county had been classed as a cattle county by the first step in classification it was left in the cattle belt.

² *Censo Nacional Agropecuario, Agricultura, Año 1937*, pp. 121-23.

served to constitute geographic areas no larger than many whole counties. Thus grouped the areas of 18 counties yielded to classification by the same criteria used to classify other livestock counties. But there remained 25 counties still not classified, nearly all of them in areas for which census data showed a very small acreage—generally less than 10 per cent—in crops and pasture combined. They are, however, occupied by livestock and were therefore placed in their proper places by the livestock basic units equation. These, together with a number of other counties which had so few livestock as not to be recognized either by traditions or statistics as grazing belts, were classified as livestock residual. This large area is fairly synonymous with the desert-scrub area described in this chapter.

It is recognized that some important economic and cultural facts are obscured by a map of this kind. It is believed, however, that some things not generally recognized are revealed by such a map. Probably the most important thing obscured should have been brought out by including a mixed-, general-, or diversified-farming belt or group of counties. This would have been difficult not only because the statistics were inadequate but because the criteria for such a belt would be difficult to determine. It would have been significant because it would have shown that there are a number of counties in which production is not highly specialized, in fact is quite diversified—a thing not generally recognized in Argentina. Goya, in Corrientes, is an outstanding example. Mercedes, in Buenos Aires, is another. There are a number in Santa Fe and northern Buenos Aires. Most of the new farms in Chaco and southern Misiones are diversified. There are diversified farms in the heart of the cattle-breeding belt.

The author has no particular defense of anything which appears on the map. Different prescriptions for classifying counties could be used. One thing that could not be done and maintain objectivity was to manufacture statistics or use census statistics in part of the classification and other noncomparable statistics in other parts. It should be clear that no matter what prescriptions for classification are used the thing that will make possible a really good type of farming map is a better body of statistics. The best such body would probably be value of farm products per county, but as has been stated, such data are not available.

The list of classified counties is as follows:

Rural Life in Argentina

LIVESTOCK

CATTLE BREEDING

<i>Buenos Aires:</i>	General Las Heras	Marcelino Ugarte	San Isidro
Almirante Brown	“ Lavalle	Matanza	San Vicente
Avellaneda	“ Madariaga	Mercedes	Seis de Septiembre
Ayacucho	“ Paz	Merlo	Suipacha
Azul	“ Pueyrredón	Monte	Tandil
Bahía Blanca	“ Rodríguez	Moreno	Tapalqué
Balcarce	“ San Martín	Navarro	Tordillo
Brandsen	“ Sarmiento	Olavarría	Tornquist
Cañuelas	“ Urriburu	Patagones	Vecino
Carmen de Areco	González Chaves	Pila	Veinticinco de Mayo
Castelli	Juárez	Pilar	Vicente López
Coronel Pringles	La Plata	Puán	Villarino
Chascomús	Laprida	Quilmes	
Dolores	Las Flores	Rauch	<i>La Pampa:</i>
Esteban Echeverría	Lobos	Roque Pérez	Caleu-Caleu
Exaltación de la Cruz	Lomas de Zamora	Saavedra	Guatraché
Florencio Varela	Luján	Saladillo	Huacal
General Alvarado	Magdalena	San Andrés de Giles	
“ Alvear	Maipú	San Antonio de Areco	<i>Córdoba:</i>
“ Belgrano	Mar Chiquita	San Fernando	Capital

CATTLE FEEDING

<i>Buenos Aires:</i>	Pehuajó	<i>Entre Ríos:</i>	<i>La Pampa:</i>
Adolfo Alsina	Pellegrini	Colón	Atreucó
Carlos Casares	Rivadavia	Concordia	Capital
Caseros	Trenque Lauquen	Diamante	Catrillo
General Lamadrid	Bolívar	Federación	Chapaleufú
“ Pinto	Carlos Tejedor	Gualeguay	Maracó
“ Villegas		Gualeguaychú	Quemú-Quemú
Guaminí		La Paz	Rancul
Lincoln		Victoria	Realicó
Nueve de Julio		Villaguay	Toay

SHEEP AND GOATS

<i>Jujuy:</i>	Gastre	<i>Neuquén:</i>	Ñorquinco
Cochinoca	Languiño	Catán-Lil	Pichi Mahuida
Humahuaca	Mártires	Collón Curá	Pilcaniyan
Rinconada	Paso de Indios	Lacar	San Antonio
Santa Catalina	Rawson	Minas	Valcheta
Yaví	Río Senguer	Picun Leufú	Veinticinco de Mayo
	Sarmiento	Zapala	
<i>La Rioja:</i>	Tehuelches		<i>Tierra del Fuego:</i>
Sarmiento	Telsen		Bahía Thetis
		<i>Catamarca:</i>	San Sebastián
<i>Salta:</i>	<i>La Pampa:</i>	Andalgalá	Ushuaia
Cachí	Curacó	Belén	
La Poma	Chalileo	Santa María	
Molinos	Libuel-Calel		<i>Santa Cruz:</i>
San Carlos			Corpen Aike
	<i>Los Andes:</i>	<i>Río Negro:</i>	Deseado
<i>Chubut:</i>	Antofagasta de la	Adolfo Alsina	Guer Aike
Biedma	Sierras	Avellaneda	Lago Argentino
Cushamen	Pastos Grandes	Bariloche	Lago Buenos Aires
Escalante	Susques	El Cuy	Magallanes
Florentino Ameghino	San Antonio de los	General Conesa	Río Chico
Futaleufú	Cobres	“ Roca	
		Nueve de Julio	

LIVESTOCK

LIVESTOCK RESIDUAL

<p><i>Mendoza:</i> General Alvear La Paz Las Heras San Carlos San Rafael Tunuyán Tupungato</p>	<p>Santo Tomé Sauce</p> <p><i>Entre Ríos:</i> San José de Feliciano</p> <p><i>Jujuy:</i> La Capital El Carmen Gobernador Ovejero " Tello San Antonio San Pedro Tilcara Tumbaya</p> <p><i>La Rioja:</i> Arauco General Belgrano Capital Castro Barros Chilecito Famatina General Lavalle Gobernador Gordillo Independencia Lamadrid General Ocampo Pelagio B. Luna Rivadavia General Roca Sanagasta General San Martín Vélez Sársfield</p> <p><i>Salta:</i> Anta Cafayate Caldera Campo Santo Candelaria Capital Cerrillos Chicoana Guachipas Iruya La Viña</p>	<p>Metán Orán Rivadavia Rosario de la Frontera Rosario de Lerma Santa Victoria</p> <p><i>San Juan:</i> Calingasta Caucete Iglesia Jachal Nueve de Julio Ullán Valle Fértil Veinticinco de Mayo</p> <p><i>San Luis:</i> Ayacucho Belgrano Capital Chacabuco Junín Pedernera Pringles San Martín</p> <p><i>Santa Fe:</i> Castellanos Garay Nueve de Julio San Cristóbal San Javier San Justo Vera</p> <p><i>Misiones:</i> Frontera Guaraní Iguazú San Javier San Pedro</p> <p><i>Santiago del Estero:</i> Aguirre Alberdi Bartolomé Mitre</p>	<p>Belgrano Carlos Pellegrini Copo Choya Giménez Guasayán Loreto Mariano Moreno Ojo de Agua Quebracho Río Hondo Rivadavia Salavina San Martín Sarmiento</p> <p><i>Tucumán:</i> Graneros Trancas</p> <p><i>Chubut:</i> Gaimán</p> <p><i>Formosa:</i> Bermejo Formosa Matacos Pilcomayo Ramon Lista</p> <p><i>La Pampa:</i> Conhelo Chicalcó Limay Mahuida Puelén Loventuel Utracán</p> <p><i>Neuquén:</i> Aluminé Añelo Chos Malal Huiliches Loncopué Los Lagos Ñorquin Pehuenches Picunches</p>
<p><i>Catamarca:</i> Ambato Ancasti Capayán Capital El Alto Esquiú La Paz Paclín Pomán Santa Rosa Tinogasta Valle Viejo</p> <p><i>Córdoba:</i> Calamuchita Cruz del Eje General Roca Ischilín Juárez Celman Minas Pocho Punilla Río Cuarto Río Seco San Alberto San Javier Sobremonte Totoral Tulumba</p> <p><i>Corrientes:</i> Curuzú Cuatiá Itatí Ituzaingó Mercedes Monte Caseros Paso de los Libres San Martín</p>			

Rural Life in Argentina

FIELD CROPS

CORN

<i>Buenos Aires:</i>	Leandro N. Alem	<i>Córdoba:</i>	Caseros
Alberti	Marcos Paz	Colón	Constitución
Baradero	Pergamino	Río Primero	General López
Bartolomé Mitre	Ramallo	Santa María	Iriondo
Colón	Rojas		Las Colonias
Chacabuco		<i>Santa Fe:</i>	Rosario
General Arenales		Belgrano	San Jerónimo
			San Lorenzo

WHEAT

<i>Buenos Aires:</i>	Junín	<i>Córdoba:</i>	<i>Santa Fe:</i>
Bragado	Lobería	Marcos Juárez	San Martín
Coronel Dorrego	Necochea	Río Segundo	
“ Suárez	Tres Arroyos	San Justo	<i>La Pampa:</i>
Chivilcoy		Tercero Abajo	Trenel
General Viamonte		Tercero Arriba	
		Unión	

FLAX

<i>Entre Ríos:</i>	Paraná	Uruguay	<i>Santa Fe:</i>
Nogoyá	Rosario Tala		Capital

COTTON

<i>Corrientes:</i>	San Cosme	Capital	Napalpi
Bella Vista	San Luis del	Figueroa	Resistencia
Berón de Astrada	Palmar	La Banda	Río Teuco
Capital	San Miguel	Matará	Tapenaga
Concepción	San Roque	Robles	Tobas
Esquina		Silípica	
Empedrado	<i>Santa Fe:</i>	Veintiocho de Marzo	<i>Formosa:</i>
General Paz	General Obligado		Laishi
Goya		<i>Chaco:</i>	Patiño
Lavalle	<i>Santiago del Estero:</i>	Bermejo	Pilagás
Mburucuyá	Atamisqui	Campo del Cielo	Pirané
Saladas	Avellaneda	Martínez de Hoz	

INTENSIVE CROPS

VINES

<i>Mendoza:</i>	Maipú	Angaco Norte	Pocitos
Capital	Rivadavia	“ Sud	Rivadavia
Guaymallén	San Martín	Barrial	Santa Lucía
Godoy Cruz	Santa Rosa	Concepción	Sarmiento
Junín		Chimbas	Trinidad
Lavalle	<i>San Juan:</i>	Desamparados	Zonda
Luján	Albardón		

FRUIT

<i>Buenos Aires:</i>	Las Conchas	San Pedro	<i>Neuquén:</i>
Campana	San Nicolás		Confluencia

INTENSIVE CROPS (*Contd*)

SUGAR CANE

<i>Jujuy:</i> Ledesma	<i>Tucumán:</i> Burruyacú Capital	Cruz Alta Chicligasta Famaillá	Leales Monteros Río Chico Tafí
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YERBA

<i>Misiones:</i> Apóstoles	Candelaria Concepción	Posadas San Ignacio	Cainguas
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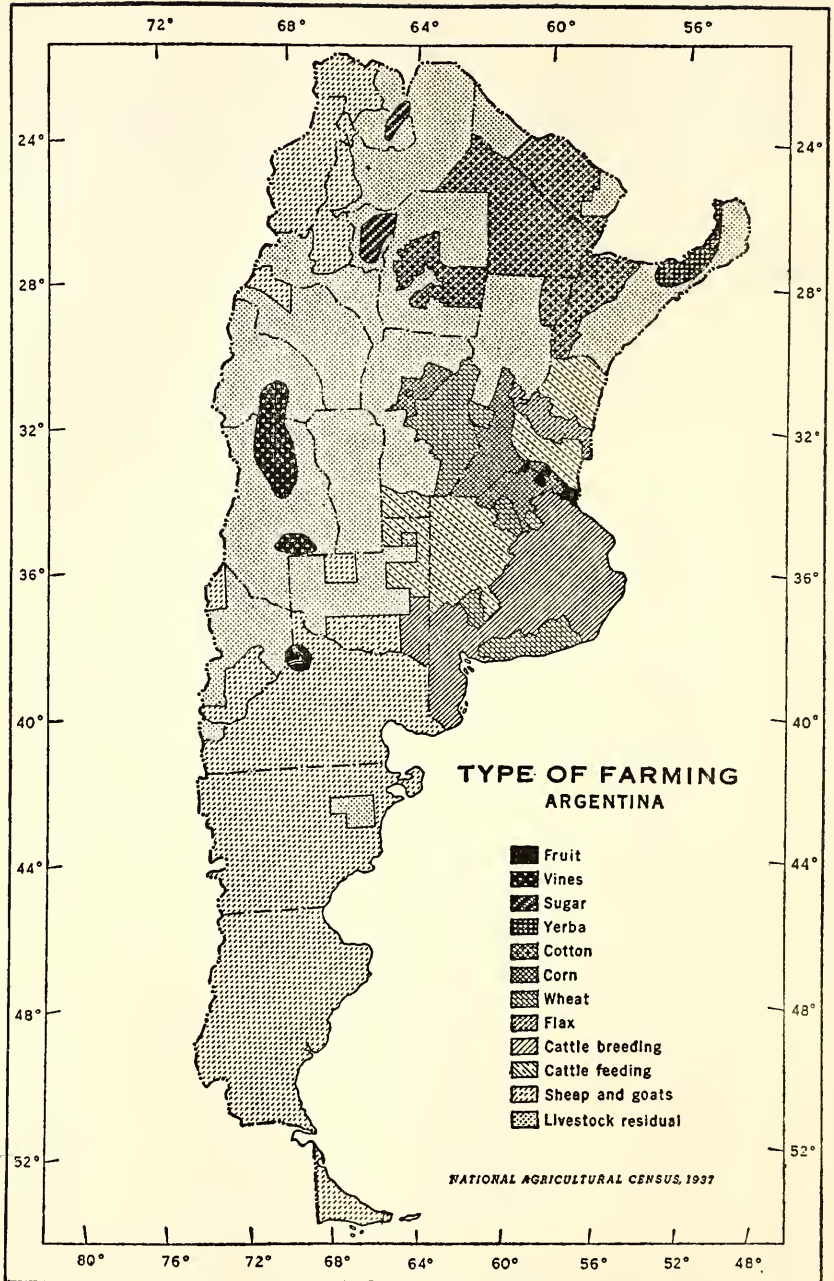


FIGURE 29

CHAPTER X

RURAL ISOLATION AND COMMUNICATION

FACILITIES AND LACK OF FACILITIES OF COMMUNICATION

Physical Isolation of Argentine Farmers. In some geographic areas of Argentina farm people live in extreme physical isolation, in other areas they live fairly near to other farm families. In very few places do they live near to other than farm people. Their physical isolation is due to great geographic distances, a relatively meager network of railroads and highways, comparatively few automobiles, and large farms. As in the United States early agricultural development was almost dictated by routes of water transportation. Even yet the relatively greater part played by water transportation in comparison to rail transportation in Argentina has been and is one of the unique features of the nation's transportation system, and water transportation is neither rapid nor flexible. Unlike the United States there was in Argentina no great amount of fertile land in the interior of the country which invited the development of inland transportation systems. In the United States the eastern coastal cities and New Orleans lost their monopoly as transportation centers when agricultural and railroad development, going hand in hand, built up a great many inland cities such as Chicago, Omaha, Kansas City, Dallas, Denver, and a dozen others. In Argentina the most fertile lands lie within easy reach of water routes, the Paraná River, the Rio de la Plata estuary, and the Atlantic Ocean. The only network of railroads in the country radiates from ports on these waterways.

For a number of decades railroads have played a unique role in lessening the economic and social isolation of communities which are located from 300 to 800 miles distant from port cities. Such population centers as Mendoza and Tucumán, located on irrigated oases with sound physical resource bases, did not develop economically until served by railroads which were built into these areas about sixty years ago. Railroads are still their chief channels of transporta-

tion and communication to other areas. Other localities equally distant from port cities still have no railroad connections because their physical resources are not capable of furnishing freight-paying traffic.

Railroads are important in lessening rural isolation but have much less importance where there is no combination of good roads and automobiles operating out from them. There is not the same relation of highways to motor vehicles in Argentina as in the United States due to the heavy concentration of population and wealth in the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires, where the majority of the country's automobiles are owned and operated. Argentina has the best highway system in South America and bus lines in all parts of the country. Country people make use of these facilities to some extent, but automobiles and not busses, in conjunction with hard-surfaced roads, constitute a system of modern rural transportation. A highway is increased in its capacity as a channel of communication by the number and types of vehicles which traverse it.

There are roads everywhere but they do not facilitate rural communication to the extent they might because of the relative absence of motor vehicles in rural areas. Argentina has 19.3 per cent as many miles of highway per 100,000 square miles of geographic area but only 8.2 per cent as many automobiles per 10,000 population as the United States. The nation outranks all other South American countries, except Uruguay, in transportation and communication facilities but this enviable record does not annihilate the isolation of many thousands of Argentine rural families.

In areas where there are no railroads or where the train service brings postals of all kinds only two or three times a week, one is fortunate to obtain a daily newspaper less than three or four days old. To what extent the relative absence of newspaper reading is due to the handicaps of physical transportation and to what extent due to illiteracy or failure to develop reading habits it is impossible to say, but there can be no doubt that lack of transportation is a part of the lack of communication and that hurdles to communication contribute greatly to social and personal isolation.

Relatively sparse population results in social institutions being widely separated and located at considerable distances from many farmhouses. On this there are data available for comparison between the different rural areas of the nation.

TABLE XXXI

Distance of Farms to Railroads or Ports for Selected Areas, Typical of Extremes *

Departamento	Per cent not more than 0.6 mile	Per cent from 0.7 to 3 miles	Per cent from 3 to 9 miles	Per cent from 9 to 15 miles	Per cent over 15 miles
Paso de Indios					
Chubut	5.7	3.6	5.9	5.3	79.5
Pastos Grandes					
Los Andes	9.6	8.1	11.0	4.4	66.9
Constitución					
Santa Fe	8.0	35.9	50.1	5.4	0.6
Capital					
Tucumán	20.6	63.6	15.6	—	0.2

* Data based on Argentine Agricultural Census, 1937. Chubut and Los Andes are very sparsely populated; Tucumán is densely populated; and Santa Fe is a diversified-farming area with many country towns and cities.

TABLE XXXII

Distance of Farms to Schools *

Departamento	Per cent not more than 0.6 mile	Per cent from 0.7 to 3 miles	Per cent from 3 to 9 miles	Per cent from 9 to 15 miles	Per cent over 15 miles
Paso de Indios					
Chubut	6.6	5.7	12.9	7.9	66.9
Pastos Grandes					
Los Andes	18.8	15.9	21.7	8.8	34.8
Constitución					
Santa Fe	15.1	60.2	24.2	0.5	—
Capital					
Tucumán	57.2	39.2	3.4	0.2	—

* Data based on Argentine Agricultural Census, 1937.

The data of Tables XXXI and XXXII reveal a valid picture, viz.: that the rural people in the most sparsely settled areas of the nation must travel great distances to schools and trade centers, and are thus

relatively isolated in relation to participation in institutional activities. More than 43 per cent of the farm homes in Los Andes and 74.8 per cent in Chubut are more than nine miles from schools, and 71.3 per cent in Los Andes and 84.8 per cent in Chubut are more than nine miles from the nearest railroad station. There are many families in these isolated areas which are far more isolated than these averages indicate and there are other areas than Tucumán where physical isolation is not at all pronounced. In the vicinities of cities like Buenos Aires and Rosario farm families live in something approaching a suburban environment.

Technologies of Transportation and Communication. The two lines of comparison most interesting to the average North American reader are those between Argentina and his own country and those between Argentina and other South and Central American countries. Statistical data, together with descriptions, should serve to place Argentine rural life in relief against that of its neighboring countries. Because it is difficult to obtain a spatial perception from a table containing many different types of calculations a simple index is used to compare Argentina with all of its bordering nations and with the United States. In Table XXXIII Argentina's facilities are taken as a base. For example: For every 100,000 square miles of land surface Argentina has a railroad-mileage index of 100, Brazil has 26.6, Uruguay 95.2, Paraguay 9.8, Bolivia 12.6, Chile 77.8, and the United States 304.7.

There are no data available which make it possible to separate transportation and communication data for urban and rural areas. The data in Table XXXIII probably, however, reveal valid comparisons and contrasts in degrees of isolation due to lack of railways as means of transportation and communication in the various countries listed. If conclusions were to be made on the basis of these quantitative calculations, they would be that Argentina's residences are five times as isolated as those in the United States, but those of Chile almost twice, those of Brazil almost three times, and those of Paraguay and Bolivia more than three times as isolated as those of Argentina. There is little difference between those of Uruguay and those of Argentina. It is almost certain that the differences between the urban populations of the various nations are less and the differences between their farm populations greater than these statistics reveal.

TABLE XXXIII

Index Railroad and Highway Mileage per 100,000
Square Miles of Land Surface *

Countries	Railroad and highway mileage per 100,000 square miles of land surface	
	<i>Railroad</i>	<i>Highway</i>
Argentina	100.0	100.0
Uruguay	95.2	157.0
Brazil	26.6	14.3
Paraguay	9.8	11.1
Bolivia	12.6	9.6
Chile	77.8	47.7
United States	304.7	518.0

* Raul C. Migone, Director, "Transport and Communications," *Interamerican Statistical Yearbook, 1940*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1941, pp. 441-61.

Physical vehicles and instruments of transportation and communication are equally important with channels of transportation in lessening isolation. Again data are not available by which comparisons can be made between Argentine urban and rural life but are available for comparisons between Argentina and other countries. From these data it will be seen how exceedingly modern Argentina is in comparison to all neighboring countries, except Uruguay.

TABLE XXXIV

Transportation and Communication Services per 1,000
Population, Index Numbers *

Countries	Physical vehicles and instruments			
	<i>Automobiles</i>	<i>Telephones</i>	<i>Radios</i>	<i>Post Offices</i>
Argentina	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Uruguay	139.0	71.3	64.8	—
Brazil	15.2	15.8	16.9	33.2
Paraguay	10.1	11.1	9.0	—
Bolivia	3.2	2.7	4.2	—
Chile	43.5	52.0	50.4	72.9
United States	1,222.2	506.4	309.0	112.6

* Migone, "Transport and Communications," *Interamerican Statistical Yearbook, 1940*, pp. 441-61.

Most of Argentina, but not all of it, is a long way from the old oxcart stage of transportation. Its most prevalent modes of transportation in country districts are, however, on horseback and in two-wheeled sulkies.¹

Large and Scattered Farms Contribute to Social Isolation. Farmers, for the most part, live on the farms which they operate and because farms are relatively large in many areas the distance between farm homes is relatively great. In pioneer areas such as Chaco and Formosa there are often great expanses of woods and swampland between farms. In semiarid brush lands (La Rioja, Catamarca, and Santiago del Estero) sheep- and goat-herding families live in extreme isolation, and in the area of extremely large sheep *estancias* (Patagonia) one may sometimes drive a hundred miles without seeing a farm home. Physical isolation in these areas is necessitated by the only feasible plan of economic farm organization and operation.

There is also a degree of social isolation resulting from the operation of large holdings even where the population per square mile is relatively dense. A few typical characterizations will serve to explain this phenomenon. First, let us take an estancia, operated altogether by hired workers, 90 per cent of whom are single men living in barrack dormitories, the remaining 10 per cent married men, each living in a cottage with his family, some near the estancia headquarters, others at various places on the large holding. This estancia is a physical and economic entity of great size—50,000 acres. The estancia headquarters is eight miles from a main highway and all those who live on it, except the *mayordomo*, are highly isolated from persons living on other estancias or farms. A second example is a tenant-operated property of 40,000 acres with 160 tenant families. Each family lives on an allotment of 250 acres. The buildings, including the family residences, are constructed by and belong to the tenants. The contract of each is for five years and he is thus a semitransient. His social contacts are restricted almost altogether to those with other families in the same position as himself and to a few market trips to town. He is not a conscious member of a self-conscious community, and social contacts in his neighborhood vicinity are confined almost altogether to family visiting with neighbors. Third is a property of 45,000 acres operated partially by

¹ A sulky, pronounced sūl'kee, is a cart, generally one-horsed, with quite ample seat room and often considerable carrying space below or behind the seat.

tenants and partially by "administration," with *peones*. There are 105 tenant families. The peones live in barracks, the tenants in their own homes. The two groups do not mix. Furthermore, since tenant operation is practiced partly for the purpose of clearing pastures of weeds by grain tillage, the one-third, tenant-operated portion is rotated from area to area on the estancia. With each shift each family finds itself either eliminated or moved onto an allotment surrounded by new neighbors. Families subjected to these experiences testify that they seldom maintain old neighborhood contacts or develop substantial new ones. The poverty of their social communication is the result of three primary factors: (a) lack of intimate personal acquaintance with neighbors, due to short periods of occupancy, (b) physical distance between families, and (c) social distance between different classes who are a part of the farm enterprise and farm population.

Newspapers, Radios, and Telephones. There are no statistical data on the circulation of newspapers and periodicals in farm homes, but some data on circulation per province and territory and these data are highly revealing. They show that the per-capita annual circulation of daily papers in the City of Buenos Aires (Federal Capital) is 268 and the per-capita circulation of other periodicals is 57, a total of 325. Contrasted with these are the data for the most rural provinces and territories such as Misiones, Chaco, Formosa, San Luis, Catamarca, San Juan, Neuquén, Mendoza, Santiago del Estero, and La Rioja, each of which has a total per-capita annual circulation of less than 10.

In those areas where local daily papers compete with the great Buenos Aires dailies editors testify that they do not attempt to compete with the great city papers in types of service. Their policy is to publish regional or local papers but they neither gather news from farm areas nor have much circulation in farm homes. Three examples of typical papers published in so-called "interior towns" will furnish examples of newspapers as vehicles of communication in rural areas. A city of 40,000 population within 60 miles of the City of Buenos Aires has a daily paper with a circulation of 2,000. The editor believes that at least 7,000 persons read it because neighbors borrow copies from subscribers. He attempts to and does publish almost altogether purely local news. International news is on inside pages and local news on the front page. There are no editorials. The

Rural Life in Argentina

TABLE XXXV

Newspaper and Periodical Circulation per
Province and Territory *

Provinces and territories	Dailies	Annual circulation	Circulation per capita	Other publications	Annual circulation	Circulation per capita
Federal Capital	58	607,659,273	268	581	128,325,211	57
Buenos Aires	119	63,174,401	19	407	11,645,000	4
Catamarca	1	195,000	1	9	311,880	2
Córdoba	19	20,825,024	18	72	1,908,930	2
Corrientes	3	930,000	2	21	573,640	1
Entre Ríos	12	5,760,940	8	35	1,220,380	2
Jujuy	3	1,080,000	10	4	137,200	1
La Rioja				4	452,500	4
Mendoza	7	18,489,500	38	25	418,000	1
Salta	5	1,493,000	8	6	113,200	1
San Juan	4	1,630,000	8	5	206,400	1
San Luis	5	182,500	1	4	48,400	.26
Santa Fe	10	52,234,642	36	125	3,587,490	2
Santiago del Estero	4	2,104,500	5	6	69,900	.16
Tucumán	4	11,158,651	22	8	500,800	1
Chaco	3	737,500	3	8	159,350	.58
Chubut	3	1,440,000	18	14	199,920	2
Formosa				5	132,000	3
La Pampa	7	1,607,100	12	23	173,340	1
Misiones	2	288,000	1	9	3,600	.02
Neuquén				3	78,000	1
Río Negro				13	116,600	1
Santa Cruz	1	39,000	2	9	143,860	8

* See *Anuario Prensa Argentina*, Argent-Press Guia Solana de Publicaciones, edited by Sindicato Prensa Argentina, Buenos Aires, 1939.

regional agronomist publishes notices and sometimes articles in its columns, but the editor gathers no news in farm communities, and while it, together with Buenos Aires dailies, is delivered to farm homes by the bread delivery wagons, most of its subscribers are in the town. The second is a daily published in a city of 25,000 population, 25 miles from the City of Santa Fe and 300 miles from Buenos Aires. It has a circulation of 1,500 and attempts to be a complete newspaper, carrying local, national, and international news, and editorials. It has the largest circulation of the three dailies published in this small city but the editor says that it has few subscribers in rural areas. The third is a daily published in a city of 40,000 popula-

tion in the Chaco and has a circulation of 4,600. Dailies from large cities are brought into the area only three times per week and this paper therefore supplies national and international as well as regional and local news. Its editor, however, says that it is his purpose to publish a purely regional paper. More than one third (1,800 copies) of his daily circulation is in other towns of the region and on trains, but little of it on farms. He says that there is practically no circulation of newspapers more than two miles beyond the limits of the city where the paper is published but that farmers do sometimes gather in groups in the towns of the area and listen to someone read the news.

The only channel of social communication that habitually traverses the broad gap between farmers and others is the radio, and it is a one-way channel. There is no rural free delivery system and relatively few rural telephones. Practically all daily papers are published in large or medium-sized cities and there are no agricultural journals.

SOCIAL LIFE IN RURAL AREAS LARGELY UNORGANIZED

Many Rural Areas Are Still in the Pioneer Stage. Some of the areas of earliest settlement, into which white persons entered more than four hundred years ago, are today so sparsely populated and so lacking in transportation and communication facilities that they are similar to the Midwest in the United States in the 1870's. Other areas were recently settled by immigrant groups whose diverse nationality composition creates barriers to community integration. Still other areas have been settled fairly recently but will always be sparsely populated and distances are so great between farm residences that social contacts and public assemblies are infrequent. In Santiago del Estero where a colony was founded from Chile in 1553 the population outside the City of Santiago del Estero is less than 9 per square mile, about the same as in the state of Montana. Less than 2 per cent of all land in the province is under cultivation and there are practically no roads except those which connect the provincial capital city with the capital cities of adjacent provinces and territories. The same conditions prevail in Catamarca, La Rioja, San Luis, and in the western parts of Córdoba, San Juan, and Mendoza.

In the northern Territories of Misiones, Formosa, and Chaco the area is heavily timbered, the settlements are new, and communication poor. In Misiones travel is largely by river boat or on unimproved dirt roads, in Formosa and Chaco by infrequent train service or on dirt roads. There is one unpaved highway traversing Chaco from east to west but travel on it is prohibited for 24 to 48 hours following each heavy rain. There are very few roads in the interior of Formosa or Misiones. The secondary roads are mere trails leading through "the woods" to farmhouses. In the great sheep-producing area of Patagonia and in all of the arid regions just east of the northern Andean area, human settlement is so sparse, distances between farm residences so great, and highways so few that farm residences are from 25 to 100 miles apart, grouped at estancia headquarters or at small inland trading posts. These groups seldom consist of a great enough number of people to constitute a normal community.

Many Rural Neighborhoods but Few Rural Communities. In all of the areas described above there is some semblance of neighborhood life. Farm families visit with each other, meet each other at trading centers, and their children attend neighborhood schools. In many areas none of these contacts except those at schools are systematic and school contacts generally include only children. Trade-center contacts are restricted almost altogether to men, neither the women nor the children participating. In areas where distances between farm residences are great or where settlers are immigrants of diverse nationalities family visiting is infrequent. Even in old settled areas where distances between farm homes are not great and where residents are one or two generations removed from their immigrant forebears locality-group contacts seldom rise above the neighbor level. Schools, churches, and local government are all operated by hierarchies with their headquarters outside the local area and do not require or permit local participation in institutional management and control.

There Are Few "Locals" of General Farmers' Organizations. In the United States "subordinate" Granges, Farmers' Union "locals," and Township Farm Bureaus constitute neighborhood organization. Such organizations exist only in the cereal belt in Argentina and there it is only recently that the Farmers' Federation has developed

educational, recreational, and social programs.² The Argentine Rural Society is an organization of big livestock men, practically all of whom live in cities, and the Federation of Rural Societies, many of whose members live on their estancias, has no neighborhood locals and few community ones. The numerous co-operatives are for the most part purely business organizations and their managers are most often professional businessmen who were not born on or do not presently live on farms.

There Is Little Farmer Participation in Local Government. In the United States local government was the ideal and passion of pioneer settlers. They resented what they called "interference of the central government" and did not confine their concept of central government to the federal powers; they included state and even in places county government. Local justices of the peace or magistrates were universal. To town governments in New England and township and county governments in other sections of the country were added all kinds of local districts—school, road, drainage, irrigation, and sanitation. These were merely the governmental institutionalized expressions of the general tendency to develop local neighborhood and community units of association. They were demanded by farmers and encouraged by the public. Quite the opposite has been true in Argentina.

The program of Spanish colonization, the rule of the church, and finally the system of Argentine government were all directed from above. The nation's constitution provides for a federal form of government but this has never led to effectively operating governmental units below the provincial level and still leaves ten national territories without provincial status. Counties (*departamentos*) are prescribed, even in the national territories, but were not established and are not operated by local electorates. All schools in the territories are "National Schools." Those in the provinces are "Provincial Schools" or "National Schools." "Parish" churches to some extent and other churches almost altogether are supported and almost completely directed by other than local residents. The inadvertent result is that the habits of local group behavior and thinking have not been encouraged by frequent or creative participation in local public affairs.

² See Chapter XVI.

Each province and territory in Argentina is divided into counties (departamentos or *partidos*). There are 440 of these county units in the nation, ranging from 110 in the Province of Buenos Aires to 3 in the Territory of Tierra del Fuego. Those in the national territories are local units of federal administration and reporting. They have no local autonomy beyond that delegated by the federal government and such delegation is to subordinate officials of that central government. These subordinates are in no way responsible to the local resident population. Federal police headquarters and personnel officials who keep the civil register and in some places federal school, health, public land or other agricultural officials are located at departamento headquarters. These local units of federal administration have so little significance to local residents that many farmers do not know in what departamento they live.

It is not possible to describe in any detail differences in the functions performed by these local units of government in the different provinces because they vary considerably among the 14 provinces. A crude index to the different status they have held in times past is the number of them. All of the provinces which in early Argentine history were powerful and fairly independent have a considerable number. Buenos Aires with 110 is the outstanding example, but others more striking in terms of population are Jujuy, Salta, and La Rioja, which have so many counties that the county areas only have from one to seven thousand population. These facts are undoubtedly a reflection of earlier and more substantial local governments than at present and illustrate a quite consistent and universal trend toward centralization of governmental functions which has developed.

No kind of local governments in Argentina is completely autonomous, even municipal government in the larger cities, notwithstanding the fact that city councils are elected by direct vote of the people. The council has very little control over the affairs of the city and derives what little authority it has from the provincial government. Therefore, practically everything local officials do is restricted by laws and decrees originating from the provincial capital.³ In Buenos Aires Province each county is a municipality with its own mayor (*intendente*) and council. The municipal build-

³ Austin F. Macdonald, *Government of the Argentine Republic*, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1942.

ing (we would call it in the United States a county courthouse) is located in the principal town or city of the county but its control and operation extend to all other municipalities in the county and to some extent to the intervening rural areas. Each other village or town in the county has a person in charge who is appointed by the mayor and not elected by the people. The mayor and council appoint three chief administrative officers, a "*jefe de policia*," chief of police or police of security; a "*comisario de partido*," general manager of the courthouse (*municipalidad*); and a "*comisaria de campaña*," general director of rural functions. Insofar as the author is able to learn it is in this province only that specific attention is given to "rural functions." The manager of the rural functions does practically nothing but regulate the movement of livestock within the county and turn his inspection records over to the chief of police when the stock are delivered to a shipping point. His functions so far as rural government is concerned are, therefore, largely inspectional and statistical.

In the provinces other than Buenos Aires the provincial governor appoints a political head of the county (*jefe politico*) who, with his assistants, practically constitutes county government, in many ways being superior to and able to intervene in the actions of the mayors of any cities which may be within the county. In some provinces counties are divided into smaller districts which may in some cases elect their own mayors but in other cases have administrative officers appointed by the county political leader or be served by his subordinates. Their functions are chiefly those of compiling and keeping records and helping the county political head administer his responsibilities.

The point being emphasized here is not that of governmental administration but the sociological issue of participation of farmers in local government. By and large, it can be said that the only arms of local government which reach into farming areas are those of policing, inspecting, licensing, etc. The county does not levy taxes, does not construct or direct schools, and has no social-welfare programs of its own. The farm electorate initiates no government action unless by petition and does not think of government in terms of an instrument of group action. Numerous questions about government put to the farmers by the author never elicited responses other than expressions of futility. Farmers do not think of local

government as a community institution in any sense and make little use of it.

Rural Towns Are Not Farmers' Towns Much Less Farmers' Social Centers. The Argentine country town is very differently organized than in the United States. In early days some of the railroads systematically located their stations 25 miles apart and few trade centers have grown up to compete with them. Instead of numerous small towns of from 1,000 to 5,000 population the rural town pattern in Argentina tends toward a goodly number of small cities of from 10,000 to 40,000 population and smaller towns with very few economic and practically no social functions. Farm people go to picture shows and sometimes attend church in the larger centers but seldom assemble in informal meetings such as are common in North American farmers' towns. Merchants, bankers, and professional men in towns are seldom farm reared and by right of this fact country-town and farm people are not part of the same community in a social sense. All places of business are closed on Saturday afternoons and there is no other day of the week on which farmers habitually meet in country towns.

In the estancia areas necessary trading functions are carried on by the managers of large holdings who often by-pass small towns to do purchasing and selling in the larger cities. Due to lack of adequate or rapid vehicles of transportation farm families do not frequent social affairs in small and medium-sized towns and it is little less than startling how little farmers know about the people of small towns and how little the people of the small towns know about them. There are professional people such as physicians who traverse the barriers between towns and farms and the managers of large farms mingle freely with both groups but there is very little cultural traffic between small-town people and country people.

Another aspect of the pronounced social distance between farm people and others is the almost complete absence of vertical social contacts. Few farm boys and girls enter professions and there is a great cultural distance between the types of knowledge and thinking which prevail on different levels of life. These are significant facts due to the barriers they impose to the free flow of social intercourse. There is considerable social distance between a person in a lower class and those above him, especially when he does not expect or even aspire to a position above that which he occupies. A peon

who expects to become a tenant seeks conversation with tenants and a tenant who expects to become an owner seeks conversation with owner operators. In the absence of such expectations there is a subtle barrier to conversations between the two classes even though they be in constant physical contact. These barriers exist in many sections of the rural life of the nation, in some areas they are very obvious.

CHAPTER XI

RURAL LOCALITY GROUPS AND COMMUNITIES

LOCALITY GROUPS IN VARIOUS TYPE-FARMING AREAS¹

The Influence of Early Settlement on Locality-Group Patterns.
Early settlements in Argentina were not colonies of ethnic groups seeking homes on the land. They were not, in fact, agricultural colonies at all until immigrants began coming to the country in great numbers. The so-called conquistadores did not come in family groups but were mainly single men. Each early settlement was formed by using the indigenous Indian groups and gradually realigning the groupings into semiagricultural communities.² This was hastened by the rapid mixing of the two racial groups. Today well over 90 per cent of Argentina's population has the major portion of its ancestral stock in persons who came to the country after 1850, less than 10 per cent in ancestors who composed the mixed racial groups of early settlements. An overwhelming portion of the good land was not allotted in family-size farm units but in great holdings running into thousands, sometimes hundreds of thousands, of acres. Thus, every pattern of settlement which has developed during the last ninety years has been compelled to make headway against the once almost universally prevailing *estancia* pattern of farm and land organization. The general plan of Spanish colonization and the methods of distributing land have, therefore, been powerful conditioning factors in Argentine rural social structures.

A survey of the total geography of the Argentine nation, classified by some scheme of locality groupings, is not the purpose here nor could such a classification neatly be made without oversimplification. Neither is it the purpose to list all types of locality groups to be found between the few remaining pureblood-Indian isolated

¹ See Carl C. Taylor, "Rural Locality Groups in Argentina," *American Sociological Review*, Menasha, Wisconsin: American Sociological Society, Vol. IX, No. 2 (April 1944).

² Revello, "Sociedad colonial," *Historia de la Nacion Argentina*; and Garcia, *La Ciudad Indiana*, Chap. II.

groups in the extreme north and south to the great metropolitan City of Buenos Aires. Rather it is to use a simple classification of locality-group patterns by means of which to report systematically observations made by the author in the various farming areas of the country. The types of groupings which constitute that classification are: (1) The neighborhood, which is identified by its lowest common denominator—family visiting; (2) a unit next above the neighborhood, often an open-country pattern of association, which falls somewhere between a visiting neighborhood and a trade-centered community; and (3) a trade-centered community.

The Livestock-Estancia Area. Estancias are farm and land organizations different from cotton plantations in the United States and different from haciendas in Chile; they are less, but still considerably, different from cattle and sheep ranches in the United States. An analysis of their social structure can best be presented by two specific typical examples, one a cattle, the other a sheep estancia. The social structures of the two are not markedly different except for greater extensiveness and consequently greater distances between social units on sheep estancias than on cattle estancias.

The first example is of a cattle estancia of 50,000 acres which also produces sheep, as many of them do. In March 1943 this estancia had on it 13,544 cattle, 17,711 sheep, and about 500 horses. During the eight months from July 1, 1942, to March 1, 1943, it sold 12,107 sheep, 3,151 cattle, and 2,500,000 pounds of wool. The gross sales for the year 1942 were 1,200,000 pesos (about \$300,000). The permanent working population on the estancia is 72 persons, including everyone from the manager (*administrador* or *mayordomo*) to the fifteen-year-old *peon* who acts as mailboy. Only 13 of this working force are married men who live in family residences. The remaining 59 live in barracks. The largest cluster settlement is at the estancia headquarters where are located 30 employees and the wives and children of married men—a total of about 45 persons. This is not, however, a socially homogeneous group. The manager, his assistant, their small families, and the bookkeeper constitute the top social segment. The second social segment consists of the specialists and their families—gardeners, chauffeur, carpenter, blacksmith, storekeeper, etc., a total of about 12 laborers and 6 or 8 wives and children. The third segment consists of the peones, about 15 unmarried men, who live in barracks and have their own kitchen and

mess hall. There are four other locations, each with its small cluster of persons, an average of 7 employees and 1 woman and 4 children—a total of 12 per group. These are the headquarters of supervisors of assigned geographic sections of the estancia. Each supervisor lives in a family residence with his wife and children. The other 6 employees of the group are 5 peones and their cook who live in adjacent barracks.



FIGURE 30

Each of these five locality groups, the headquarters group more than the others, must be classed as a neighborhood simply because it is larger than a family group and because its associations are definitely patterned. In each group, especially in the headquarters group, class structure is a barrier to complete neighboring. The total estancia population constitutes a community only in the sense that the headquarters of the nearest estancia is 8 miles and the nearest town over 20 miles away, and because all persons on the estancia are under the direct supervision of the mayordomo, and all depend on the estancia commissary for their food and largely for their clothes. The groupings are in no sense organized for purposes of neighborliness or for community social action, but only for convenience in terms of work administration. The school, the church,

and to a considerable extent the town trade center, which are essential to well-rounded community life, are not a part of the estancia organization.

The owners of this estancia also own 12 others, only one of which is in this geographic area. Some members of the ownership group—five brothers and sisters—spend a few days' vacation each year on the estancia but are not a part of its resident population. They live in the City of Buenos Aires and participate only slightly in even the business management of the estancia. This they leave to the mayordomo who has operated the place for thirty-eight years and who constitutes the chief link between the estancia and the outside world.³

The sheep estancia chosen as a typical example contains 408,000 acres and has 149,000 sheep and 4,800 cattle. It has an average working force of about 112 persons and is organized very much like the cattle estancia just described. The distribution of its total resident population, about 200 persons, is in small groups located about 15 miles distant from each other. The headquarters cluster has a population of about 25 and no one of the four small clusters has more than 12. There are in addition to these five clusters 15 families, each of which is living by itself in an isolated spot but whose home is the headquarters of one or more sheep herders who, however, spend practically all of their time with the sheep on the open range. The headquarters of the nearest estancia is more than 30 miles away and the distance to the nearest town is about 75 miles. Because of its isolation this estancia is almost a small society in and of itself. Otherwise the same generalizations concerning neighborhood, community, trade-center, and institutional life apply to it as to the cattle estancia described above.

Estancias do not fit into any of the neatly patterned set of locality groups such as prevail widely in the United States. They are business organizations whose human groupings are formed and maintained for definite administrative purposes. In Patagonia, where some sheep estancias are a million or more acres in size, they are literally complete communities of a peculiar type. In the cattle-breeding area, where many estancias are as small as 2,000 acres and interspersed

³ The documentation for practically all information used in this chapter is from personal observations made by the writer from March 1942 to April 1943. He was permitted to study all records and accounts of this estancia.

with smaller owner- or tenant-operated farms, the physical groupings on the estancias are about as in the examples described here; but neighborhood, community, and institutional life is to a considerable extent oriented to centers other than the estancias.

The Cereal-Mixed-Farming Area. The cereal belt was carved out of the livestock belt after 1850 under the impact of a great tide of European immigrants, more than four million of whom flowed into the country between 1850 and 1914. Its center is in southern Santa Fe Province just north of the estancia country. At the time this new type of agriculture and new form of land occupancy began this area was in the near edge of the economic margin of the cattle belt. Estancia organization at that time was, however, by no means as thoroughly institutionalized as it is today. Nevertheless, the new way of life and the new types of social groups had to make headway against the old frontier-estancia patterns. A description of this process is, therefore, essential to an understanding of present locality groups in the area.

The cereal belt was as systematically settled by colonization as were large areas of the United States by the homestead system. Specified and clearly delineated areas of land, often estancias, were laid out into individual farms and offered for settlement. Organized recruiting of definite European nationality groups was carried on and accomplished. The Swiss colony at Esperanza (1856), two other Swiss colonies at San Gerónimo (1858) and San Carlos (1859), and the adding of Italian colonists at San Carlos constitute the beginning, the roots, and the social patterns of early community organization.⁴ It is easy today to identify the influence of these early patterns—small farms at San Carlos, the enlargement of holdings by incorporation of reserved intervening tracts into established farms at San Gerónimo, and both farm and town patterns at Esperanza. But the great influx of unrecruited immigrants and the rapid addition of colonization projects, many of them with less precisely specified patterns of land occupancy and social arrangements, soon threw the great colonization and settlement movements into a process of experimentation in community building.

The kind of social structure first developed in the area was a direct result of the heavy flow of immigrants, schemes of colonization, and the development of cereal-crop farming. It had to adapt

⁴ See Chapter VII.

itself to physiographic conditions on the one hand and established institutional patterns of cattle culture on the other hand. The tide of immigrants increased so rapidly that early patterns of settlement and farm operation, established at Esperanza, Gerónimo, and San Carlos, gave way to trial, error, and success adaptations. This tide of immigration, by decades, was 134,000 in the decade 1860-69; 265,000, 1870-79; 795,000, 1880-89. More than 100 colonies were established in Santa Fe Province alone during this period,⁵ and the new crops of corn and wheat had established themselves as major factors in Argentine agriculture. Land gained rapidly in value as soon as settlement was well started, and cereal production offered higher economic return than cattle production on marginal grassland. *Estancieros*, therefore, began converting their lands into crop farms, with tenant operators, rather than dividing them into small farms and offering them for sale to colonies. Furthermore, earlier colonists who had become somewhat prosperous in wheat farming preferred to rent large acreages than to own small acreages. For these two reasons areas later added to the cereal belt no longer followed early colony patterns. Few immigrants arriving after 1905 became farm owners. Cattle culture and the estancia pattern which had yielded ground in 1860 to cereal culture and the family-sized, owner-operated farm pattern adapted itself to cereal culture by *estancieros* retaining ownership of the land and renting it to tenants in family-sized operating units. The Agricultural Census of 1937 reported 67.6 per cent of all farmers in the cereal belt as tenants.⁶

Whether there has been anything approaching a time pattern of community or locality-group evolution in the different sections of the Argentine cereal belt has depended upon the relative play of the factors which have briefly been described. In the heart of the belt, that part settled by definite colonies and well established before the tenant system of operation developed, there is a diversity of enterprises on individual farms, well-established neighborhoods, even open-country farm communities, and a number of farmers' towns with from 5,000 to 25,000 populations. There is a well-organized network of roads, mostly paved, between the larger trade centers. Local co-operative cheese factories, a large co-operative butter factory, and a number of open-country community recreation halls

⁵ *Segundo Censo de la República Argentina, 1895*, Vol. 1, pp. 650-60.

⁶ Figure based on five counties selected to represent the cereal belt.

have been built and are well supported by farm families. In contrast to the livestock areas, farmers and whole farm families in this area frequently go to the larger trade centers and read both locally published and Buenos Aires daily papers. At Esperanza, San Gerónimo, and San Carlos the original ethnic groupings have been considerably diluted by infiltration of other settlers of different ethnic stock—chiefly Italian—but family-sized, owner-operated farms still prevail as the dominant pattern and practically all farm families participate in the group patterns just described.

In those areas converted from cattle culture to cereal culture at a later date, after a tenancy system had developed and after something approaching the present form of estancia administration had developed, the pattern of farm occupancy is not greatly different from that in the old colony belt, but the estancia form of ownership is retained and tenants' periods of occupancy are so short and insecure as to cause a great difference in the functioning of locality groups. The operating units are family-sized and each farm family lives on its own isolated unit, even owns the house in which it lives and everything it uses except the land which it farms. The family is, however, semitransient, in many cases definitely sure that its occupancy is limited to a five-year period. In such areas there are no community halls, few local co-operatives, and even few local churches. Because the local schools are provided by the provincial or federal government, school operation requires little co-operation and no direction on the part of the local communities. Families in these areas visit to some extent with adjacent farm families, sometimes travel to visit with families in other localities where they have previously lived, and sometimes visit with relatives who live at not too great a distance. Local neighborhoods can be identified only by the sporadic visiting within geographic vicinities and seldom or never as a mutual-aid group. Communities, even trade-center communities, do not exist in any sociological sense. Except for rare occasions only men heads of families, who carry on necessary marketing functions, and unmarried adult males, who sometimes go to towns on week ends, frequent local trade centers. Even these latter much more frequently assemble at country stores, on country roads, or in some grove or open pasture for visiting, horse racing, horse breaking, etc., than they do at the larger trade centers.

The *pampa*, in which most of the cereal belt is located, is an almost

perfectly flat, unbroken plain with few geographic barriers to the channels of communication and few topographic contours which condition patterns of settlement. Large portions of it are geographically and climatically well suited to either cereal or grass culture or for diversified farming. The almost complete explanation of the differences between the social structure and social functioning within the different parts of its cereal belt and between its cereal and cattle belts is that these differences are cultural, i.e., products of the historic development and current functioning of economic arrangements. None of the nationalities within the area today form cliques, none of them retain their old folk culture, such as language, dress, games, objects of art, or even songs. Agronomic adaptations in the area have converted immigrants, who in their native countries were small farmers, farm laborers, and industrial workers, into large-scale wheat, corn, and flax growers. The uniformity of these adjustments and the flat evenness of the pampa has, as it were, flattened out the social life of the farm people who live upon it. That this is not universally the case, however, is amply illustrated by home-owned and family-operated farms, good roads, good social institutions, and well-organized community life in those areas where the organization and ownership of the land is in the hands of the European immigrant groups who in fact developed the cereal belt out of part of the cattle belt.

The Irrigated Oases—Vineyard, Fruit, and Sugar-Cane Belts. The irrigated oases—vineyard, fruit, and sugar-cane areas—are similar in that all practice intensive farming on small operating units; all are represented by farmers, the majority of whom are owners; all have a dense farm population; and all require a large amount of extra seasonal labor during harvest. Each depends on a common supply of irrigation water. The vineyard and fruit areas were developed by immigrant populations but in very different ways.

The Río Negro fruit belt was developed in the last 20 years, chiefly by Spanish and Italians but also by a number of other nationalities, none of them with an advanced knowledge of fruit growing. Mendoza, on the other hand, has been producing grapes for well over 150 years and became a highly specialized grape and wine area about 60 years ago. Both the new and old farmers were predominantly Spanish with a background of grape culture. The Tucumán area has produced sugar cane for a century but had a great

Rural Life in Argentina

expansion after 1880. Its population expansion came chiefly from *Criollo* stock with heavy mixtures of Indian blood. All of these facts are important in explaining the great differences which exist among these three areas, though probably not so important as the differences in the economic organizations and arrangements which prevail in the separate areas.

In the heart of the Mendoza vineyard belt the City of Mendoza with a population of 85,000 is the focal point of a group of local villages which are the neighborhood community centers of all the farm people of the area. Practically every farm-family resident lives within walking distance of one of these village centers and can walk to it on paved roads. Each village is a school, church, recreation, and trade center. Each competes with all others in the beauty of its plaza, in athletics, and for the election of its candidate as queen of the annual grape festival. The grape festival is an area enterprise and a national event in which everyone from wine-factory operators to grape pickers participates. In both of the last two years the queen of the festival has been a grape picker, and in 1943 so were all her attendants. This community is in the heart of a large irrigated oasis that is separated by 490 miles from Córdoba and about 100 miles from San Juan. It has a relatively homogeneous population. Almost its whole life is oriented to grape and wine production which in turn is integrated directly or indirectly by the wine factories at the top of the economic pyramid. It provides the extra labor for the grape harvest largely from its own farm, village, and urban families. Persons of both sexes and all ages work during the harvest in large gangs and thus become intimately acquainted with each other. All of these facts are undoubtedly as important to an explanation of the functioning as to an explanation of structure of locality groups in this area.

In the Río Negro fruit area the villages do not so definitely focus on Neuquén, the largest town of the area, because each local village is more or less self sufficient, i.e., not dependent on central processing plants as is the case with the wine factories at Mendoza. There are no processing plants except packing and shipping sheds, but these are largely co-operative. The chief overhead directive comes from the Southern Railroad's Experiment Station and extension center which exercises no economic pressure. Its chief service is supposedly educational but actually is managerial. Neighborhoods exist but

trade centers do not yet function as real community centers. Both the thinning and the harvest seasons require a great deal of extra seasonal labor, much of which is recruited from outside the community but, for the most part, housed and fed in the individual employers' homes. Improvements of roads, schools, and trade-center facilities are taking place so rapidly at the present time as to give the appearance of an almost completely new community. Immigrant farmers are just now completing final payments on their farms and universally direct their conversations more to this fact and to the new or planned homes and recently acquired radios than they do to neighborhood or community topics.

The social structure and community life at Tucumán is far more different from that at Mendoza than it is from that of the Río Negro Valley. The farm-operating units, whether tenant or owner, are relatively small and 81.4 per cent of all sugar-cane farms are 12½ acres or less in size. The human organization for conducting sugar-cane production, however, is conditioned tremendously by the 42 per cent which is produced on farms of 250 acres or larger, few of which are family owned and operated. More than 16.6 per cent of all sugar cane is produced on plantations of 3,000 acres or more, most of which are operated by sharecroppers. All sugar cane grown in the area, whether on plantations or on owner-operated farms, is purchased by the operators of sugar factories, each of whom is also the operator of at least one large plantation. The majority of the small producers receive their production credit from the factories and are paid upon the factories' analyses of the sugar content of their cane. Thus the sugar-cane area is as definitely oriented to the factory process at the top as is the grape area to the wine factory at the top. The sugar-factory owners themselves, however, produce a much larger per cent of the cane they process than do the wineries of the grapes they process. A second difference is that the great mass of seasonal labor required for the cane harvest is recruited almost entirely from outside the Tucumán area, chiefly from the low-income, almost poverty-stricken, areas of Santiago del Estero to the east and Catamarca to the south. Some of it comes from the mixed Indian population from the north and west. It is highly probable that the great difference in treatment accorded by operators to factory and field workers is partly due to the fact that the majority of field workers during harvest are these strangers from other

areas. Some of the sugar-mill villages housing the factory workers are almost model communities with modern homes, community-center buildings, public bathhouses, recreation grounds, libraries, moving-picture houses, and even churches, whereas the field employees of these same owners live in slum houses, have no social institutions or facilities and, if seasonal laborers, live in no man's land so far as neighborhood and community life is concerned.

Different types of groupings prevail among year-round field laborers in the sugar-cane belt, the patterns varying with and being dictated by arrangements provided by large holders. In a few cases the plantations are divided into operating areas managed by mayordomos, the employee families under each mayordomo living in a small pueblo or court type of village. In a far greater number of cases, however, the plantations are divided into tenant-operated units, the owner providing from 6 to 10 workingmen's small homes clustered near the larger house provided for tenant-operator families. In other cases workingmen's homes are spaced along the roads in the same fashion as are the homes of small owners, tenants, and field foremen. These scattered homes, together with those of the many small owner operators, serve to make the general pattern of settlement the same as that found in nearly all other areas of Argentina, the individual, isolated residence. The density of the population causes homes to be relatively near each other but in no sense does this fact constitute the settlement as a line village or any other self-conscious community group.

The town pattern of the sugar-cane area is dictated by the location of sugar mills of which there are 38 in the Province of Tucumán. These towns, unlike those in the fruit and vineyard oasis areas, are not social centers for farm people. They serve as social and trade centers for the industrially employed sugar workers but not for the sugar-cane-field workers, who more often patronize the plantation commissaries or the crossroads stores and who live largely without the services of other institutional facilities.

Newly Settled Areas. The new colonization developments in the federal territories of Chaco and Misiones are products largely of unregulated settlement. They have, for the most part, been settled since 1920 and are to some extent squatter occupied. The majority of the recent settlers are from north or central Europe. In the government-sponsored colony in Misiones they are native-born Ar-

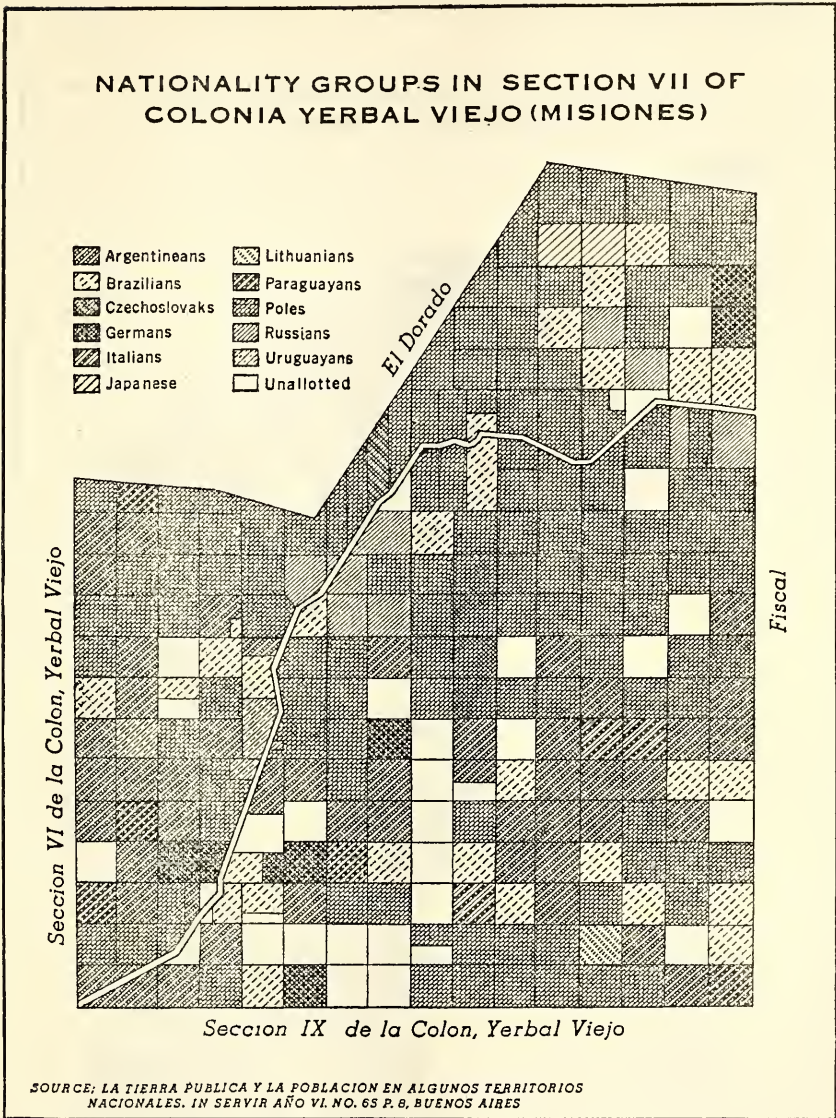
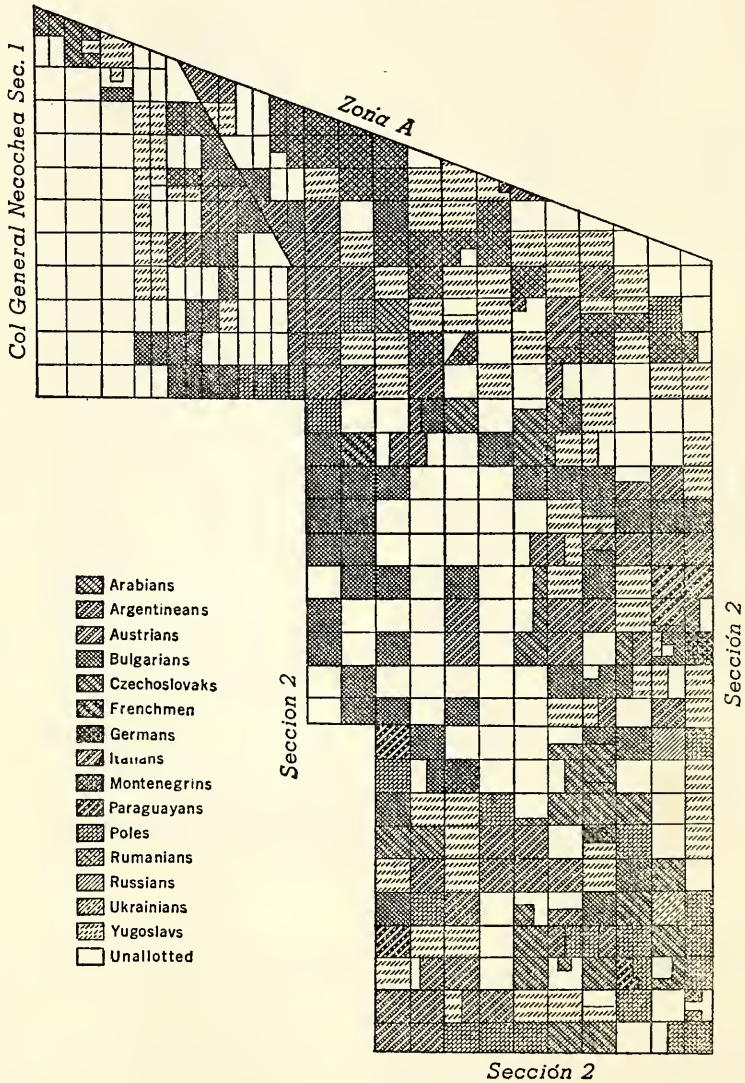


FIGURE 31

gentines or persons who have declared their intention of becoming naturalized citizens. In the two new colony areas—Chaco in the cotton belt and Misiones in the yerba belt—squatters have, during the last twenty years, for the most part, settled in open spaces between streams, bayous, and heavily forested spots. Farm residences

NATIONALITY GROUPS IN COLONIA JOSE MÁRMOL (CHACO)



SOURCE: LA TIERRA PUBLICA Y LA POBLACION EN ALGUNOS TERRITORIOS NACIONALES. IN SERVICIO AÑO VI, NO. 65 P. 20, BUENOS AIRES

FIGURE 32

often are not within sight of each other and neighbors sometimes are miles distant from each other. In many localities members of various nationality groups have tended to settle in adjacent open spaces and thus to form ethnic- or nationality-group neighborhoods. Recently the federal government has been attempting to "regularize" settlement and thus bring some order out of the chaos. The elements in this regularizing process are: (1) Carefully bounding the operating units by decreasing the size of some and enlarging others, (2) requiring a minimum of specified improvements, (3) clearing up titles, and (4) stopping irregular squatting by directing new settlers to assigned locations. In at least two places, one partially settled, the other totally unoccupied, the government is planning complete communities.

In these areas it is possible to observe locality-group formation and integration at all stages of development. Some of the phenomena observed are that all nationalities are learning the Spanish language, and all are using the same central trade areas. In the Chaco all are growing cotton and most of them marketing it through government-sponsored co-operatives, also all of them are served and to a considerable extent directed by the experiment stations and extension agents of the Federal Cotton Board. In the Oberá community in Misiones the individual settlers representing 26 nationalities are highly individualistic and self-sufficient. They are, nevertheless, building open-country churches; all their children are attending common schools; and all families are using a very rapidly growing trade center which lies inland 25 miles from the nearest railroad or river port. The most pronounced nationality-group tendencies in the two areas are that the few Japanese families in the Oberá area mingle little with other nationalities, and in the Sáenz Peña area in Chaco the Czechs gather regularly in the trade center at a boardinghouse hotel in a certain section of town. They consider themselves the elite in the community. Here and there in both areas one sees and hears of the survival of old foreign folk traits—clothes, social fetes, and food habits. In one neighborhood in Chaco a Montenegrin group has built a community building in the parlor of which hang photographs of old-country national heroes. The two most universally integrating, or at least most definitely focusing, locality factors are the well-attended common schools which already constitute neighborhood nuclei and trade centers whose in-

fluence is obvious in the character of town stores and in streams of teams moving toward towns during harvesting seasons. Federal direction of settlement and the enforcement of minimum standards for both improvements and farming practices operate to develop a degree of consciousness of group problems and group standards.

EXCEPTIONAL RURAL COMMUNITIES

Social Cohesion and Social Satisfaction Exist Outside Large and Formally Organized Communities. Not all Argentine farm families which are relatively isolated live dreary lives or lack association. Some of them live in highly cohesive communities which are isolated from all other communities and some who live on isolated farms do not consider their degree of solitude a personal and social handicap. They are accustomed to and actually enjoy a degree of isolation. As one progressive and prosperous Argentine farmer said, "The city is all right as a place to go to once in a while, but I'm a man of the land and belong in the country." At that moment he was sitting on the well curb drinking mate with two neighbors who had dropped by for an hour's visit. He was covered with grease from machinery with which he had been working before the neighbors came. Farmers work many hours in solitude without feeling pangs of loneliness, but they also enjoy association with neighbors. In fact most of them prefer associations of a neighborly type to the less personal associations of large and more formal groups. Because of this fact some of the most cohesive farmer groups in Argentina are to be found in communities which are very isolated from all other communities but which have fairly lively social contacts within their own local group.

Considerable physical distance may be traversed by persons who are members of a group, all of whom desire to keep up group contacts. If the associated group possesses facilities for normal economic well-being, even though isolated from other groups, it often develops its own social facilities and lives enthusiastically in the process of creating and operating these facilities. Indeed isolation from other groups generally contributes to the cohesiveness of neighborhoods and communities. But with relatively few exceptions farm families in Argentina are not members of associational groups and thus their

social contacts are restricted to sporadic and unorganized neighborhood gatherings. There are some outstanding exceptions.

Small Irrigated Oases Communities. These communities are in the Pre-Andean Mountains, in La Rioja and Catamarca, and are all very isolated from the outside world. They are, however, highly cohesive and co-operative in their own community life. In some of them the irrigation ditches are owned and operated communally. They have schools, churches, and playgrounds. They are not ethnic groups. Their cohesiveness depends upon the co-operative functioning of their daily lives, even though they have no formally organized co-operatives. One of these communities which the author visited can be reached only by driving 100 miles over deserts and mountains. It comes as near being indigenous as any community in Argentina, with the exception of a few Indian settlements. Practically all of its people are part-blood Indian but are mixed with early Spanish stock. The farms are small, all owner operated, and all depend on a single irrigation ditch, which during the crop season uses all the water of one small stream. The community is approximately self-sufficient, being supplied from the outside world by a truck which daily passes through it and through similar communities on a 200-mile desert and mountain road.

Colony Projects in Buenos Aires Province. Any one of the eight established colonies might be used as an example. This description is of San Francisco. It is a colony of 62 families, each living on a separate farm. The farms average 642 acres in size so the farm families are not close neighbors. Few of them were acquainted with other colony families before they moved to San Francisco in 1937. Now their children go to better-than-average schools, they have organized a co-operative, and have a community organization. Some of the old estancia headquarters buildings have been converted into community buildings—one of them into a social center. This center building has a kitchen, bathroom, library, and dance or social hall. Outside is a pelota court. The families are of various ethnic stocks, Italian, Spanish, Basque, Dutch, and Danish, but are building a community because they are doing things together.

The Eldorado Community. Located far up the Paraná River, Eldorado is highly cohesive because it is composed almost altogether of Germans and German-speaking Poles. Two factors contribute to its cohesiveness—isolation and ethnic composition. If a person

dropped out of the sky into the midst of this community he could not know by any obvious sign, unless from a three- or four-day-old newspaper, that he could not reach any other community and return in less than two days. The town of Eldorado is a substantial trade center with a full complement of stores, banks, picture-show houses, schools, and churches. A large farmers' co-operative has headquarters there. The community is divided into a number of local neighborhoods, each with its family visiting groups. Every family also feels that it is a member of the larger community.

Others. Besides those already discussed there are other communities such as the Jewish colonies, a Montenegrin group in Chaco, a Spanish group in the Río Negro Valley, and a Welsh group at Trelew in Chubut. Each is very different from the others. The common denominator to all of them is a full set of basic social agencies—schools, churches, local trade centers, recreation facilities, and almost always one or more co-operatives. These are the things which have converted these particular groups of farmers into communities. The absence or poverty of these things is what leaves thousands of other Argentine farm families in a no man's land so far as community life is concerned.

CHAPTER XII

LEVELS AND STANDARDS OF LIVING

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AND OBSERVATIONS

Levels and Standards. Farm-family levels of living in Argentina are not so bad as many non-Argentines and many Argentine city dwellers believe. The author has had city-dwelling persons in Argentina describe Argentine farm people as "just a little above savages," as "terribly filthy," as "poor country people," or as being "terribly depressed." He has had non-Argentine people talk about Argentine farm people as if they were "primitive," "practically all *peones*," or "completely isolated from civilization." There are farm families in Argentina living on levels which range all the way from degradation to affluence. The vast majority of them have plenty of food, live in houses that adequately protect them against both heat and cold, and wear clothes which fit both the type of work they do and the social circles in which they move. There are no especially bad health areas although malaria is prevalent in spots in the north. There are no great areas infested with hookworm or in which great numbers of people are afflicted with pellagra. If quantitative data were available it is the writer's opinion that Argentina's farm families by and large would not be found living on relatively low physical levels of living. If measured by the cultural components of the level of living—educational opportunities and attainments, religious facilities, recreational facilities and practices, and community life—probably the opposite would be true, for Argentine rural life is short on all these things.

The major components of a level of living are: (a) food, (b) clothing, (c) housing, (d) health, (e) education, (f) religion, (g) recreation and art, (h) friends—or social contacts and association. On none of these practices are quantitative data available for Argentine farm families except housing and a little on health and education. Analyses of all other components must be qualitative or at least in terms of general descriptions.

A family's standard of living is that level of living to which it aspires and with which it feels it would be satisfied. Standards of living are always borrowed from the general culture in which families live or with which they are at least partially acquainted. They construct their levels of living in their systematic day-by-day consumption of goods and services but they borrow their standards from the levels of living of others, and, in their imaginations and aspirations, construct higher levels which they desire to attain. The standard of living of a family completely isolated from all others would tend to be the same as its own level of living, modified only by the urge of biological needs not adequately satisfied. No Argentine farm families are completely isolated, with the result that most of them aspire to levels of living higher than those they now enjoy. Many of them, however, live in such relative social isolation that they do not evidence great discontent with their lot in life.

Argentine Farm People's Appraisal of Their Lot in Life. Without offering too much directional stimulation, the writer made consistent attempts to ascertain the attitude of some 100 Argentine farm families on their lot in life. An acceptance of that lot, without complaint, was widespread. Many of them testified that they are now living under more favorable circumstances than ever before and that their children have opportunities which they as young people did not enjoy. Farm men and women were quite often asked, "If you made twice as much money per year, for a few years, as you are now making, for what would you spend that money?" The answers were exceedingly interesting because of their consistency. In every case of tenant families the answer was, "We would buy a farm"; in every case of owner families the answer was either, "We would build a better house," or "We would buy more land." Not once, in either the case of owners or tenants, did the farmer or his wife mention educating the children, buying better clothes, buying an automobile, or purchasing cultural goods and services.

In addition to responses to this one test question farm people sometimes inadvertently revealed dissatisfactions and aspirations. Only a few examples can be recorded here. A Spanish woman—mother and grandmother—living in a one-room house together with her husband, children, and grandchildren—eleven persons—offered us "mate *dulce*" (sweetened yerba mate). When we mentioned the fact that it was "dulce" (sweet) not "*amargo*" (bitter) she said,

"Life here is bitter enough without drinking bitter mate." A Slovak living in an exceedingly neat, well-constructed, whitewashed, thatched mud house, located in a densely timbered area twenty miles from the nearest town said concerning his radio, "Listening to it keeps one from merely living between the trees."

A peon in the sugar area described his house as a "horse stable" and as a "rat house" and said, "We are glad to have persons like you visit us, for while we are ashamed of this house, maybe when enough people know what kind of houses we live in we will get better ones." A peon's wife, living in a house constructed of alfalfa, said it was a disgrace. A farm woman with two postadolescent daughters talked a great deal about the poverty and lack of diversity in the social life of these girls. Others worried about the fact that the rural schools do not go beyond the sixth grade. An Italian who was born and lived in an Italian village until he was a young man said he missed community social contacts terribly when he first came into Argentine rural life. These and similar complaints are evidences of standards of living which are considerably higher than the current levels of living.

Colonists who have been given an opportunity to own farms and live in good houses on one or another of the colonies of the Instituto de Colonizacion de Buenos Aires Province testify enthusiastically and universally to their satisfaction with their new and better living conditions. One of them, a bachelor, while showing us the bathroom said, "This is the best room in the house"; another said, "I live like a millionaire, running water in my kitchen, a refrigerator for meat, vegetables and fruit, a bathroom and electric lights; I am very contented." A German immigrant on a private colonization project who had hewed his farm out of a tangled forest said, pointing to a one-room shack now used as a hen house, "Ten years ago I lived in that one-room shack, now I live in the nice brick house with electric lights; then I carried water from the creek, now I have running water in the house and also wine to drink; then I drove oxen, now I have an automobile; then I bought a kilo of meat a week, now I buy 5 kilos each week and have my chickens and eggs besides; then I had to buy nearly all my food, now I have home-produced meat, eggs, and vegetables and my house surrounded with orange trees." In practically all cases where a step toward farm ownership has been made possible, high enthusiasm about the present and aspira-

tions for the future are demonstrated. The major exceptions are immigrants who came to Argentina expecting to be able to own farms but have been compelled to remain tenants for 20 to 25 years. Few of them believe, however, that they would have fared better had they stayed in their mother country.

FARM-FAMILY PHYSICAL LEVEL OF LIVING

Food. The vast majority of Argentine farm families are relatively self-sufficient so far as food is concerned but there are many exceptions of families who purchase a large percentage of their food and others who, even though they produce the major percentage of the food they consume, do not thereby guarantee either an adequate food supply or a good diet. No study of the food consumption of Argentine farm families has ever been made, nor is it possible to deduce any quantitative conclusions from provincial statistics on the consumption of meat, bread, milk, butter, and cheese for which such area statistics are available. In such bodies of information the data are gross and the rural segment of the population not segregated from the urban. Data on consumption assembled by the Department of Labor are also gross when referring to the nation as a whole and in terms of total consumption of given types of food when referring to the City of Buenos Aires and sometimes other cities. The few detailed studies made in the City of Buenos Aires are far too small and too precarious a sample to be trustworthy.¹

Farmers work long hours and do much heavy manual labor. Nevertheless, many of them get along on breakfasts of coffee and rolls just as in Argentine cities. They do not consume fancy foods, "knick knacks," to the extent that intellectual or other white-collar workers do and they do not consume as much of those types of food products eaten between meals or on "social occasions" as do city people. They, nevertheless, are a part of the general national culture and so follow, in the main, the broad food habits of Argentine society.

A detailed analysis of the food habits and food consumption of ten farm families living on one of the provincial colonies of Buenos Aires shows that they, like practically all other Argentines, eat four times each day and that the periods are about the same as in cities—

¹ *Investigaciones Sociales, 1940*, Buenos Aires: Departamento Nacional del Trabajo, 1941.

breakfast at 8 A.M., lunch at 12 noon, tea (*merienda*) at 4 P.M., dinner at 8 P.M. The breakfast consists almost universally of coffee and bread and the mid-afternoon tea of mate, with or without bread. The other two meals are heavy and very much alike—soup, meat, potatoes, spaghetti, green vegetables, bread and butter, many times eggs, and sometimes cake. Mate is consumed liberally between rising in the morning and breakfast and quite often also between breakfast and lunch. The evening meal is about an hour earlier than in cities and is often moved up to 6:30 or 7:00 P.M. in the winter. For these particular families the food was ample and the diet well balanced. The average consumption of milk per family was 7 liters and of eggs more than a dozen per day. Green vegetables were used considerably more than in the diets of city families.²

The population of Argentina consumes more meat per capita than the people of any other country in the world, two and three-tenths times the per-capita consumption in the United States; more than eight times the per-capita consumption of Italy from which many Argentine immigrants came; and more than one and one-fourth times as much as New Zealand, Argentina's closest competitor. The major portion of the meat consumed is beef—261.8 pounds out of a per-capita annual total of 300.3 pounds.³ Quite the opposite is true of dairy, poultry, and vegetable products. The Argentines consume only 84.9 per cent as much milk, 25 per cent as much butter, and approximately 40 per cent as many eggs per capita as the people of the United States. They consume considerably more cheese, but of the three major dairy products, milk, butter, and cheese, they consume only 83 per cent as much as the people of the United States. Of fruits they consume only 67.7 per cent as much and of vegetables only 8.6 per cent as much per capita as the people of the United States.⁴

Starch foods, especially bread, are heavily consumed. Only France and Italy, among the major nations of Europe, and America consume more bread per capita. The people of the United States consume less than two-thirds as much bread and about three-fourths as much rice per capita as the people of Argentina; they, however, consume more potatoes. When the data for these three main types of

² Schedules taken by the Instituto de Colonizacion de Buenos Aires.

³ Emilio Llorens, *El Subconsumo de Alimentos en America del Sur*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Sud Americana, 1942, p. 39.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-40.

starchy foods are combined it is seen that the per-capita consumption of the three in the United States is less than 80 per cent of that in Argentina.

The data presented in Table XXXVI reveal none of the differences between Argentine urban and farm people and nothing about the differences between various areas and classes of people. They do reveal differences in general food habits between Argentina and some other nations of the world. Because of this fact and because they are the only food data available they are valuable.

The writer ate a number of meals in farm homes and asked many questions about food content and habits. In his opinion, contrary to what is generally assumed, Argentine farm families consume relatively more nonmeat foods than do Argentine city families. Vegetable gardens are almost universal and fruit trees of some kind nearly so. Most farmers keep chickens and consume great quantities of eggs. They have many dishes containing a variety of ingredients, one of which is generally meat. *Puchero* always contains meat, both fat and lean, but also contains not less than three vegetables—potatoes, sweet potatoes, carrots, beans (*garbanzos*), cabbage, onions, etc. *Sopas* (soups) are most often spaghetti, broth from puchero, rice, potatoes, etc., but never tomatoes. *Guiso* is hash, generally with some meat, but always with heavy mixtures of any and all kinds of vegetables. *Carbonada* is also hash, always with some meat but mixed with vegetables and sometimes fruits. *Estofado* (pot roast) is primarily meat but often with one or more vegetables. *Locro* is corn boiled with grease and salt. There are undoubtedly other dishes which the author did not happen to encounter. Exceptions to these good food practices are the peones who work in sugar cane, cotton, and yerba. Undoubtedly many farm families who live in arid regions are actually short of food.

Clothing. Practically nothing can be said with any confidence about either farmers' clothing levels or standards. Among the hundreds of farm people of both sexes and all ages, in all the major areas of the nation whom the writer visited, few were inadequately clad and fewer yet inappropriately dressed for the situations in which they were participating. None of the persons interviewed, men or women, volunteered complaints about clothing. In northern Argentina, where the greatest poverty exists among transient laborers, housing is a much weaker element in the level of living than

TABLE XXXVI

Comparison of Argentina with Other Countries in Consumption of Various Kinds of Food *

Countries	Milk and milk products		Eggs	Meat	Fruits	Bread and rice	Potatoes	Sugar	Wine and beer †	Tea, coffee, and mate	Vege- tables	Oil
	Milk	Butter										
Germany	231.0	16.5	13.0	109.6	92.4	143.9	376.2	52.8	72.16	6.7	107.3	
Belgium	173.8	20.7	6.4	89.8	68.2	321.4		61.6	170.72	13.3		
Denmark	360.8	17.6	12.1	111.5	12.1	195.4		118.8	55.88	17.3		
France	231.0	13.2	12.5	88.0	48.4	429.9	396.0	57.2	177.76	9.7	184.8	
Italy	66.0	2.2	10.6	35.4	39.6	378.2	123.2	17.6	94.60	2.0	92.4	11.0
Low Countries	299.2	16.5	13.9	90.2	28.4	251.5		68.2	22.88	12.8		
United Kingdom	209.0	22.0	8.8	140.1	85.8	298.1	253.0	110.0	71.64	10.1		
Switzerland	578.6	14.3	18.5	104.7	143.0	303.8		99.0	74.54	8.6	149.6	
United States	349.8	17.6	4.4	130.9	193.6	233.0	140.8	103.4	46.20	15.6	103.8 †	19.4
Canada		30.6	3.6	144.3		228.4	385.0	94.6	17.42	6.8		
Australia	220.0	29.5	4.0	201.3	88.0	347.4	110.0	107.8	7.30	7.1		
New Zealand	281.6	37.6	8.6	236.3	61.6	310.9	140.8	107.8	.44	6.5		
Argentina	297.0	4.4	7.5	300.3	131.1	351.6	127.6	72.6	58.61	22.4	21.6	15.0

* Adapted from Emilio Llorens, *El Subconsumo de Alimentos*, Chap. IV.

† Table calculated in pounds per inhabitant.

† Quarts.

clothing. Paraguayan women, transient yerba pickers, seen getting on and off of river boats on the Upper Paraná River generally revealed some attempt to be well dressed. This was observed in late winter and their children were warmly clad. Young women and their mothers on farms are well dressed. Men are for the most part adequately clad for their work. The writer witnessed some definite exceptions to these generally prevailing facts. He saw both peones and tenants in the cotton belt who were ragged and barefoot in early winter and ascertained from them the fact that they had no money with which to purchase additional clothes. He saw little children in the cotton and yerba belts who were exceedingly scantily clad and is quite sure that there are thousands of farm men and women who never wear anything other than work clothes. They may be well clad but not well dressed.

There are some interesting garbs worn in different sections of the nation. The most universal costume in the cattle country, and it is a trait that has spread widely outside the cattle belt, is *bombachas* and short-topped boots. The bombachas are baggy trousers which, if not buckled or tied, reach to the ankles. When tied below the knees or above the ankle, or tucked inside the boots, they bag more than halfway between the knee and ankle. The tops of the boots are of different lengths, the most common from 8 to 10 inches. This garb is convenient whether on horseback or afoot. A wide belt, often decorated with silver, and a coat, jacket, sweater, or poncho are worn on the upper part of the body.

The second most unique item of clothing is the poncho, worn universally in the northwest but seen farther south. It is a woven blanket about 6 feet long and 3 feet wide with a hole in the center large enough to insert the head. It constitutes the overcoat of practically all country people north and west of Córdoba. Another is the *bufanda*, a very large woven scarf which when wrapped about the neck practically covers the shoulders and when tucked inside the lapels of a coat or overcoat and spread out across the chest is an exceedingly warm garment. In country areas or at rural affairs it is also considered a stylish garment.

Housing. This is the one element in the farmers' physical standard of living for which rather exceptional data are available because of the detailed farm-housing schedule carried in the 1937 Agricultural Census. Houses were classified into 12 types of construction and 6

sizes. The data were reported on a county basis.⁵ Using these elaborate data it was possible to construct a housing index and obtain a quite detailed picture of farm housing per province and per county.⁶

⁵ Only 11 types are used here because cement houses, of which there were only 373 in the nation, were too difficult to classify.

⁶ Before proceeding with the discussion of housing situations a brief description of this index is presented.

The 11 types of construction were grouped into 5 classes, as follows: Class I—brick with tile roof, brick with zinc roof, brick and stone with tile or zinc roof, stone with tile or zinc roof; Class II—brick and mud with zinc or thatch roof, adobe with brick or thatch roof, frame; Class III—mud with zinc roof, mud with thatch roof; Class IV—zinc; Class V—brush. Classes of construction were assigned weights from 5 to 1. Each room in any and all classes or types of houses was given a value of 1. The index number for each house was thus the value of its construction type: 5-4-3-2 or 1 times its number of rooms 1-2-3-4-5 and 6 plus. A 1-room brush house had an index number of 1 and a 1-room masonry house an index number of 5; a 6-room masonry house an index number of 30. This gave a spread in index values from 1 to 30. In computing the housing status of the nation, the provinces, and counties, the index number of each type of house was multiplied by the number of houses of that type listed in the census. All index values were then added together and the sum divided by the total number of houses. By using this simple instrument farmhouses were measured by the best and poorest which prevail in the nation rather than by any arbitrary or even scientific standard of excellency. The index for the nation was 12.76 in comparison with a possible high of 30 and a possible low of 1. The indexes for the provinces and territories ranged from 6.40 to 18.32 and those for the counties from 4.46 to 25.60. The following table shows the index numbers for the 30 different house values.

Index Numbers for Types of Houses

Type of construction	Number of rooms					
	1	2	3	4	5	6 and 6 plus
I	5	10	15	20	25	30
II	4	8	12	16	20	24
III	3	6	9	12	15	18
IV	2	4	6	8	10	12
V	1	2	3	4	5	6

There are 440 counties in Argentina and as would be expected the number per geographic area is much higher in those sections of the country where farmhouses are most numerous. There were 452,007 farmhouses listed in the census, 409,904 of which are classified and mapped. By using county geographic units the average number of houses per unit is slightly less than 932. This makes possible a pretty detailed analysis of farm housing. The writer knows from field visits that there are poor-housing areas which have such a multiplicity of types of construction materials that it would be impossible to classify all of them in the 11 classes used in the census tables. He has also seen in one small segment of a poor-housing county more straw, stick, and pole houses than are listed in the census for the whole county. They were, however, seldom inhabited by "*productores*," but by "*peones*," and are, therefore, not reported in the census.

In the analysis it was necessary to eliminate 42,103 of the 452,007 farm houses because either the enumerators failed to record sufficient data to make classification possible or the tabulators could not determine in which category to list the house described. The major portion of those for which the major characteristics were unknown in terms of number of rooms appeared among the better house types. This is, however, balanced, and maybe more than balanced, by the fact that when type of construction was listed as unknown it was most often in one of the poor house types. Furthermore, it is highly probable that a greater number of poor houses than good ones were missed in the enumeration.⁷

The three general types of houses which come nearest the national index number are either 3-room houses constructed of brick with mud as mortar, or adobe, or frame; or they are 4-room houses built of mud and roofed with zinc or thatch; or they are 6-room houses constructed entirely of zinc. It would probably be well, for two reasons, to describe these types of houses in some detail, first, in order that the reader may properly visualize the most typical Argentine farmhouses, and, second, because it is not feasible to describe the multiplicity of types of houses to be seen in farm areas from Chaco to Tierra del Fuego.

Little need be said about frame houses because they are prevalent only in the timbered areas of northeastern Argentina where lumber constitutes the most available construction material. Even in these areas the better houses are of locally manufactured brick. The frame house is, however, the only median-type farmhouse in which there is any attempt at artistic design. Furthermore, the area where frame houses are most prevalent, southern Misiones, has been fairly recently settled by a great diversity of nationality groups whose houses follow their various traditional tastes. The following is, however, a description of a typical frame house: The siding is of vertical boards, the roof of hand-riven shingles or shakes; there are many gables and a porch with decorative railing. The rooms are kitchen-dining room, living room, two bedrooms. Larger frame houses often have two stories, the roof is sometimes tile, and the diversity of rooms greater than just described.

The 3-room adobe and brick houses with mud mortar must be of

⁷ This was due to the fact that only homes of producers, i.e., farm entrepreneurs, are reported in the census.

a pure boxlike shape and may be roofed with zinc, thatch, tile, or earth. There can be no gables. Many times there are no porches, and the windows are nearly always small. If they are plastered with cement, floored with lumber or brick, roofed with tile and fronted with a vine-clad porch, they are exceedingly attractive and probably warmer in the winter and cooler in the summer than frame houses.

A 4-room mud house, roofed with either tile or zinc, has the same index number (12) as the types just described. It is of poorer construction but has one more room and may not be a poor house. The construction of a good mud house is as follows: A framework covered with woven wire; mud mixed with straw and pressed in between the four-inch meshes of the wire; an air chamber left between the two layers—one on each side of the 2-by-4 uprights and crosspieces. This double wall, 8 or 10 inches thick, is then coated with smooth mud, sometimes cement, and whitewashed or painted. Such a house can be only one story but any size or combination of rooms is possible. It is generally roofed with sheet iron or zinc, thatch, or in exceptional cases with tile. If the thatch is well done it is preferable to zinc, although it must be replaced every 5 to 10 years, depending on the amount of rain. A mud house, constructed as described above, roofed with a thatch more than 6 inches thick, and floored with wood or large bricks is not only comfortable but attractive. It is generally short on window space but need not be. Practically all good masonry houses in Argentina also have a minimum of window space.

The house constructed wholly of zinc is easy to build and quite often provides a large amount of space and diversity of rooms. If of 6 or more rooms it has an index of 12. The best houses of this type are prefabricated and can be ordered according to the design and plan desired. Families who live in them, however, testify that they are far inferior to good mud houses, are hot in the summer and exceedingly cold in the winter. They may or may not be floored, may or may not have porches. They are seldom painted. There are almost 7,000 of them on Argentine farms.

The worst type of mud house is neither substantial, attractive, nor comfortable. It is built of poles or sticks and plastered with mud, has dirt floors, many times has no windows, and is poorly thatched or covered with any and all kinds of pieces of zinc and boards. The

mud may have fallen out of the chinks and left wide cracks through which wind blows and the roof may leak so badly that beds, chairs, and tables have to be constantly moved to be kept dry. In these worst houses cooking and heating may be provided by an open campfire. Four-room mud houses, whether good or bad, are grouped in this median class. The extra room is most likely to be a bedroom.

The poorest type of rural house in the nation is the so-called brush house. It may be built of brush, small sticks, altogether of the type of grass usually used only for roofs, or of sugar cane; the writer saw one built of alfalfa. Fortunately, there are relatively few such houses which are permanently occupied. Most of them are constructed by or for seasonal laborers. Unfortunately, there are some which are occupied as permanent residences by poverty-stricken families. It is perfectly evident that only a small percentage (only 286) of the total number of such is listed in the census. There are a number of counties with more than that total number. Because they are peon houses they are naturally not listed as "houses of producers"—entrepreneurs.

The best houses in rural Argentina are the great mansions of the *estanciero* families. They are probably the most magnificent rural houses in the world, always masonry constructed and of beautiful design, located in magnificently planted parks. They, however, are usually only the summer houses of otherwise urban-dwelling families.

An analysis of the types of houses which cause some areas to rank high and others to rank low will make a further contribution to a discussion of Argentine farm housing. On a county basis, "Puelén departamento," in La Pampa ranks highest in the nation. It is located in a general area of poor housing and the explanation of housing merit is that 115 of its 166 farmhouses have 5 or more rooms and are masonry constructed. It is an *estancia* area, in the edge of the Andes Mountains where stone is plentiful. The lowest-ranking county is Departamento Bermejo in Formosa. It has only 273 farmhouses, none of them of masonry structure, only 1 zinc structure, and 262 of them mud and thatch with only 1 or 2 rooms.

Table XXXVII attempts to compromise between gross provincial summaries, on the one hand, and a multiplicity of county figures, on the other hand, by placing provinces and territories in an order

Good and Poor Farmhouses per Province and Territory *

Provinces, territories, and number of houses	Index	Three or more rooms			One room			Two rooms			Total	Per cent	Total	Per cent
		Adobe, frame, and better		Mud and poorer	Adobe, frame, and better		Mud and poorer	Adobe, frame, and better		Mud and poorer				
		Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent				
Santa Cruz (1,480)	18.32	77.84	8.11	85.95	2.30	.26	10.14	1.35	14.05					
Tierra del Fuego (116)	16.00	71.55	7.76	79.31	6.90	.86	9.48	3.45	20.69					
Santa Fe (59,441)	15.77	68.50	17.35	85.85	6.71	4.54	1.47	1.26	13.98					
Córdoba (57,725)	14.96	60.69	10.27	70.96	5.87	4.04	11.93	7.19	29.03					
La Pampa (11,934)	14.72	53.56	29.00	82.56	1.29	1.93	6.86	7.36	17.44					
Buenos Aires (99,251)	14.30	38.50	45.10	83.60	1.00	1.71	4.79	8.90	16.40					
San Juan (5,649)	13.99	52.22	20.46	72.68	4.20	2.76	12.59	7.77	27.32					
Mendoza (12,939)	13.59	53.83	18.10	71.93	3.47	3.50	12.61	8.49	28.07					
Chubut (5,467)	13.16	51.80	12.44	64.24	4.68	2.32	21.95	6.80	35.75					
Río Negro (7,340)	12.50	52.14	12.97	64.21	4.14	2.70	21.73	7.22	35.79					
Entre Ríos (30,703)	12.07	38.91	28.59	67.50	1.92	3.70	8.46	18.41	32.49					
San Luis (9,952)	12.03	42.13	13.33	55.46	7.92	5.49	20.26	10.86	44.53					
Jujuy (6,297)	10.70	37.41	6.75	44.16	14.67	5.70	28.43	7.04	55.84					
Neuquén (4,518)	10.64	39.29	4.14	43.43	11.51	5.49	31.27	8.30	56.57					
Misiones (14,104)	10.63	41.16	6.25	47.41	14.65	2.61	29.49	5.83	52.58					
Catamarca (6,485)	10.29	32.44	7.40	39.84	16.11	9.27	25.07	9.70	60.15					
Corrientes (17,597)	9.80	21.48	26.86	48.34	3.29	14.90	7.88	25.59	51.66					
La Rioja (3,653)	9.75	29.10	7.34	36.44	19.49	11.11	24.17	8.79	63.56					
Salta (9,061)	9.66	30.00	5.00	35.00	26.20	8.50	18.50	12.10	65.30					
Chaco (17,245)	8.14	15.84	21.56	37.40	4.90	16.64	11.16	29.90	62.60					
Tucumán (12,987)	7.82	19.76	5.48	25.24	16.69	24.80	19.74	13.52	74.75					
Santiago del Estero (20,311)	6.90	12.27	7.82	20.09	19.51	24.39	17.40	18.61	79.91					
Formosa (5,167)	6.80	5.90	19.99	25.89	3.48	28.31	5.46	36.85	74.10					
All rural houses	12.76													

* Data based on Argentine Agricultural Census, 1937.

of merit. It places middle-class houses into two groups, those with more and those with less than 3 rooms.

About all Table XXXVII reveals is (1) that farmhouses in the southern (coldest) part of the country rank highest and those of the northern (warmest) part of the country rank lowest; (2) houses in the cattle, sheep, cereal, and vineyard belts are above average and those in the cotton, yerba, sugar-cane, and desert-scrub belts are below the average;⁸ (3) it is 1- and 2-room houses that pull down the average in the poor-housing areas. If all transient laborers' houses were included in the data the index numbers of these poorer housing areas would be yet lower than they are.

A glance at either Figure 33 or 34 reveals that all of North Argentina is a poor-farm-housing area. Figure 34 shows that there are here and there good-housing counties in this large area but also that poor farm housing is to be found in whole counties of adjacent provinces.

There are 80,784 farmhouses in the 89 counties of the bad-housing area in the north. Classified as to type and size, 67.8 per cent were not larger than 2 rooms, 34 per cent of them only 1 room. More than 40 per cent of all the brush houses listed in the nation were in this 20 per cent of the nation's farmhouses. These characteristics account for the area's poor housing conditions.

There are three good-housing areas, one beginning in southern Chubut and including all of Santa Cruz and Tierra del Fuego, the second in southern Santa Fe and southern Córdoba, the third in southern Buenos Aires. They include only 44 of the 112 counties with housing indexes of 15 or above but since there are no poor-housing spots within them they can best be used to determine what characteristics are responsible for the high ranking of the nation's best farmhouses. The remaining 68 good-housing counties are practically all geographically near these good areas, the chief exceptions being the Mendoza and Río Negro irrigated areas. There were 80,309 farmhouses in these three areas reported and classified in the 1937 Census. Among them were only 11.7 per cent with less than 3 rooms but among them also were more than 19.5 per cent masonry constructed. Their chief characteristics were the consistently above-average types of construction and sizes. Almost 62

⁸ Those in the Río Negro apple-and-pear belt appear slightly below average, but the construction of many brick houses since 1937 now place it well above average.

(61.7) per cent of them fell in the second-class type of construction and 45.6 per cent of them were 5 or more rooms in size. The second-class type includes brick houses with mud mortar, adobe, and frame types of construction. The typical good farmhouse is therefore a 5-room brick house with mud mortar and with a roof of zinc or some better material.

There is a great deal of difference between the characteristics of good housing which is hidden by grouping all three good-housing areas together. The Patagonia area has a much higher percentage of the best type of house than either of the other areas; 54 per cent of all its houses are 5 or more rooms in size and 88.9 per cent are either Class I or II in structure. It, however, has 14.7 per cent not larger than 2 rooms and has a number of zinc houses. These facts are a reflection of the climate and social organization of the sheep industry. The climate requires warm houses, and large operations by well-paid managers result in a great many ample houses. Peones, however, live in relatively poor houses, many of them with only 1 or 2 rooms and some of them constructed of materials such as zinc which are exceedingly cold in the winter. Housing in this area averages high because there are so many good houses at the top.

The southern Buenos Aires area is not in fact as good a farm-housing area as the other two. A number of the counties in this area are in the low numbers of the good-housing indexes. It averages higher in 1- and 2-room houses but lower in 5-room houses than the other two good-housing areas, and is one of the zinc-house areas of the nation. More than 53 per cent of all its farmhouses are, however, Class I or II in structure and this fact causes it to rank relatively high. It is a mixed cattle, sheep, and wheat area and therefore has houses which range from fine estanciero houses, to typical tenant houses, to shabby peon houses.

The Sante Fe-Córdoba cereal belt is the best-balanced good-housing area of the nation. It ranks in its housing index 0.37 point below Patagonia but 1.5 points above southern Buenos Aires. Only 2.5 per cent of all its farmhouses have 1 room and only 11.3 per cent have less than 3 rooms. It has very few zinc and literally no brush houses. More than 21 per cent of all houses are masonry constructed and 45.2 per cent of them have 5 rooms or more. The most outstanding feature of the area is the even distribution of good or near-good farmhouses. There are a great many 3- and 4-room houses which

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are, of course, modest in size but there are 1,500 more houses which are larger than 5 rooms than there are of 5-room houses. Furthermore, 85.8 per cent of all houses in the area are either Class I or II

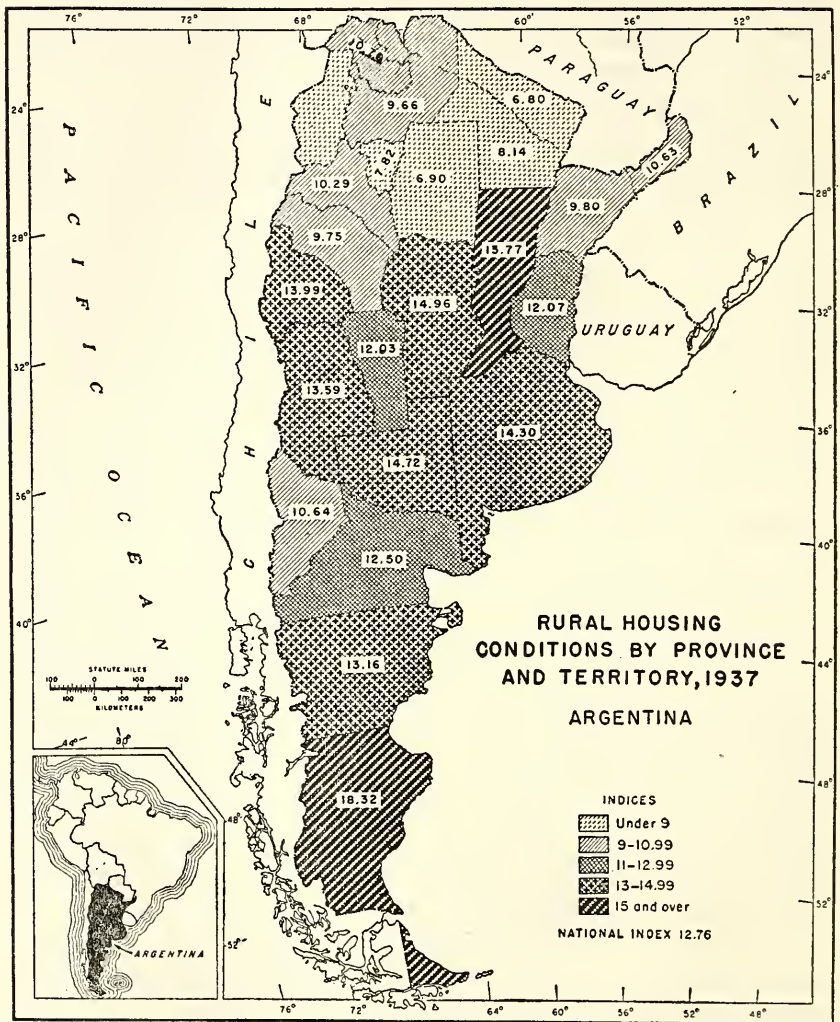


FIGURE 33

in materials of construction. There are some adobe and some frame houses but the vast majority are brick with mud mortar. Few of the good houses are estancia residences; practically all of them are the homes of medium-sized farmers, many of them constructed of home-

made brick. There are large areas in this region which are not excelled in farm housing by any area of similar size in the best farm-housing areas of the United States.

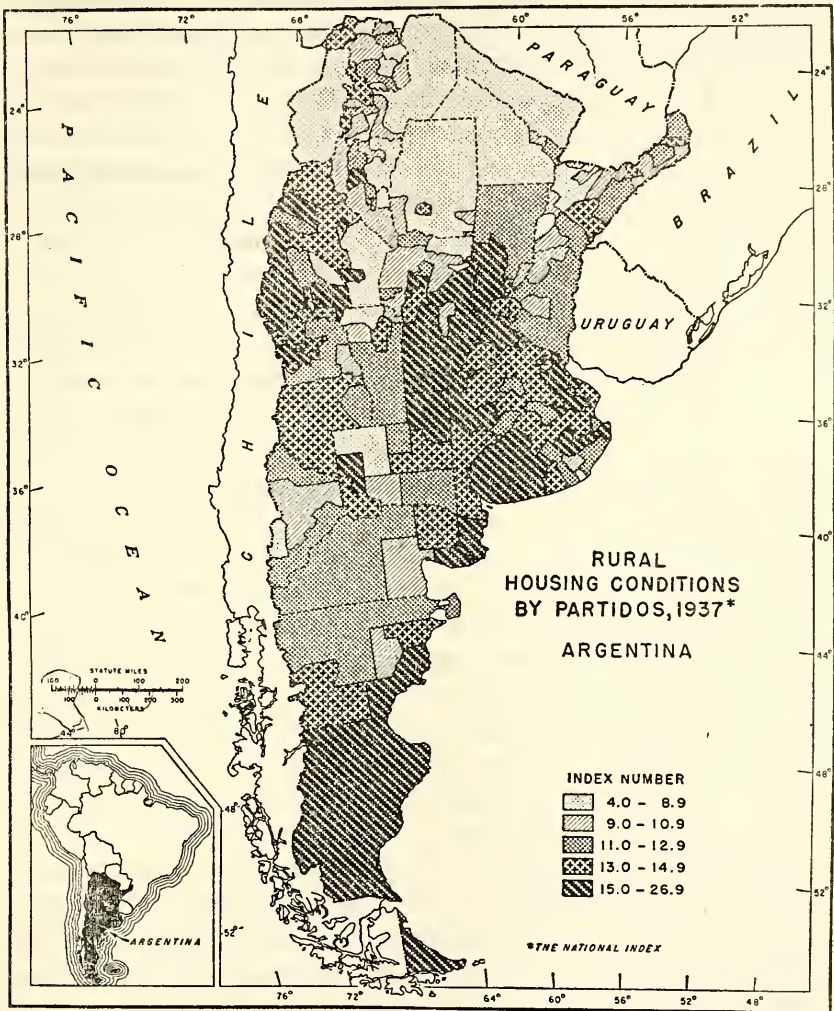


FIGURE 34

A careful analysis of the census housing statistics and visitation to the various areas described here make it clear to the writer that types of farmhouses are not solely adaptations to climatic conditions or even purely functions of economic incomes. There are whole broad

geographic areas where practically every family builds its own house. In some cases the 1-room mud house instead of a 2-, 3-, or 4-room mud house prevails for no other apparent reason than the fact that it is customary. In other areas nearly all mud houses are multiple roomed. In some areas practically none of the mud houses have floors, in others practically all of them do. In some areas the choice between mud, adobe, and homemade brick is available to all farm families and whichever is most frequently chosen becomes the habit of the community. In areas occupied by some immigrants there is insistence on brick houses because the families were accustomed to that type of construction. A Danish settler said to the writer, "I had to lay my brick sidewise which made the wall thin, and I had to coat the inside with mud instead of plaster. An adobe or mud house would be warmer, but a house isn't a human residence if it isn't built of brick." Such things are purely cultural and could be stimulated in others who now live in poorer types of houses. Tremendously large poor-housing areas could be eliminated in Argentina if the widespread custom of each family building its residence with its own labor was converted into a universal custom of building even good mud houses. If all 48,000 1-room and 93,000 2-room houses and all the 70,000 zinc and brush houses in Argentina were raised even to the level of 3-room mud houses, no matter how poorly constructed, it would still leave rural Argentina with something like 200,000 3-room mud houses but it would raise the farm-housing index of the nation to within a fraction of a point of the 112 counties which are ranked by present standards as Class I. As in other nations, it is the great mass at the bottom who live in degrading houses that drag down the rural-housing level of the nation.

Health. The federal government maintains and operates regional hospitals in all parts of the nation. They are large and well-equipped institutions and render free service to any and all citizens who come to them asking for treatment. They are unique institutions and exercise unique influences. Even some well-to-do citizens use these hospitals' free services. They are, however, located at considerable distances from many farm families and therefore fail to serve any but the most serious health needs of the great mass of rural people. There are 36 of them, only 7 of which are located in the national territories and only 2 others located in markedly rural provinces. These are supplemented by 50 provincial and 106 municipal hospitals

which are equally highly concentrated in urban areas. The same is true of the 258 hospitals under other than government management. In 1940 there were 215 persons in the national population per hospital bed. For the 10 national territories and 5 most rural provinces there were approximately 7,000 per hospital bed. The concentration of hospitals is more marked than that of any other type of social institution, 175 of the 450 being in the City of Buenos Aires or the Province of Buenos Aires and 82 in the Provinces of Santa Fe and Entre Ríos.

Progressive and wealthy provinces such as Santa Fe and Buenos Aires provide rather outstanding hospital facilities. A recent law in Santa Fe provided for 63 regional hospitals, attached to local schools, and specified that "social assistants will instruct the teachers and help to form health organizations by means of which it is expected that all families can be served."⁹ As is the case of practically all other types of public assistance the less wealthy provinces and the more isolated rural areas receive less than their share.

No professional class in Argentina is as well trained scientifically as physicians, but relatively few of them practice in rural areas. It is not the custom for physicians to attend childbirths, midwives being used instead. The few statistics available indicate that in rural areas a high percentage of deaths occur without medical attendance. A report on the causes of all deaths in the 10 national territories in 1940 lists 34.0 per cent as having occurred "without medical assistance." It also reports that 28.4 per cent of all deaths were of infants under one year of age—11.6 were of those under one month of age.¹⁰

The practice of compulsory military service results in an examination of all the male population within the rough age group of 18 to 23. The examination is of far less than one-half the population because it covers only males and it is only Argentine born and naturalized foreign born who are subject to military service. Relatively few immigrants are naturalized. Furthermore, the medical examination covers only a small span of life, that which would be expected to be the most vigorous and healthy. Nevertheless, some comparison of this segment of the population per geographic area is possible and the data are therefore presented. The nation is divided into 54 military districts in which enrollment and medical

⁹ *La Prensa*, Buenos Aires, July 1, 1942.

¹⁰ *El Movimiento Demografico en los Territorios*, pp. 18-19.

examinations take place. Data on physical and mental defects are listed under 19 causes for rejection. In some cases a district includes one or more whole provinces or territories and in other cases includes only an urban area and it is, therefore, possible approximately to segregate rural and urban areas. A study of the data makes it appear that causes of rejection are often so much a matter of different judgments of examiners that only the broadest comparisons are possible. Furthermore, data from 54 different districts for 19 causes in each district present a confusing body of figures. In order to simplify presentation they are here reduced to 10 major causes for rejection and 3 types of areas. The 10 causes include approximately 95 per cent of all rejections and the 3 types of areas include 22 of the 54 districts—all of them that could be reduced to comparative categories.

TABLE XXXVIII

Health Causes of Rejections for Army Service

Causes for rejection Diseases and de- ficiencias	Nation	City of Buenos Aires	Six other pre- dominantly urban areas *	Fifteen most rural districts †
Basic physical de- ficiencias	40.7	36.6	39.5	45.4
Congenital lesions and deformities	16.7	22.1	15.7	18.5
Digestive system	14.8	10.3	17.5	6.2
Skin	6.6	8.1	6.2	6.2
Eyes	5.7	4.5	6.0	5.5
Circulatory system	2.5	3.0	2.5	2.3
Urogenital system	2.5	3.8	2.3	1.7
Traumatic lesions	2.4	2.8	2.1	3.7
Respiratory system	1.8	2.5	1.9	0.6
Tuberculosis	1.4	1.3	1.6	3.5
Subtotal	95.1	95.0	95.3	93.6
All others	4.9	5.0	4.7	6.4

* The 6 urban areas include Rosario, Córdoba, La Plata, Tucumán, Santa Fe, and Mendoza.

† The 15 rural areas include all of the following provinces and territories: Los Andes, Jujuy, Formosa, Chaco, Misiones, Corrientes, La Rioja, San Juan, San Luis, Santiago del Estero, Catamarca, La Pampa, Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut, Santa Cruz, and Tierra del Fuego.

The data presented in Table XXXVIII are fairly self-explanatory. In order to make them even more so some figures in the table are italicized, those which indicate marked excess of percentage of rejections for specific causes in rural or urban districts and those for which the City of Buenos Aires' rate is higher than either "6 other predominantly urban areas" or "15 most rural areas." Rural rejections were high for four causes—"Basic physical deficiencies," "congenital lesions," "traumatic lesions," and "tuberculosis." They were low for three causes—diseases of "digestive system," "urogenital system," and "respiratory system."

There is probably considerable significance in the basic physical deficiencies and congenital lesions and deformities, for they very likely reflect a marked lack of medical care during birth and childhood. Traumatic lesions are to be expected because of heavy manual labor and injuries incurred in handling machinery and livestock. It should also be noted that a larger per cent of rural rejections are for some or all of the other nine causes not listed in Table XXXVIII.

Something can also be learned from the provincial and territorial civil registers which report causes for all deaths. Data from these registers are precarious if for no other reason than because of lack of medical attendance at time of death, resulting in precarious accuracy in reporting causes of deaths. Data are presented in Table XXXIX for the 10 national territories—the most rural part of the nation. There were 11,982 deaths reported for the year 1941. Cause of death was "not determined" in 2,134 cases. An additional 1,306 cases were reported only as occurring during the first year of life, but without assigned cause. In 296 cases no other causes than senility were assigned. For the remaining 8,246 deaths Table XXXIX records the causes in eight major groups and lists the most prevalent specific cause in each group.

Probably no broad generalizations should be drawn from these data, but a few facts may be worthy of mention. The three highest-ranking specific causes of death were bronchopneumonia, tuberculosis, and diarrhea. Ninety-nine and nine-tenths per cent of all deaths for which diarrhea was assigned as cause were of children under one year of age. The deaths due to falls, injuries caused by animals, and hernias probably form a cue to the high rate of army rural rejections for traumatic lesions. These data, together with those on causes for military rejections, point to lack of child care and in-

juries incident to farm work as being major causes of ill health in rural areas. To these should, of course, be added lack of medical services and hospital facilities.¹¹

TABLE XXXIX

Number and Percentage of Deaths by Causes
of Death for Ten National Territories, 1941

Causes of Death	Number	Per cent	Causes of Death	Number	Per cent
Infections and parasites	1,830	22.2	Violent or accidental	805	9.8
Tuberculosis (pulmonary)	631	7.6	Homicides	188	2.3
Diphtheria	247	3.0	Suicides	146	1.8
Grippe and influenza	178	2.2	Drowning	98	1.2
Others	774	9.4	Falls	92	1.1
Respiratory	1,531	18.6	By animals	19	0.2
Bronchopneumonia	865	10.5	Others	262	3.2
Pneumonia	388	4.7	Nervous and sense organs	682	8.3
Others	278	3.4	Cerebral hemorrhage	294	3.6
Digestive	1,197	14.5	Meningitis	219	2.7
Diarrhea	788	9.6	Others	169	2.0
Peritonitis	124	1.5	Cancer	542	6.6
Liver	106	1.3	All others	738	8.8
Hernia	68	0.8	Total	8,246	100.0
Others	111	1.3			
Circulatory	921	11.2			
Heart	510	6.2			
Myocardium	280	3.4			
Others	131	1.6			

¹¹ Those who are interested in the comparative status of Argentina and other Latin-American countries in terms of their diseases or health facilities are cited to A. A. Moll, "Hospital Development in Latin America," *Hospitals*, American Medical Association, 1939; and to various bulletins of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau. Those who are interested in the worst spots in the Argentine health situation are cited to C. M. Wilson, "How Latin Americans Die," *Harper's Magazine*, July 1942; "Los Indices de la Tuberculosis en la América Latina," in *Boletín, Oficina Sanitaria Panamericana*, September 1941, pp. 956-65; "La Sanidad en Argentina," in *Boletín, Oficina Sanitaria Panamericana*, June 1942, taken from *Memoria del Departamento Nacional de Higiene* for 1940; and "Child Nutrition in Latin America," *Bulletin, Pan American Sanitary Bureau*, June 1942, p. 580.

CULTURAL LEVELS AND STANDARDS OF LIVING

Cultural Standards Are Different from Physical Standards of Living. It might be correct to conclude from data already presented that physical levels of living are approximately as high in rural as in urban areas in Argentina. Such is not the case in cultural levels. The rural people have less adequate schools, churches, and recreation facilities and practically no art. As was seen in Chapter X they have a poverty of associational contacts. There is practically no reading material in rural homes, and while there are many radios, rural people testify that they listen indiscriminantly to the radio and have developed few preferences among various types of programs. Hunger for cultural goods and services is created in a person or group by contacts with others who have and enjoy these things. Aspirations are developed from seeing others with higher levels of living. The levels of attainment of others then become the standards and aspirations of the observing group. Argentine rural residents have few contacts with others whose levels of living are higher than their own and furthermore many of them are today enjoying the highest level of living that they have ever had. Some of them, therefore, do not aspire to higher levels.

A person becomes hungry or cold or ill if the physiological processes of the body are not in adjustment with body needs. He is dissatisfied because he suffers physical pain or because he knows that sustained maladjustment automatically results in death. Dissatisfaction with consumption of cultural goods and services are not automatic because such goods and services are not absolutely essential to continued existence. Lack of education, recreation, art, and even friends can be pretty extreme but not noticed by persons who are not accustomed to having them and are not acquainted with others who enjoy them. And yet it is the possession and use of these cultural goods and services which marks the difference between men and beasts.

It is, of course, possible for a person to have false, fictitious, fantastic, or even dissipating, cultural standards of living. In fact, no one knows what an ideal cultural level of living should be. No one knows at what point a cultural standard, projected in advance of cultural practices, creates healthy discontent and beyond what point

it creates unholy and socially unhealthy aspirations. For this reason rural cultural levels are not discussed here in terms of any ideally postulated standard but only compared with Argentine urban levels. It is both fair and objective to measure the cultural level and standard of living of any segment of a given society by the highest levels being currently enjoyed by other segments of that same society.

Three of the basic physical or material elements—food, clothing, and housing—are likely to be partially nonmaterial, i.e., they furnish emotional as well as physical pleasure. To the extent that this is true they follow the law of consumption of nonmaterial elements. The law concerning physical goods is that with the consumption of each succeeding increment the utility, the actual desire for another increment of the same good, decreases. The law controlling the consumption of nonmaterial elements, especially esthetic elements, is exactly the opposite. Tastes and appetites increase with consumption practices. This is illustrated best in the field of education and art, where the more one knows the more he wants to know and the more he hears of good music the more he desires to hear good music. Thus, activity in these fields becomes not only self-perpetuating but creative. Often all that is needed is to induce a few steps in the direction of attainment in these fields and the demand for more becomes self-perpetuating. If a family, a community, or a whole segment of a population is so isolated as to be excluded from participation in these things, however, something approaching cultural stagnation results. Even though most of Argentine farm families suffer from a degree of isolation it is only in the most remote areas or localities into which come a great many transient laborers that anything approaching cultural stagnation results. Most farm families know of and desire both better physical and cultural levels than they now enjoy.

Education. The 1937 Agricultural Census attempted to gather illiteracy rates for farm entrepreneurs and their children. The data are unusable for the children because all persons, even those of preschool age, are counted illiterate if they could neither read nor write. Children of preschool age are, of course, not supposed to be able to read or write and cannot, probably, be classified as illiterate because of incompetence in these fields. When more than 50 per cent of the entrepreneurs are classified as illiterate in some of the better agricultural areas of the nation one cannot help also doubting

the feasibility of trusting the data on adult illiteracy. This is unfortunate because if the data could be trusted it would be possible to analyze illiteracy on a county basis. Since that is not possible it is fortunate that there is another source of data that has become available since the author left Argentina, namely, the school census.

Data from this nation-wide census are for April 1943, and will in due time provide a quite elaborate and complete analysis of the educational status of all the people of the nation. Data per county are not available to the author at this time. Even from data per province and territory a great deal of analysis is possible.

There is naturally a high correlation between the rank of the province in the per cent of illiterates, 14 years of age and over, and the per cent of illiterates of fathers, mothers, and guardians because this latter group makes up a considerable per cent of the population over 14 years of age. There is not a high correlation between the per cent of illiterates over 14 years of age and the per cent of children 6 to 13 years of age who have never attended school. These two age groups are mutually exclusive. This fact does not, however, account for the lack of correlation. The data are challenging to those who are interested in analyzing progress in the obliteration of illiteracy in the total population.

The federal census of 1914 furnishes data on illiteracy for all provinces and territories. The national rate at that time was 35.1 per cent. This was reduced during the next 30 years to 16.6 per cent but the reduction was by no means consistent among the provinces and territories. Some provinces which already had relatively low illiteracy rates in 1914 continued to reduce those rates, sometimes more rapidly than did the nation as a whole. Some other provinces that in 1914 had relatively low rates have made very poor records in the last 30 years and some that had very high rates in 1914 have made enviable records during that period. Los Andes, which had the highest rate for the nation, 72.1 per cent, in 1914 still had a rate of 36.1 per cent in 1943. Neuquén, Santiago del Estero, Jujuy, Corrientes, and Río Negro all had very high rates in 1914, and still continued with high rates in 1943. Catamarca, La Rioja, and Misiones, all of which had high rates in 1914, had reduced their rates more rapidly in the 30-year period than had the nation as a whole. Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Santa Fe, La Pampa, Santa Cruz, and Tierra del Fuego, all of which had relatively low rates in 1914, had reduced their rates quite rapidly

TABLE XL

Illiteracy, per Province and Territory, 1943

Location	Per cent	Children ages		Fathers, mothers,	
	over 14 yrs. of age—illit- erate *	6-13 never at- tended school †	Rank	and guardians —illiterate ‡	Rank
Federal Capital	7.7	1.4		6.4	
Provinces and terri- tories					
Tierra del Fuego	8.0	7.3	1	6.4	1
Santa Cruz	8.6	17.5	16	7.4	2
Buenos Aires	11.8	15.9	14	9.7	3
Santa Fe	14.9	11.8	8	13.7	4
La Pampa	16.5	12.7	9	15.9	6
Córdoba	16.7	14.4	12	14.9	5
San Luis	18.9	11.1	7	17.3	7
Mendoza	20.9	13.3	10	20.0	8
Entre Ríos	21.5	20.7	19	20.7	9
Chubut	22.0	23.8	21	21.3	10
San Juan	22.9	7.9	3	23.3	12
La Rioja	23.2	9.7	4	22.5	11
Catamarca	24.2	7.8	2	23.7	13
Tucumán	24.9	9.8	5	24.0	14
Formosa	25.5	19.1	18	30.7	19
Misiones	27.2	10.4	6	27.9	16
Río Negro	28.3	25.1	22	26.2	15
Chaco	29.2	29.6	23	29.3	17
Salta	30.0	16.6	15	29.6	18
Corrientes	32.6	20.8	20	31.4	20
Neuquén	35.5	29.9	24	33.6	21
Santiago del Estero	35.8	14.1	11	35.6	23
Los Andes	36.1	14.8	13	33.9	22
Jujuy	36.3	18.3	17	37.0	24
Total	16.6	13.6		15.4	

* "El Analfabetismo en la Argentina," *Revista de Economía Argentina*, Tomo XLIII, No. 316 (October 1944), p. 340.

† *Ibid.*

‡ "Resultados Provisorios Generales del Censo Escolar de la Nación," *Revista de Economía Argentina*, Tomo XLIII, No. 307 (January 1944), p. 23.

by 1943. San Luis and Chubut, both of which had relatively low rates in 1914, for some reason failed to reduce their rates as rapidly during the 30-year period as did many other areas. It takes only a slight study of Table XL to reveal some of the causes for these various levels of attainment.

By and large, those provinces and territories which had failed to reduce their individual rates of illiteracy, no matter whether those rates were relatively high or relatively low in 1914, were the provinces which had a high percentage of children who had never attended school and also had a high percentage of fathers, mothers, and guardians who were illiterate in 1943.¹² Conversely, some of those provinces which had high rates in 1914 but had reduced their rates sharply by 1943 ranked very low in percentage of children aged 6 to 13 who had never attended school. La Rioja and Catamarca are outstanding examples of this fact. If these tendencies and their apparent causes continue to operate in the future the results will be inevitable; those provinces which are keeping their children from 6 to 13 years of age in school now will have far better records a decade hence than will those who now have high percentages of this age group who have never attended school.

The causes for the high percentage of children who have never attended school in some areas are fairly apparent to one who has visited these areas. In the Patagonian territories of Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut, and Santa Cruz the percentage of children who have never gone to school is high. In some of these territories the general rate of illiteracy is high and in some low, but in all of them there are certain classes of families who quite regularly and systematically send their children to school out of the areas and certain other families whose children seldom go to school. In Chaco and Formosa most of the new migrant settlers fill the schools with their children but there are other classes of people, transient and seasonal laborers in both the cotton and quebracho areas, many of whose children never go to school. Why the Provinces of Catamarca, La Rioja, and San Juan have such enviably low records in the percentages of children who have never gone to school in spite of the fact that they have high rates of adult illiteracy is not easy to explain. Similarly, it is difficult to explain why such progressive provinces as Buenos

¹² "El Analfabetismo," *Revista de Economía Argentina*, Tomo XLIII, No. 316 (October 1944), p. 340.

Aires, Córdoba, and Entre Ríos, none of which have relatively high rates of adult illiteracy, should have so high a per cent of their children who have never attended school.¹³ It should be kept in mind that education is compulsory for all children over six years of age. Apparently those provinces which are comparatively progressive and wealthy are permitting many children, or the parents of these children, to violate the law. In the Provinces of Santa Fe, Mendoza, and Tucumán the relative nearness of family residences to schools probably accounts for the low percentage of children not in school, notwithstanding the fact that Santa Fe has a relatively low general rate of illiteracy, Mendoza an intermediate rate, and Tucumán a high rate.

Public education is free and compulsory for all children between the ages of 6 and 14, whether they live in country or city, but, as in most other countries, educational practices do not meet the specifications of the law. Delinquencies and deficiencies are greater in rural areas than in urban ones.¹⁴ Schoolhouses are farther from where the children live, the school year is shorter, and the number of grades taught is fewer. The results are poorer attendance, lower grade attainment, and higher rates of illiteracy. Undoubtedly, a higher per cent of the children of transient agricultural laborers than those of any other group of families in the nation fail even to attend school. In addition to all these facts farm people have at their command fewer and less ample other educational agencies and instruments such as libraries, books, periodicals, and newspapers than do city people.

The distance from farm homes to schoolhouses undoubtedly constitutes considerable handicaps to school attendance in the most remote rural areas but seems not to be the dominant cause of rural illiteracy. More than 31 per cent of all farm homes in the nation are located 3 or more miles distant from the nearest school, 3.55 per cent 15 or more miles distant. In nine provinces and territories combined, approximately 18 per cent of all farm homes are 15 or more miles and over 82 per cent are 6 or more miles from the nearest schoolhouses. In some of the most extreme examples the per cent

¹³ Ramon J. Carcano, *800,000 Analfabetos. Aldeas Escolares*, Buenos Aires: Roldan, Editor, 1933.

¹⁴ Andres Ringuélet, "El trabajo rural," *Cursos y Conferencias*, Revista del Colegio Libre de Estudios Superiores, Buenos Aires: Comité Editorial, October-December 1941, Vol. XX, Nos. 7-9, p. 750.

of all farm homes more than 15 miles from schools are as follows: Santa Cruz, 78.2 per cent; Tierra del Fuego, 58.2 per cent; Chubut, 32.5 per cent; and Río Negro, 24.3 per cent. Even in the Province of Buenos Aires there were in 1937 approximately 43,000 farm homes 6 or more miles from the nearest schools. There can be little doubt that the necessities of traveling long distances to schools is a deterrent to regular school attendance, unless there is a real enthusiasm for school attendance on the part of both children and parents. There is, however, no measurable correlation between distances from homes to schools and high rates of illiteracy. Some of the lowest rates of illiteracy in the nation are in the Patagonian territories where distances to schools are greatest and some of the highest rates in the nation are in the northern and northwestern provinces and territories where distances to schools are not great.

Additional personal observations and conversations in the various areas of the nation make the author pretty sure that the educational status of farmers' children depends largely upon a combination of the educational ideals and economic status of their parents. Within a quarter of a mile of a rural school filled—three children per double seat—with Czechoslovakian colonists' children, he saw children of school and preschool age, sons and daughters of transient workers, picking cotton. He also visited a school for cotton sharecroppers' children with a daily attendance of 35, although the school registration for the district was 90. Testimony of substantial persons in this area was that they knew of only two parents in the district who were married. One of these is an example of the ideal of parents, the other an example of family economic status. More typical examples of cultural factors are that parents in the southern Territories of Tierra del Fuego and Santa Cruz see to it that great distances between homes and schools do not keep their children from securing an education. In these same areas thousands of immigrant parents, especially seasonal laborers, are themselves both poor and illiterate and seem to have little concern about the education of their children. In other areas where particular nationality groups are most numerous illiteracy is high; where other nationality groups predominate illiteracy is low. It would appear that the chief causes of rural illiteracy are poverty and lack of educational ideals. The remedy would, of course, be better schools and better enforcement of school-attendance laws.

Statistics published by the National Educational Council show considerable progress in the last two decades. There was an increase of about 50 per cent in school registration of children of school age and an increase from 78 per cent to 83 per cent in average daily attendance of registrants between 1921 and 1940. Black spots still in the records were 41 per cent of school-age children in Chaco, 40 per cent in Neuquén, 36 per cent in Río Negro, 32 per cent in Chubut, 29 per cent in Formosa, and 18 per cent in Misiones not in school in 1940.¹⁵

Religious Institutions and Practices. Little can be said with surety about religious practices, or even religious institutions of farm people in Argentina. Qualitative statements about so subtle and controversial a topic as religion are precarious and few quantitative data are available. Church buildings, if present, are easily observed as one drives through rural areas. Few are observable; they are in fact noticeably few. Exactly the opposite is true in most towns and all cities. There is a sharp contrast between the splendid church structures to be found in all large cities and in even relatively small cities and the almost complete absence of churches in the open country. This may partially be due to the unique town structure of Argentina and may be due partly to the fact that practically all rural people in Argentina are Catholics. They do not, therefore, build duplicate small, denominational, community churches such as sprang up in the early pioneer areas of the United States. An additional factor may be the general absence of local neighborhood and community group organization. In pioneer United States the early settlers first provided themselves with local schools and then with local churches. The local schools were organized, financially supported, and operated by a group of neighbors who constructed the school building, subscribed funds or formed a local tax district, and elected a board of supervisors from among themselves to employ a teacher. In Argentina all these, except sometimes the construction of the building, are done by the provincial or national government. It is possible that the habit of dependence on higher authorities for such things is one reason why farm families who desire church facilities fail to initiate projects to obtain them. Strength is lent to this assump-

¹⁵ *Educacion Comun en la Capital, Provincias y Territorios Nacionales, Año 1940*, Buenos Aires: Talleres Graficos del Consejo N. de Educacion, 1941. (See especially Chap. XI.)

tion by the fairly great prevalence of local churches, a number of them located in the open country, in areas where other types of community activity prevail. Examples are in the old settled area in the Province of Santa Fe and the recently settled areas of Misiones.

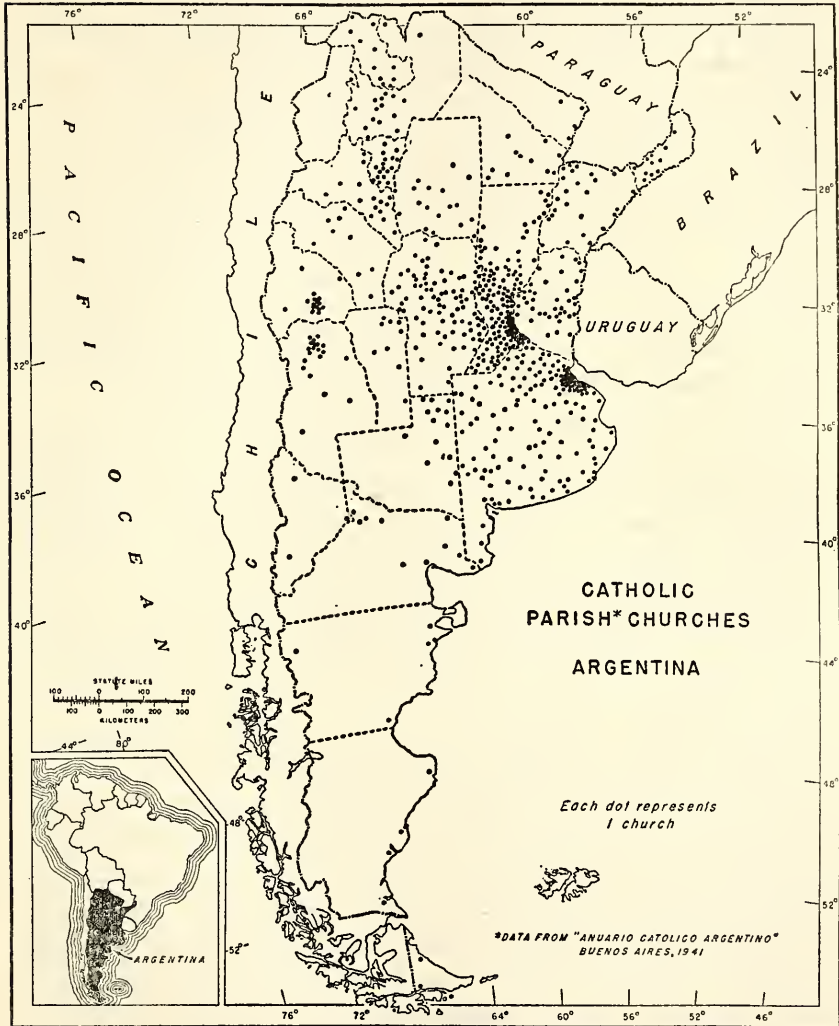


FIGURE 35

Religious pictures and mottoes are so prevalent in rural homes as to be almost universal and there are no reasons to believe that rural persons and families are irreligious but that distance to churches and

lack of rapid and easy means of transportation keep most of them from very frequent participation in church services. The ample and beautiful church structure which fronts on the plaza of practically every fair-sized town is at too great distance from the average farm home to be a farmers' church.

A study of Figure 35 reveals that broad expanses of rural Argentina are not served by Catholic parish churches. These are not all the Catholic churches in the nation, but they are all of those which in 1941 were occupied by a parish priest. There were only 11 in all of the three Patagonian provinces, 10 of them along the coast, 1 in the edge of the mountains, and none in the interior. There are a number of isolated areas where one can drive along main highways for 100 miles without seeing a church. Rural families living in these areas are practically churchless. They are not irreligious and are not pagan, except in the most isolated Indian-populated areas, but they are devoid of institutional religious services.

Recreation and Art. Many rural persons, when asked what recreation they and their children have available, replied, "None." This is seldom entirely true, although, as in the case of religion, recreational institutions, agencies, and organizations are not readily available to them. The lack of churches and large school buildings which can be used as social and recreational centers contributes to their poverty in this field. Trade centers large enough to have plazas, moving-picture houses, and other recreational facilities are at considerable distances from farm homes.

Only 84 of the 1,395 towns of 1,000 or less population and only 333 of the 556 towns with 2,500 population or less had moving-picture houses in 1941-42. There are probably more than 1,500,000 persons in towns having between 1,000 and 2,000 population and, as has just been said, only 417 of 1,951 of them had picture-show houses. In the small towns, in some cases in towns of more than 5,000 population, pictures are shown not more than twice per week, usually Saturdays and Sundays. In towns and cities too small to support more than three moving-picture houses there were 845 houses in 1941-42, 616 of them in the three Provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, and Córdoba and an additional 103 in the three Provinces of Entre Ríos, Mendoza, and La Pampa. These 6 provinces thus had approximately 85 per cent of all towns with 3 or less moving-picture shows within reach of rural people. Only one town of less than

10,000 had more than 3 and only 10 had as many as 3 houses. There was no moving-picture house in the whole Territory of Los Andes, only one town had movies in the Territory of Formosa, and only two in each of the Provinces of Catamarca, La Rioja, and the Territory of Tierra del Fuego.

TABLE XLI

Population per Moving-Picture House, 1941-42

Provinces and territories	Number of towns with movie houses	Population per movie house
Tierra del Fuego	2	1,150
Santa Cruz	6	3,117
La Pampa	31	4,797
Río Negro	16	8,450
Santa Fe	179	8,823
Córdoba	144	9,130
Chubut	9	9,567
Buenos Aires	307	11,602
Neuquén	6	12,533
Mendoza	38	14,017
Chaco	21	15,686
Jujuy	7	16,931
Entre Ríos	39	19,657
Salta	9	24,746
Misiones	7	26,600
San Luis	7	29,107
Corrientes	16	33,497
Tucumán	14	40,288
San Juan	5	45,361
La Rioja	2	56,770
Formosa	1	56,900
Catamarca	2	77,647
Santiago del Estero	6	85,231
Los Andes	0	—

Sources: Population of provinces: *La Población y el movimiento demografía de la Republica Argentina en los años 1941 y 1940*, Buenos Aires: Dirección General de Estadística, 1942, Informe No. 89, Series D, No. 8, p. 6. Population of territories: *Anuario Geografico Argentino*, 1941, p. 158. Number of towns with movie houses: Carlos A. Maciotta, *El Indicador. Guía manual de Cine y Teatro*, Buenos Aires, 1942.

Moving-picture houses are the only recreational facilities for which there are any statistical data but there is common knowledge of differences between city and country life in other recreational opportunities. This knowledge needs to be interpreted in light of the general differences between rural and urban life. In the City of Buenos Aires hundreds of thousands of persons flock to athletic fields, watercourses, riding academies, and race tracks, on week ends and holidays. So far as personal participation is concerned some of these things might not appeal to rural people. They would not get exhilaration out of adding a week end of physical exercise to their routine physical work, whereas physical exercise is a much-sought type of recreation in city life. But recreation is more than physical exercise; it consists in diversion from routine and the joy of participation in new and different scenes. Farm people have little opportunity for this type of participation. They are seldom even spectators at great sport events or pageants; they seldom participate in sports requiring team play; and they seldom experience the peculiar exhilaration that many people get from being members of crowds which are relatively aimless or so diverse in aims that they furnish multiple stimulation to those who are a part of them. It is not possible to pass judgment on what farm people lose and what they gain by not being a part of these types of events. It is possible to know that many farm people know about such events and both witness and participate in them when possible, and that others do not even know of their existence.

There are certain types of recreation which are almost confined to rural areas and others which farm people as well as city people enjoy. Riding and roping are a part of the everyday work life of some farmers; these together with horse racing are very common as country sports. Then there are two games which may be found almost everywhere in rural Argentina, "*bochas*," a game similar to bowling, and "*taba*" or knuckle bones. The first is played in a court about 4 feet wide and 40 feet long. Wooden balls are thrown or rolled in an attempt to stop them near a pilot ball, just as in "bowling on the green." Knuckle bones are the skeleton hock or knee joints of cattle which are pitched like horse shoes, the purpose being to make them stand upright. Pelota—a Basque game—is played wherever anything approaching a social center exists. It is like handball but is played with paddles. There are a few other games which have

come down from the past the mention of which would make them appear more prevalent than they are. By and large Argentine rural people participate very little in sports. Their chief recreation is visiting in homes, along the road, or at the smaller trade centers.

The radio is now prevalent in rural areas and is kept going constantly. Younger members of farm families and farm women assert that they listen most to music, stories, and dramas; the men say they listen to whatever is being broadcast. They assert that they pay relatively little attention to farm broadcasts but do like to hear the news. Conversation in the family circle, with the universal mate cup and the radio, constitutes without question the chief leisure-time activity of farm people.

The absence of attempts at art is striking, with exceptions of course. Most farmhouses are drab in the extreme although they are often surrounded by flowers. The colorful dress generally thought of as typical of south-European and South American countries is little in evidence in the daily life of Argentine farm people. Most of the pictures on the walls of farm homes are photographs of ancestors. Such folk art—pictures, dress, songs, dances, and games—as immigrants were used to in their native lands, has been lost or at least is not prevalent in Argentina and very little of indigenous Indian art or city art has taken its place.

Social Contacts. A great deal was said in Chapters X and XI about the relative poverty of formal social associations and organizations and the infrequency of neighborhood visiting. This is another way of saying that association within family circles is predominant in associational life. To the city-dwelling person, used to diverse and multiple types of social contacts, farm people, so thoroughly confined to the family circle of social contacts, seem to have a low level of living in terms of this element. To the farm family, which in work and leisure and by tradition cherishes the family circle above everything else, this is not true. The joy of parents and grandparents in little children; the pride of parents in grown sons and daughters; and the complete participation of each in the total life of all others in the family group constitute associational satisfactions which are deeply cherished. Measured in terms of frequent or diverse kinds of social contacts the rural level of living is low; measured in terms of depth and meaningfulness of abiding contacts no one is wise enough to be sure this is true.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FARM HOME AND FAMILY

THE FAMILY—THE FOCUS AND CENTER OF FARM LIFE

The Dominance of the Family Circle. A discussion of the farm family involves a consideration of those things which come nearer than any other to describing and explaining Argentine farm life. Except in the *estancia* areas the family circle so predominates over all other units of association that its importance is magnified by lack of competition. The relative absence of neighborhood and community life, the scarcity or inadequacy of social institutions, and the various factors contributing to rural isolation, discussed in Chapters X and XI, all thrust the farm family circle into a role of great prominence. The extent to which the family offers satisfactions to its members thus largely dictates the tone and tenor of Argentine farm life. The structure and arrangement of the house, the size of the family, the continuity of the family circle, home practices of religion and recreation, and family ideals and loyalties are all components of the farm home. For a description of some of these components quantitative data are available, for others qualitative observations by the author and testimony of others will by necessity have to suffice.

Of 452,007 farms listed in the 1937 Agricultural Census, 407,650 are classified into types of operation, which makes it possible to visualize the extent to which family types of farms exist.¹ Contrary to general belief, a minimum of 340,000 farms, or approximately 84 per cent, are of the types of operation which lend themselves to individual family operation. They are cereal, fruit, vineyard, sugarcane, cotton, or mixed farms which range in size from 10 to 1,000 acres, depending in general on the type of production. They are most often operated by farm-family labor plus some seasonal hired help. In many instances fathers and adult sons or two or more brothers

¹ The other 44,357 farms were classified in the census as "*no determinado*," that is, incapable of specific classification.

form the entrepreneurial unit. In such cases it is the custom for all to live in the same home. Thus the family unit is the dominant farm-operating unit in Argentina and this operating and work unit definitely contributes to family cohesion.

Some evidences of the "extended family" are prevalent among Spanish and Italian groups and it is not uncommon to find older sons with their wives and children living and working with their parents and grandparents. This practice is more prevalent if parents are owner operators but is not uncommon when they are tenants or even *peones*. Fathers of these families say concerning their sons, "I supported them when they were young; they ought to support me now that I am getting old," and mothers say, "The family ought to stick together, I don't like to have my children leave home." Often the house is enlarged or an additional house is built within a few feet of the old one and the father and a number of sons farm together. Fathers many times say, "My sons are free to leave if they care to, but I am glad to have them stay." The number of children per marriage union is not excessively large but the household groups so often have more persons than members of the family that many an Argentine farm family circle is a sort of kinship neighborhood. Such a group is highly integrated. The father is definitely head of the group and upon his death the oldest son more often than the mother assumes the role and responsibility of head of the household.

Two examples, in widely separated areas, will serve to illustrate types of extended families. One is a Spanish family in western Chaco Territory, the other an Italian family in southern Buenos Aires Province. The Spanish family was composed of three generations living on the same farm, the father and mother, two almost grown sons, one married son and his wife and children. The married son had eight children who, together with their parents, lived in a house within 30 feet of the family homestead. All of them ate together and pretty much lived together. The father and married son each owned 100 hectares of land and another son lived in town, worked for the Cotton Board, and owned 50 hectares. All 250 hectares (625 acres) were farmed as a unit—the father, the married sons, and the two unmarried sons working as a family group.

The Italian family consists of the father and mother with two married sons, each owning a farm adjacent to that of their parents, and all three families living together in one house. The house has

been extended from time to time and now forms an ell shape, two sides of a court, with the last extension starting the third side of the court. The combined farm includes 875 acres; there are 11 rooms in the house and either 14 or 15 persons are living in it.

It should not be assumed, however, that the "extended family" is the rule in the sense that a majority of farms are the homes of such families. Most tenant families, and the majority of ownership families, follow the custom of single-generation family operation of separate and isolated farms. Neither should it be assumed that the only evidences of "extended families" are in household groups. Family or kinship groups of as many as 60 persons exist where all are blood relatives or "in-laws" but each individual family lives separately. An illustration is a group which started with an Italian man and wife, immigrants, sixty years ago. The old couple is now dead but all their sons and daughters, grandsons and granddaughters, with their husbands, wives, and children, still constitute a fairly cohesive group. According to one of the grandsons who still cherishes these relationships, intermarriage with others and the gradual widening of the geographic circle in which the kinsmen live have considerably diluted and loosened kinship-group bonds. He says those bonds are still very real but he believes that one, or at most two, more generations of time will witness their almost complete disappearance.

The Sizes of Farm Families and Households. It can generally be assumed that there is a marked correlation between size of families and family cohesion or integration. The average size of families in Argentina is 6.43 members, the average size of households—fathers, mothers, children, and other permanent members of the group—is 6.95. Both rural families and rural households are larger than urban ones. No detailed data are available for other urban centers than the City of Buenos Aires, but the average size of families in that city was 5.87 members and the size of households, 6.12 in 1936, each below the national average and considerably below the rural average. The farm households of the nation averaged 0.52 nonfamily persons and the City of Buenos Aires households averaged only 0.25.

The converse of the dominance of family type and family size of farm operation is indexed by the need for and presence of nonfamily members per farm-operating unit. The 1937 Agricultural Census reported 1,865,000 persons as the farm-working population of the nation. Of these, 452,000 were entrepreneurs; 606,000 were other

members of producers' families; and 807,000 were hired laborers and their families. It is, however, impossible to use the sum of all of these as the total farm-labor force because many of the same seasonal

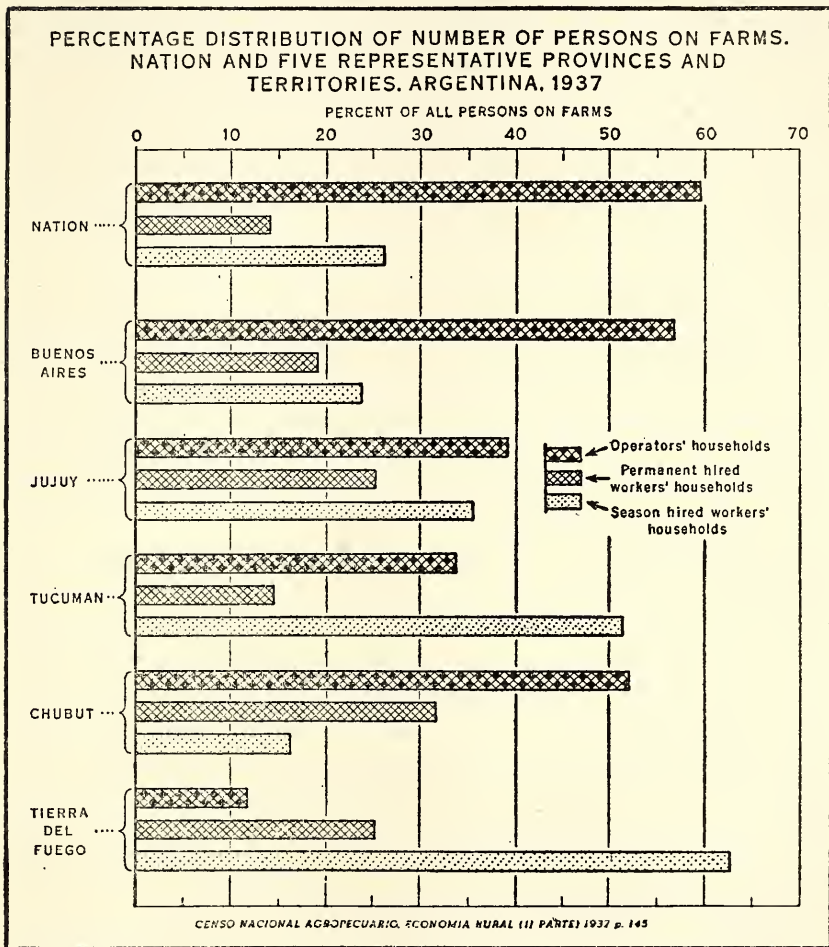


FIGURE 36

laborers worked on two or more farms during the year. Furthermore, seasonal laborers are seldom housed and fed in the employer's home and are, therefore, not a part of the farm household. Many permanent employees do not live with the farm family, but they and members of their families form part of stable groups and group associations on the farm. Figure 36 presents data which, with some interpreta-

tion, will give an understanding of the great differences in social contacts on farms in the different areas of the country.

In the farm population of the nation as a whole 60 per cent are members of operators' households and an additional 14 per cent are permanent hired men, probably one half of whom live in the circles of operators' families or in whole families of their own. Following down from the top of Figure 36, about the same thing seems to be true for Buenos Aires Province, except that there are fewer members of operators' households and more permanent hired men. Because so many of the hired men on cattle and sheep estancias are unmarried and live in barracks the difference is much greater than the graph indicates.

In Jujuy members of operators' households constitute less than 40 per cent and in Tucumán less than 35 per cent of the total farm population. The reciprocal of these is the great number of transient laborers. In both cases, however, many of the transient laborers live in whole families of their own. They live in the temporary shacks of these two areas during harvest season and in their own home communities during the remainder of the year.

In Tierra del Fuego only slightly more than 10 per cent of the people live in the households of farm operators and well over 60 per cent are transient laborers, some of them sheep herders but most of them sheep shearers who are wholly detached from any family circle. Even few of the permanent laborers are family men. Tierra del Fuego is a male, not a family, society. Chubut, also in the sheep area, is quite different from Tierra del Fuego for two reasons: First, there are a few nonsheep areas, like the Welsh settlement near Trelew, in which are small farms operated by family labor, and, second, many large sheep estancias employ a number of superintendents and foremen who are married men.

The Roles of the Different Members of the Farm Family. So large a per cent of heads of farm families are foreign born that family patterns of behavior naturally tend to follow those of the countries from which the people came. Most of them, however, came from southern Europe and differences among them are not great. The father is the unquestioned head of the family and in case of death is succeeded by the oldest son. The mother is, however, greatly revered by the children who are easily and strictly disciplined by either parent. The mother appears to defer to the father in this and all other things. The

author does not remember one instance where the wife was seated during his family interviews, some of which were quite prolonged. She was either busy preparing and serving mate or some other drink or she stood near her husband during the conversation. If Spanish she engaged freely in the conversation, if Italian less freely, and if North European scarcely at all.

Women who are members of farm entrepreneurs' families do a great deal of work, but seldom in the field. They quite commonly cook for large families, do the family sewing and laundry, and care for the garden and poultry. They have practically no labor-saving devices and practically no household conveniences in many sections of the country. Farm operation in most parts of the country is so highly mechanized that female labor is not used in the extensive farm operations, and, except in mixed-farming areas and on home-owned farms, excess females find little to do.

Daughters of entrepreneur farmers have considerable time on their hands and often spend many hours listening to the radio or visiting neighbors. In the vineyard belt they universally join the seasonal labor force during harvest season. In the fruit belt they do the same to a lesser extent. In the cotton and yerba belts many of them are members of transient-labor families and work in the fields and orchards.

The sons begin assisting with farm work when quite young and by the time they are thirteen or fourteen years of age are almost doing a man's work with livestock and in the field. Italian fathers generally to some extent and Spanish fathers to a very considerable extent shift the heavy work of the farm to sons as quickly as possible and themselves assume the role of overseers. They are generally very proud of both themselves and their sons under these circumstances. They become "overseers" and their sons become "responsible farmers."

Neighborhood, community, and institutional organizations in rural life, because of their general absence, do not offer women opportunities for other than home activities and keep them from exercising the social leadership which farm women do in many other countries of the world.² There are no parent-teachers associations,

² See Tomás Amadeo, "La acción de la Mujer en el Mejoramiento Agrario Argentino," in *Servicio Social*, Buenos Aires: Museo Social Argentino, Vol. VI, Nos.

no home-demonstration clubs, sewing or other types of women's clubs, few church auxiliaries, and practically no book clubs.

In some areas where a great deal of seasonal labor is used the lot of transient women laborers is difficult in every way. This is especially true in the cotton and yerba belts where they make up a regular part of the harvest-labor force. It is less true in the sugar-cane belt but there, as in the cotton and yerba belts, they travel with their families, live in poor houses, and suffer all the handicaps which go with the fact that they are members of peones' families.

ELEMENTS OF FARM-FAMILY DISORGANIZATION

Migration of Tenants and Laborers. Geographic instability is automatically a handicap to tranquil family life and hundreds of thousands of farm-family workers and tens of thousands of farm families are without permanently located places of residence. The ownership and improvement of a home are matters of pride and zest in which all members of a family participate. These things, therefore, contribute to family cohesion. Where they are not possible they just as surely contribute to family disorganization. All one needs to do to be convinced of this truth is to visit the so-called homes of transient-labor families in the sugar-cane, cotton, and yerba belts, see the gypsy type of life these people live, observe the lack of the most elemental household furniture, and witness the process of family life. Many families cook over open fires, have no chairs, or even tables. Meals are eaten out of hand rather than about a dining table, which everywhere is an instrument for creating and nurturing family cohesion.

A few extreme examples of the extent to which these disturbing facts play a role in some areas of Argentine rural life will serve as illustrations. The proportions of all employed laborers who were seasonal in 1937 were, for the following areas: *Yerba-Belt Counties* in Misiones: San Javier, 89.5 per cent; Concepción, 89.3 per cent; San Pedro, 88.9 per cent; Apostoles, 87.6 per cent; Iguazú, 85.8 per cent; *Cotton-Belt Counties* in Chaco: Napalpí, 88.4 per cent; Bermejo, 82.0 per cent; in Formosa: Formosa, 75.3 per cent; *Sugar-Cane-Belt Counties* in Tucumán: Cruz Alta, 86.6 per cent; Famaillá, 76.1 per cent. In these and other areas the transient population ex-

ceeds all other during harvest seasons.³ Testimony on the part of farmers, regional agronomists, government officials, teachers, and ministers in all of these areas is to the effect that sex immorality is the rule rather than the exception during the harvest period and that these periods reflect themselves in the family life of the areas.

Low Marriage Rates and Illegitimacy. Measured in terms of marriage and illegitimacy rates, farm family life does not appear to be as cohesive as our short description of familism suggested. An estimate made from data presented in the 1936 Census report of the City of Buenos Aires is that 40.2 per cent of all males 22 years of age and older were unmarried. If it be assumed that all heads of farm families were in the same age group (i.e., were 22 years of age or older) then the 1937 Agricultural Census shows nine provinces and territories with a higher percentage of unmarried males than does the City of Buenos Aires. If others than farm entrepreneurs were included in the calculations, rural percentages would greatly exceed those of the city. Illegitimate children per 1,000 live births in the City of Buenos Aires were 114 in 1936. The rate for every province and territory of the nation exceeded this number and the highest rates were in the most rural areas—661 in Formosa, 525 in Chaco, 508 in Río Negro, and 478 in Neuquén.

The explanations of these facts most frequently given in areas where these high rates prevail are two—poverty and distances to offices of the civil registers. In the cotton, yerba, and sugar-cane belts a third cause, presence of transient seasonal laborers, is added. In these areas it is often asserted that the annual in-migration of transient harvest laborers is followed by a high tide of illegitimate births. Adequate statistics are not available to establish the validity or invalidity of these assertions. It is true that all such areas have higher-than-average rates of illegitimacy, but so do many areas which have no such influx of transients. Nor does distance to civil registers adequately explain the universally high rural rate of illegitimacy, for rates are sometimes relatively low in areas of isolated farm homes and sometimes high in areas of dense population.

According to Bunge's index of economic capacity⁴ every province with less than 200 pesos value of annual production had an il-

³ *Censo Nacional Agropecuario, Economía Rural, Año 1937 (Parte II)*, pp. 145-63.

⁴ Bunge, *Una Nueva Argentina*, Chaps. VIII and X.

legitimacy rate 40 or more per 1,000 above the national average. But the fact that there are seven provinces and territories with higher illegitimacy rates than any of these low-income areas makes it apparent that poverty alone is not an adequate explanation of this phenomenon. Table XLII ranks the 24 provinces in order of high rates of illegitimacy and presents in parallel columns data on density of population per square mile (as an index to distance), and value of production per Bunge's economic-capacity index.

TABLE XLII
Illegitimacy Rates and Some of Their Correlates *

Provinces and territories	Illegitimacy	1940 population per square mile	Value of production per capita (pesos)
Formosa	661	2.00	1,411.0
Chaco	525	8.71	296.8
Río Negro	508	1.76	974.5
Neuquén	478	2.11	475.7
Jujuy	457	6.82	300.6
Chubut	456	1.00	2,122.4
Salta	440	4.32	224.8
Los Andes	439	0.29	179.0
Tucumán	432	63.03	238.0
Misiones	432	16.45	531.0
Corrientes	†	15.24	239.8
Entre Ríos	390	25.44	306.4
Santiago del Estero	385	9.42	82.3
Catamarca	384	5.47	73.5
La Rioja	347	3.16	85.2
San Juan	335	6.63	151.5
San Luis	328	6.73	139.3
Mendoza	289	8.97	254.8
La Pampa	267	2.74	478.6
Santa Cruz	232	0.21	3,175.3
Santa Fe	203	30.47	526.6
Buenos Aires	192	29.84	677.4
Tierra del Fuego	182	0.29	2,688.8
Córdoba	171	19.82	559.5
Federal Capital	114		452.5
The Nation	282	12.42	449.2

* Bunge, *Una Nueva Argentina*, Chaps. VIII and X.

† Data for Corrientes not available.

If adequate data were available it might be possible to show a correlation between an excess of males and high rates of illegitimacy but this is doubtful. The greatest excess of males is in the southern-

most Patagonian territories and two out of three of them have relatively low rates of illegitimacy—Tierra del Fuego, 182, Santa Cruz, 232.

Undoubtedly the one direct cue to the chief cause of illegitimacy in rural areas is found in data on the marriage status of farm entrepreneurs, furnished by the 1937 Agricultural Census. Entrepreneurs are listed as: married (69.6 per cent), widowers and widows (10.8 per cent), bachelors (11.9 per cent), "others" (7.7 per cent). There is only one interpretation to be placed on the meaning of "others," viz.: that they are unmarried men living with women and rearing families. In Formosa, the territory with the highest illegitimacy rate of the nation, these "others" constituted 35.6 per cent of all "farm producers"; in Chaco, with the second highest illegitimacy rate, 19.9 per cent; in Río Negro and Neuquén, third and fourth in high illegitimacy, those listed as "others" were 22.8 per cent and 19.1 per cent, respectively. Of the 11 provinces and territories with 10 or more per cent of all "farm producers" listed as "others" only three have illegitimacy rates of less than 400 and they have rates of 385, 384, and 347.

The late Alejandro Bunge probably described the situation correctly when he said, "The greater part of the children legally illegitimate can be considered naturally legitimate, since they are born in homes well constituted from the point of view of natural law."⁵ As he postulates, poverty and distance to civil register offices are undoubtedly contributing factors. When, however, he asserts that "civil registration and religious sanction of the matrimonial bond are accepted" in the homes of these unmarried parents he raises the question of what is meant by the term "accepted." Testimony of Christian ministers who are struggling to correct these conditions in some areas is that many unmarried couples do not worry about either civil or religious marriages. Rates of illegitimacy have increased in the last 30 years and the question might well be raised whether this increase and the present high rates do not constitute a cultural trend about which both church and government leaders could well be concerned. In a nation with strong ideals of familism and with the strong sanction of family integrity of the Catholic Church, the high rate of illegitimacy in the whole nation is anomalous. It has increased in the nation as a whole, steadily from

⁵ *Ibid.*, Chap. VIII, p. 170.

220 in 1910, to 254 in 1931, to 282 in 1938, but has decreased from 126 to 114 in the national capital during these 28 years.

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the chief cause of illegitimacy in rural areas is the general lack of social organization and the absence of community opinion and community sentiment in these areas. At this particular stage in the nation's cultural evolution, thousands of farm people are living in a cultural no man's land. Legal illegitimacy in many areas is apparently not considered bad so long as family integrity is maintained. What Bunge called "A blot which is easily erased" will not be erased until the sanctions which established institutions promote and maintain are more operative in rural areas. The institutions of governments, schools, and churches should and do buttress the family by promoting public opinion and sentiment concerning families as a part of society and culture. Social isolation induces familism by making the family relatively dominant over all other institutions and associations in rural areas, but families do not maintain their integrity without the buttressing support of other social institutions.

CHAPTER XIV

PROGRAMS OF COLONIZATION AND RESETTLEMENT

THE NEW ERA OF COLONIZATION

*I*deas Carried Over from Early Colonization. Colonization ideas and ideals did not disappear in Argentina when the era of early colonization (roughly 1856-1905) came to an end. Many national intellectual leaders continued to promote Alberdi's doctrine that "to govern is to populate." Immigrants continued to enter the country in great numbers. Those aware of the great advance made after 1860 because of the more intensive developments in agriculture wanted to see this trend continued. The "law of lands" passed in 1903 was intended to stimulate such continuances. Since 1903 there have been numerous amendments to all decrees concerning this basic law and a number of aborted or semiaborted attempts to establish other colonization or even homesteading programs. The Socialist Party and others have consistently advocated programs to assist tenants to become landowners.¹ It was this new idea that finally led to the establishment of the Instituto de Colonizacion in Buenos Aires Province, to the regularization of land settlement in the northern territories, and finally to the establishment of the National Agrarian Council. The idea was not so much to stimulate immigration as to assist Argentine citizens, most of them sons of immigrants, to become farm owners. In the meantime private colonization agencies had acted as a bridge between the two eras of public colonization.

TWO EXAMPLES OF OUTSTANDING PRIVATE COLONIZATION

Jewish Colonies. Jewish colonization projects were established in Argentina well before the end of the nineteenth century, but be-

¹ Probably the three best sources for a summary of the numerous laws and decrees dealing with the disposal and colonization of public lands are: Carcano, *Evolucion historica de la tierra*, especially Chaps. XXIV-XXVI; Emilio Frers, *Cuestiones Agrarias*, Buenos Aires, 1918, Vols. I and II; and Gomez Langenheim, *Colonizacion en la Republica Argentina*, Chap. XI and Appendix.

cause their chief development has been since 1900 discussion of them has been reserved for this chapter. The Jewish Colonization Association was founded in England in 1891 on funds provided by a French-Jewish philanthropist, Baron Hirsh, whose impulses were aroused by expressions of his people in various European countries and by the rather sad trials of some Jewish immigrants who had earlier attempted to establish a colony in Argentina. This early colony was formed by Jewish people who came to Argentina in the great stream of immigration which was pouring into the country in the 1880's. They were stimulated to emigrate by persons who painted rosy pictures of farming prospects in Argentina, told of successes of earlier colonists, and collected a sum of money from each immigrant who accepted their proffered assistance. When the immigrants landed in Buenos Aires they found no preparations made for their settlement and after spending some time at the immigrant hotel decided to go to the area best known and most highly recommended by friends. They went to Santa Fe Province but found the best lands already occupied and so moved just over the boundary into the Province of Santiago del Estero. The land on which they settled was not good, the locust pests were bad, and they had neither sufficient capital nor farming experience to succeed easily. Stories of their difficulties written in letters to their friends and relatives in Europe constituted an added stimulus to Baron Hirsh to grant financial and organizational assistance to Jewish colonization in Argentina. This early Jewish colony was taken over by the Association when it was founded and began operation.²

The first two Jewish colonies—Mauricio at Carlos Casares in Buenos Aires Province, and Moiseville in Santa Fe Province—were founded by the Association in 1891. San Antonio, in Entre Ríos, was founded in 1892 and these were followed by 14 others. The report of the Association for 1941 recorded the following facts: Total number of colonies, 17—10 in Entre Ríos, 4 in western Buenos Aires and eastern La Pampa, 2 in Santa Fe, 1 in Santiago del Estero; total number of colonists, 3,454, including members of their families, 27,448; total number of acres, 1,525,166.³

² Information furnished by the son of one of the original colonists who was born and reared and whose father still lives in one of the Jewish colonies.

³ *Su Obra en la Republica Argentina, 1891-1941*, Buenos Aires: The Jewish Colonization Association, 1942, pp. 14-17.

Before World War I the majority of colonists came from Russia, later from east and southeast Poland, Bessarabia and Transylvania in Rumania, and the old Russian portion of Czechoslovakia. After the Nazi regime was established the majority of new settlers, 309 of 398, came from Germany, the other 89 came from Poland and Rumania. The colonies were all established before 1922 and only 829 families have arrived from Europe and settled in the colonies since that year. Unattached individuals still arrive from time to time and are absorbed into the communities, first as laborers, often later being allotted farms. The combined colonies still had 477,641 acres in 1941 for future colonization expansion, and it is the intention of those in charge to reserve these lands, for the most part, for married sons of present colonists, 841 allotments having been made to such families between 1922 and 1941.⁴

The plan of settlement, evolved out of more than 50 years of experience, some of it pretty severe, is: (a) the allotment of farms, averaging about 185 acres in size, buildings, animals, implements, etc., worth not more than 15,000 pesos (about \$3,750); (b) on a rental basis, and a purchase contract which provides that 50 per cent of the original debt shall be paid in 8 years and title transferred at that time, the remaining 50 per cent to be paid in 9 additional years.⁵ Thus it is assumed that the settlers will pay an average of about \$220 per year, more in the later than earlier years. Leniency is practiced when these conditions cannot be met.

None of the early colonists were farmers and this, plus the fact that they had definitely to lower their levels of living when they entered a pioneer country and moved into the isolation of rural life, caused many of them to fail. Now that most of them are in their second and some of them passing into their third generation of farmers, they believe they are superior to the average Argentine farmer whose father and grandfather were definitely superior to the Jewish farmers 40 and 50 years ago. They claim that they read more, use more farm machinery and science in farming, have developed more successful co-operatives, and contribute a larger quota of young people to the professions than do other farmers. At the same time they say that about 70 per cent of their young people enter farming and because of the assistance of the Association few of

⁴ Information from the officials of the Jewish Colonization Association.

⁵ *Su Obra en la Republica Argentina, 1891-1941*, pp. 21-24.

them are compelled to remain long in the status of farm tenants.⁶

The farm operations of a more than average-sized farm, though not otherwise atypical, of a second-generation colonist will serve to justify most of the claims of the leaders in Argentine Jewish colonies. The size of his farm is 360 acres, utilized year after year about as follows: Two thirds in flax, wheat, and corn, one third in oats and fodder crops; 200 head of cattle of all ages, all of them dairy types. The owner delivers milk to a co-operative creamery which makes butter and casein and feeds the whey to hogs owned and cared for co-operatively by members of the creamery. He also sells some whole milk.

The schools which serve these colonies are operated by the various provinces and are, therefore, the same as all others; each colony has a synagogue and regular religious services; each has a community hall; and each has a co-operative, which in addition to being an economic enterprise acts as a focus and agency of social life. An overhead co-operative is outstanding in its services to all colonies. Its headquarters is in Buenos Aires but the members of its board of directors live in the colonies. It is without doubt the leading agricultural co-operative in Argentina. Practically all early colonists became naturalized and all second- and third-generation persons are automatically citizens because of Argentine birth. The Association has for years operated an Argentinization program to assist newcomers to become oriented to Argentine culture. In politics the colonists tend to be liberals.⁷

The Jewish Colonization Association has, so to speak, operated a colonization laboratory for many years. It is fortunate that it has attempted to formulate a set of "basic principles" for settling European immigrants in agriculture. They are:

1. Select good land in areas supplied with sufficient channels of communication to make possible the delivery, in good condition, of products to consumer centers.
2. Select candidates in the country of their origin, by use of a qualified official of the colonization organization.
3. Select young families, physically fit, who know how to farm, and who have no children over 18 years of age.

⁶ Information from the officials of the Jewish Colonization Association.

⁷ Information from first-, second-, and third-generation Jewish colonists.

4. Conduct apprentice training of candidates at places of recruitment.
5. Have each candidate, on arrival in Argentina, live for a while in an established colonist family to "avoid the critical period of discouragement and confusion."
6. Prepare farms before immigrants arrive, to a point where they can begin work at once; have roads built, fences and other necessary improvements made, and the land at least partially cleared.
7. Require large down payments in order that colonists may feel that they own their farms. Loan them the capital necessary for such down payments, at low interest rates and on long amortization period.
8. For each group of 100 families provide the following:
 - a) a business manager, engineer, and agronomist
 - b) a school
 - c) a co-operative
 - d) a sanitary-service unit
 - e) a religious and cultural center
 - f) a recreation and play center ⁸

These are the judgments of persons responsible for the conduct of the affairs of the Jewish Colonization Association at the end of 50 years of trial, error, and success in farm colonizations in Argentina. They know that many colonists failed in the early days, that not all sons of successful colonists have followed in the footsteps of their fathers, and frankly say that the present high degree of success is partly due to the sifting process of failure and success. They believe that their list of guiding principles has grown out of these experiences over the last 50 years.⁹

Eldorado Colony in Misiones. The company that developed and manages this colony also operates four other colonies—Victoria, Monte Carlo, Puerto Rico, and San Alberto—all on the Upper Paraná River in Misiones. Eldorado, the largest and most complete, is primarily composed of Germans and German-speaking Poles, with

⁸ *Su Obra en la Republica Argentina, 1891-1941*, pp. 11-12.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 93. For detailed discussion of each colony see *50 Años de Colonización Judía en la Argentina*, Buenos Aires: Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas (D.A.I.A.), 1939.

a few settlers of other nationalities. It was projected about 20 years ago and has developed into a complete and integrated community. Most of the German colonists came to the colony in 1924, most of the Polish during the last 10 years. The company laid out the farms, a road system, and the village. Practically everything else has been developed by the colonists. All farms were located on land that was heavily timbered and well supplied with numerous small streams. The farm layout, as far as is possible, is such as to guarantee a flowing stream through each farm. The colony is located on a plateau above the Upper Paraná River and river transportation is the only means of physical contact with the outside world. The experience of the company and the colonists is an interesting example of pioneer settlement.

The company sells land at \$13 per acre with nothing on it but tangled forests. Colonists are given five years to pay out but no one has ever been evicted if he was delinquent in payment, although deeds are not delivered until final payments are made. There have been some failures and many successes in colonist experiences. Statements of the company manager made to the writer are interesting comments on colonization methods and procedures. They are about as follows: (1) Successful colonists are those who previously have lived on lower levels of living than they experience in their new location, (2) those with financial capacity to make large down payments more often fail than those who can make only small down payments, (3) wanting to own a farm and home and helping their children to do the same are more important than previous farming experience.

Many colonists were nonfarmers before coming to Argentina. All had to hew their farms out of the forest. Most of them lived at first in temporary houses, later converted into barns and chicken houses. Most of them now live in fairly good houses. The company prefers Polish settlers and accepts them with as little as 1,000 pesos (approximately \$250) down payment. It requires 5,000 pesos (\$1,250) from English colonists and 2,500 pesos (\$625) from German, Swiss, and Danish colonists. The manager says that willingness to make necessary pioneering sacrifices is in inverse ratio to capacity to make down payments and also in inverse ratio to the colonists' old levels of living.

Eldorado is a complete community, with all the agencies and services necessary for community life—trade center, schools, churches, recreation facilities. It is almost completely isolated from the remainder of Argentine culture because of inadequate transportation and communication. Radios are fairly prevalent but newspapers are from two to four days old when they reach the settlement by river boat. Its settlers range from Ph.D.'s to illiterates and its social life from family and neighborhood visiting to contract bridge and highly intellectual discussion. In addition to elementary schools maintained by the federal government it has a large German elementary and secondary school supported by the Germans of Argentina and another well-operated school maintained by the American Lutheran Missionary Society. This latter the Lutheran pastor hopes to convert into a community hospital. The community has an outstanding agricultural co-operative, a full gamut of retail stores, a Catholic church and a Protestant church. Recently the National Bank has completed a large and beautiful bank building in the village which will serve not only Eldorado but all other colonies located up the river above Posadas.

Elements in the success of this colony are: its isolation, the ethnic homogeneity of its citizens, the wisdom of the colonizing company, and the presence of a number of outstanding citizens, educated and wealthy refugees, and missionaries. The facts that additional European colonists are not now available, that early colonists are buying additional land, that the company is selling land rather than colonizing, and that there is some prospect of a substantial development of tung may in due time convert the colony into something other than a community of peasant farmers with relatively modern available economic and social services. If the colonization company returns to its original program and secures additional European settlers after the war it may continue to expand according to its old patterns. Otherwise, it may expand acres cultivated without increasing the number of settler families.

The five colonies developed and managed by this one company now probably have a combined population of 20,000. In their combined areas there are 400 miles of roads, 22 schools, 4 churches, 3 newspapers, 4 libraries, and 5 moving-picture houses. They are agricultural colonies but have sufficient professional persons, artisans,

and businessmen to provide other services.¹⁰ All the farmers are owner operators and although the colonies are quite isolated from other populated centers, Eldorado, which is by far the largest and most advanced, is a complete community and quite modern in most ways. It constitutes an outstanding example of successful colonization of a large group of families most of whom have distinctly greater opportunities and advantages than they ever would have had in their native countries.

COLONIZATION UNDER THE NATIONAL LAND OFFICE

In the Chaco. Prior to 1903 there were no restrictions upon the amount of land which an individual could purchase from the government in the national territories. The result was that some private holdings in the southern part of Chaco Territory are almost 100,000 acres in extent, purchased for as little as 87 cents per acre. As early as 1874 settlers from Salta had already moved eastward into the area and established large livestock farms. In 1878 the first attempt at colonization was made in the Resistencia area, the eastern end of the territory; 100 families, 93 of them Italian, were settled. In 1884 a military expedition sent into the territory "to keep the Indians quiet" reported a number of woodcutters' camps operated by persons who had come in from Corrientes.¹¹ The National Census of 1895 reported 21,242 acres under cultivation—mostly sugar cane—and 83,952 head of cattle. The census of 1914 reported 645 livestock *estancias* and 619 small livestock farms, 290 cotton, 147 cereal and flax, 58 sugar-cane, and 38 other types of farms. Cotton, upon which has been developed the later colonization of the territory, made considerable headway before World War I, slowed down until that conflict and its aftermath had passed, and then boomed for a number of years.¹² Its development and the development of colonization were reciprocal.

When vigorous promotion of cotton production by the Ministry of Agriculture took place in 1923-24 it was accompanied by an attempt to regularize land settlement. Lands still owned by the na-

¹⁰ *Eldorado-Victoria, Monte Carlo, Puerto-Rico-San Alberto, 1919-1939*, a bulletin of the Eldorado-Victoria Colonization Company, offices at Eldorado, Misiones.

¹¹ *El Chaco de 1940*, p. 22.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 87 and *Anuario Geografico Argentino*, 1941, pp. 234-35.

tional government were to be laid out in 100-hectare (247-acre) square tracts and sold to squatters or new settlers. The price was to be from 63 pesos per hectare within 1 kilometer of the railroad and graduated downward one peso per hectare for each additional kilometer of distance. Payments were to be 5 pesos for the first two years, 7.50 pesos for the next two years, and 12.50 pesos each succeeding year until the debt was paid. It was permitted, however, that the 5 and 7.50 peso payments might each be for three instead of two years and final payment was not absolutely required until the end of the tenth year. Experience under the administration has been varied and interesting. Two facts have made operation difficult. In the first place, hundreds of farmers had already settled in the area, always seeking out the higher lands and the relatively open spots in the fairly heavily timbered area. Squatter farms, upon which some of them had built fairly substantial houses and which all of them had reduced to tillage, did not conform to the 100-hectare, square tracts prescribed by law. In the second place, funds appropriated to the General Land Office and its regional office at Sáenz Peña were not sufficient to make it possible to keep land-surveying, land-classification, and land-title work ahead of new settlement, much less possible to catch up from behind. According to the annual report of the Land Office, at the end of 1934 the total land area of agricultural colonies in the Chaco was 1,719,205 acres, the amount available for sale 1,076,172 acres, and the amount for which either titles or provisional titles were issued 643,033 acres. Thus 12 years after so-called intensive work was started titles had been prepared and issued for less than 60 per cent of land for sale and final titles issued for less than 17 per cent (180,294 acres).¹³ When the writer visited the area in 1942 he ascertained that funds for the regional land office were sufficient to make it possible to survey and plat about 75 farms per year. Under this scale of support it will be many years before squatter settlement can be converted completely into ownership settlement.

Even more interesting than the difficulties in catching up with survey and title work is the fact that many squatter settlers evince very little interest in titles to the lands they are farming. They have lived and farmed for years in squatter status and done well; they do

¹³ See Nyhus, "Colonization in the Argentine Chaco," *Foreign Crops and Markets*, pp. 793-800.

not want to adjust their farms to the square pattern, and some of them are farming larger acreages than they will be permitted to own. Some of them do not, therefore, report to the regional office to receive their land titles even when notified that their payments have been sufficient to justify title transfer and that their titles are ready for delivery. Some of these problems will not be easy to solve. The government will probably need to go farther than it has in adjusting shapes and sizes of farms, be more insistent about annual payments, and even insist that settlers either accept and record titles to the land they farm or abandon farms for other occupants. That such procedures would be justified is evidenced by farm and home improvement in areas where settlement has been regularized both physically and financially. There are squatters in the area who have built substantial homes and there are owners who are yet living in their original ranchos (mud and thatch houses) but any observer driving through the area can readily identify the differences between farm and home improvements of the squatter and regularized settlement sections.¹⁴

In Misiones. Approximately one half of all lands of Misiones were sold in large tracts by the Province of Corrientes before the area was set aside as a national territory. The lands not yet sold at that time were practically all in the interior of the territory, away from river transportation which furnishes outlet for a number of private colonies. The situation inherited by the federal government was, therefore, one in which practically all the lands within reach of means of transportation had been sold and the remainder were either densely timbered or inhabited by squatters. The first problem was to locate the boundaries of the government lands, the next to deal with the squatters, many of whom had located solely for the purpose of exploiting timber resources but the vast majority of whom were carrying on subsistence farming. Early experience was of a slower development than in the Chaco but in recent years the program has been the same, that of "regularizing" settlement. The government decided not to take occupied land away from squatters but to compel them to comply with the provisions of the national colonization law. These provisions are: (a) That formal applica-

¹⁴ Information from the General Land Office at Buenos Aires, the Regional Land Office at Sáenz Peña, and from a ten days' visit to the Chaco during which many settlers—both squatters and owners—were interviewed.

tion for a farm must be made, (b) that a habitable house must be constructed on the property, and (c) that the government's appraised price for the land must be paid.

At the time of the writer's visit at the regional land office at Posadas in September 1942 the office had two outstanding projects, one to regularize squatter settlements, the other to develop a planned colonization project for Argentine-born farmers. Inspectors were busy visiting squatter families, gathering information on improvements, straightening out farm boundaries, and securing formal applications for farms. Each squatter was being allotted all the land which he was cultivating and such additional land as the office believed was necessary to constitute an economic-sized and physically well-shaped farm. The quadrangle pattern was not being enforced. Settlers were classified in three groups: (a) Those who had met all requirements and were being given complete titles, (b) those who must yet make either some specified improvements or additional payments, and were being given provisional titles, and (c) those who were petitioning for occupancy rights and who had thus far not been adequately investigated. Recommendations were being sent daily to the General Land Office at Buenos Aires. The number already transmitted was more than 11,000. One example of the process being carried out will serve to reveal the type of work being done in the so-called "regularizing" project. A squatter who had developed an irregularly shaped farm, built a house, and paid a little but not much on his land was being offered a better-shaped farm which included all the land he had cleared but excluded some from which he had cut timber for sale. He had been notified that he must stop cutting timber for sale, make certain improvements on his house, and bring delinquent payments up to date. He had accepted all these adjustments but asked for a year's time to effect them. A recent visit by the inspector had resulted in a recommendation that the extra year's time be granted. The Regional Director was sure the recommendation would be approved by the General Land Office.

The new colonization project is a thorough-going planned colony being prepared for the Argentine-born sons of old colonists. Their parents may have been of any nationality and may never have become naturalized but their children being born in Argentina are citizens. It is felt that they do not have opportunities to become

landowners equal to those which their fathers enjoyed and this colony, to be followed by others, is for the purpose of offering them such opportunities. A tract of 35,000 hectares (86,450 acres) is being divided into family-sized farms, roads laid out, and a village, trade, and social center planned. Married persons between twenty and thirty years are to be preferred but others will be accepted. A similar project is being planned in Chaco.¹⁵

In Patagonia. In the southern national territories, the handling of public lands is quite different. There the type of agriculture economy, except in a few irrigated areas such as the Río Negro Valley in Río Negro and the Welch colony near the mouth of the Chubut River in eastern Chubut, is extensive sheep culture. Close settlement is not feasible, and, therefore, no colonization projects are being developed. The greater part of the public lands are being rented to individuals or companies. The broad provisions of the contracts are: (a) Ten-year rental contracts, (b) options to purchase one half of the rented land after 5 years of operation, (c) certain limitations, first, that no one person can purchase more than 25,000 hectares (61,750 acres), second, that land with a sheep-carrying capacity of more than 9,000 sheep per 6,672 acres may not be purchased. In Tierra del Fuego where the carrying capacity is as high as 25,000 sheep per square league (6,672 acres per league), there is some agitation for dividing the good lands into farms of 6,672 acres and offering them for sale to owner operators.¹⁶

The National Mortgage Bank (Banco Hipotecario Nacional) Colonization Projects. Under a law passed in 1919 the Bank is authorized to make loans up to 80 per cent of the purchase price of farms which do not exceed 200 hectares (494 acres) in size, "if by the location and quality of the land, and its distance from shipping centers it is qualified for colonization," and if the seller shall have agreed with the Bank on the appraisal value and form of subdivision, and to sale at public auction. Such loans are called "colonization loans" although the Bank itself does not colonize the land. Between

¹⁵ The processes of adjustment described here are also being carried out in the Chaco and a village being planned as a trade and social center in an area already largely settled but in which few land titles have thus far been transferred.

¹⁶ Information from J. C. Urien, Dirección de Tierras Publicas, Buenos Aires, March 1943. For a complete description, and critical analysis, of public lands and their administration in Patagonia, see Coronel José María Sarobe, *La Patagonia y sus problemas*, Buenos Aires: Aniceto Lopez, 1935.

1921 and 1929 more than 100,000,000 pesos were loaned for the purchase of 6,319 farms.

Land for colonization also comes to the Bank through mortgage foreclosure, generally on large holdings, not all of which are suitable for colonization. This the Bank now recognizes because of some 2,500 farms which are financially in distress either because they are located on poor land or are excessively mortgaged. The Bank itself recognizes the failure of its first plan and says the causes of failure were "the intention to profit both the seller and the buyer, and the lack of farming aptitudes on the part of settlers."¹⁷ It, therefore, adopted a new system in 1936 which operates as follows: (1) The Bank appraises the land in terms of its productive value, not in terms of the debt with which it is burdened; (2) sells it at that price, by private sale, to selected farmers, i.e., men with proved farm experience, good character, sufficient working capital, preferring married men with sons of working age; (3) during the first 5 years the purchaser pays 3 per cent interest on the loan and 4 per cent into a "purchase fund," the latter to be returned if the farmer desires not to remain; (4) after 5 years the farmer pays an entry fee of 10 per cent—taken from the "purchase fund" and the remainder in 47 years—3 per cent interest, one per cent amortization. The remainder of the "purchase fund" is held as insurance against bad years or, if not needed for that purpose, to shorten the amortization period; (5) the sizes of farms are determined by condition of land, size of family, and type of farming in the areas.

Five colonies had been established under this new plan and farm sales on 14 other projects had been advertised in 1942. Five others were to be offered for sale and 16 additional were being studied. Thus the Bank had in one or another stage of development 40 colonization projects.¹⁸

The National Bank (Banco de la Nacion Argentina) also owns some farm property but does not have a program of colonization. The writer visited one of its properties—a large sugar plantation—and ascertained the interesting facts about its plan of colonization: (1) This plantation of 10,000 hectares (24,700 acres) will be divided into 50-hectare (123.5-acre) farms; (2) houses, schools,

¹⁷ *Colonizacion*, Report of Board of Directors of Banco Hipotecario Nacional for 1942, Buenos Aires: Guillermo Kraft Ltda., 1942, pp. 11-18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-28.



FIGURE 38
COLONIES OF NATIONAL BANKS

health and social centers will be constructed; (3) social services such as nursing, child care and education will be rendered by professional employees; (4) minimum standards of farming and household management will be prescribed and families asked to leave who do not live up to minimum standards; rewards will be given to those whose attainments exceed the standards; (5) settlers will be selected from among those who have worked for the plantation in the past or sold their cane to the sugar factory which is a part of the plantation. They may have been factory workers, farm foremen, tenants, or even *peones*.

The manager, an ex-minister of agriculture of the nation, says he would not undertake this enterprise, knowing what he does about the whole sugar business and the cultural backwardness of those at the bottom if he "didn't have two basic convictions: First, that it will take infinite patience, and, second, that these people are made of as good stuff as anybody."¹⁹

THE INSTITUTO DE COLONIZACION—BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE²⁰

Organization of the Instituto. The colonization program in Buenos Aires Province seems to have arisen out of something approaching a movement on the part of provinces to establish modern colonization programs in the early and middle 30's. The governor of Córdoba in 1933 recommended a commission to study the problem, and the provincial legislature in 1936 appointed such a commission. Both Santa Fe and Entre Ríos passed colonization laws in 1934. The Buenos Aires Province law was passed in 1936.²¹ The Buenos Aires law was the only one that fruited in a successful colonization organization. This was undoubtedly due in large part to the study and persistent efforts of Jose M. Bustillo who sponsored the law and has more or less acted as a guardian of the Colonization Institute all during its life.

A colonization law provided for the purchase, subdivision, rent-

¹⁹ Interview with Jose Padilla, manager of ingenio, Santa Ana, Tucumán Province, October 26, 1942.

²⁰ The most complete description of the considerations which gave rise to the establishment of the Instituto, the law itself, organization, regulation, etc., is to be found in *Instituto de Colonizacion de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, Antecedentes de su Creacion*, La Plata: Taller de Impresiones Oficiales, 1937.

²¹ Horne, *Nuestro Problema Agrario*.

ing, and sale of lands to those who meet the qualifications prescribed. Because the program of this organization is a sort of capstone to the long colonization experiment in Argentina and because its success is sufficiently outstanding to warrant comment, something approaching a complete analysis of its first five years' work is presented here.

It established its first colony August 22, 1937, by the purchase of an estancia of 14,538 hectares (35,909 acres), divided it into 84 farms and located 580 persons on it. These persons took the place of the 82 who lived on the land when it was operated as an estancia. The second and third colonies were established March 1, 1938, and two more on March 1, 1939. Between that time and June 1, 1943, 3 additional colonies were established and the land purchased for 5 more. The total land in the 8 established colonies is 174,370 acres. Before these lands were purchased by the Instituto they were occupied by 429 persons. On March 26, 1943, they were occupied by 275 families or 2,305 persons. The writer visited four of the colonies in the spring of 1943 and talked with more than 30 of the 190 colonists living and farming in them. It will be noted that these four colonies included 70 per cent of all the families which had thus far been colonized.²² Before presenting the more intimate and qualitative knowledge gained by personal visitation and interview it would be well to present the provisions of the law and the form of administration of the Instituto under which the colonies and colonists operate.

The provisions of the colonization law are quite complete. A president, appointed by the governor, and who cannot be removed without the consent of the senate, and four directors constitute the official Board of the Instituto. The four directors are appointed one by each of the following organizations: The Director of Agriculture, Livestock, and Industry of the Ministry of Agriculture; the Bank of the Province; the Argentine Rural Society; and the producers' organizations (co-operatives). The president's term is 7 years, that of the directors 4 years. The Instituto is an autonomous organization and the Board of Directors make all rules and regulations of operation.

The main provisions of the law have to do with purchase of land, its subdivision into farms, selection of colonists, amortization and

²² Artalejos, Claromeco, San Francisco, and Santa Maria.

interest rates, and contracts with colonists. The law prescribes that technical services shall be secured from universities, technical schools, or officials of the province. The land purchased must meet the following qualifications: (a) Be of superior quality for agriculture (crops), livestock, or mixed farming; (b) be located in areas with 500 millimeters (approximately 20 inches) of annual precipitation; (c) improvements already on the land purchased may not exceed 20 per cent of the value of the land itself; (d) the land must be within easy access to consumer centers.

In order for the Instituto to purchase publicly offered land the president and three directors must vote favorably. In order for it to purchase lands privately offered a unanimous vote of the president and directors is required. Lands owned by the province may be assigned to the Instituto and it may request the governor to expropriate, under Article 27 of the Provincial Constitution, lands which it desires to colonize. Land purchased must be divided into farms of such character as will permit the security of colonists and the investment of the Instituto: (a) "Which will use the capacity of family labor and provide subsistence without the necessity of employing extra labor," and (b) "amortize the debt" to the Instituto. It provides that farms shall be sold under the following specific rules: I—Their value to be set in the following manner: (a) by computing average yields and prices for a period of not less than 5 or more than 10 years immediately before purchase, (b) the cost of necessary improvements, (c) the amount of land set aside for roads, administrative buildings, and public services, (d) the loss of interest between dates of purchasing the land and sale of farms, (e) a 5 per cent reserve fund, (f) an estimate of prevailing values in the area where the land is located; II—In no case may the Instituto invest more than 2,500 pesos (about \$625) per farm before colonists occupy the land; III—The farms must be advertised at least 30 days in advance of sale; IV—Farms can be sold to native or naturalized Argentines or to foreigners who have resided in Argentina for not less than 5 years and who are parents of Argentine-born children.

The method of selecting colonists is specified by the law: (a) They must be farmers by profession; (b) they must be either native or naturalized Argentines or foreigners with 5 years residence in the country and have Argentine-born children; (c) the family's

labor must be sufficient to ensure cultivation of the farm; (d) the client must possess capital sufficient, in the judgment of the Board of Directors, to successfully operate a farm; (e) colonists must be of good conduct and morality; (f) among those qualifying shall be preferred (1) tenants living nearest to the colony, (2) those having the best working capital, (3) those with the greatest number of children, (4) those making the first applications.

An applicant is allotted a farm under the conditions that: (a) He will make stipulated payments, (b) reside on the farm and cultivate it regularly, (c) expend sufficient capital to cultivate it well, (d) respect the "norms of farming established by the Instituto." A title is granted at the end of 3 years if all these conditions are met. Additional time and credit may be granted beyond 3 years if in the judgment of the Board such is justified.

The Instituto is fortunate in the ease with which it can obtain acceptable colonists. Buenos Aires Province has 70,000 farm tenants of various kinds. Many of them have been large farm operators for years, have the best farming experience, and considerable working capital—work stock and farm machinery. Applicants for colony farms are rated on a 50-point scale of which 20 points depend upon an inspector's report on how well the person has been farming elsewhere, 10 points on capital, 10 points for age and family size, and 10 points on stability of past tenure. Points are subtracted for age and added for each son who can assist the father in operation of the farm. The maximum points possible (10) for age and family size can be obtained by a 30-year-old man with no children. A 40-year-old farmer can receive only 8 points for himself, a person 50 years of age can obtain only 6 points and a 60-year-old person 0. Each can, however, add 3 points for each son of working age. It is, therefore, possible for a 40-year-old farmer to exceed the maximum 10 points by having one working son, a 50-year-old man by having two sons and a 60-year-old man by having four sons. A 40- or 50-year-old farmer with adequate capital, who has farmed in one location for as long as 10 years and has two or three boys of working age is accepted as an ideal client if the Inspector's report is favorable on his past operations.

The following table shows the age distribution of heads of families at the dates of their selection (first seven colonies):

Rural Life in Argentina

	30 years or younger	31-40	41-50	51-60	Over 60	Total
Santa Maria	9	17	29	19	5	79
San Francisco	11	15	21	4	2	53
Artalejos	4	9	13	11	0	37
Esperanza	2	8	11	9	2	32
Ancalo	0	2	5	3	0	10
Chicoleo	0	0	4	1	0	5
Colmena	1	10	13	10	0	34
Totals	27	61	96	57	9	250
Per cent	10.8	24.4	38.4	22.8	3.6	100

(Tabulated data from Ibarbia, Executive Secretary, Instituto de Colonizacion.)

The provisions of the law concerning the formal financial contract with the colonists are: (a) a 10 per cent down payment, (b) semiannual payments not to exceed 6 per cent per annum, (c) colonists permitted to make additional payments at any time of not less than 5 per cent of principal. The Board has power to divide the annual 6 per cent payment in various ways between interest and amortization, varying the period of amortization to suit. When title to a farm is transferred to a colonist the Instituto takes a first mortgage which becomes the property of the province. The colonist may not otherwise burden the property and may not transfer it to a third party until it is fully paid for. If provisions of the contract are not met the Board by a vote of four members may seek indemnity; in default of payment it can take possession and resell the property, "with the base of the debt attached." If the resale value, minus the expenses involved, is in excess of the full encumbrance the residue is returned to the ejected colonist.

Other provisions of the law are: (a) All lands under the Instituto's control are exempt from provincial taxes; (b) it must allot lands to colonists within five years after land is purchased; (c) directors can sell lands not suited for colonization to others than colonists; (d) directors can reduce amount of down payments; (e) they can, by a vote of 4 members, suspend semiannual payments; (f) they can assume technical direction of any farm if necessary to direct its operation toward the end of making it succeed; (g) they may give special attention to co-operatives—credit, marketing, etc.; (h) they may

extend up to 4,000 pesos (\$1,000) production and marketing credit—9,000 when the colonist is a dairyman—and take a crop lien as security; (i) the Instituto must make monthly reports and annual general accounts must be published in the official bulletin of the province.²³

The Establishment and Operation of Colonies. The eight colonies established between August 1937 and June 1943 are all located in the southern and western sections of the province, those areas in which cereal culture did not fully penetrate when it was carving its way into the livestock zone. They are located on tracts of land which up to the time titles were transferred to the Instituto were in estancia operation. These tracts range in size from 3,078 acres to 51,670 acres. The total in the 8 colonies is 174,370 acres. Five additional tracts with a total of 78,752 acres had been purchased and were being processed for colonization in June 1943. Thus the Instituto had a total of 253,422 acres of land which were already or were soon to be colonized. In addition to these holdings it has had transferred to its management 247,000 acres located in the Delta of the Paraná River and 1,326,875 acres located in Patagones, the southernmost area of the province.

Farms allotted in the various colonies range in average size from 115 acres to 894 acres. The number of families per colony range from 5 to 84 and the total populations from 39 to 706. Each colony is set up and the size of its farms laid out on the basis of the type of farming which the Instituto believes to be best adapted to the area in which it is located. Four of the first 6 colonies were designated for mixed-crop and livestock production (*agricultura-ganadería*) and 2 for livestock (*ganadería*). The average size of farms in one of the livestock colonies is 894 acres, on the other 309 acres. The farmers in the colony with the smaller acreage on June 22, 1943, had an average of 172 head of cattle and 21 sheep; those on the larger farms 121 cattle and 955 sheep. Those in the colony with smaller farms had an average of 41 acres in crops, chiefly wheat and oats; those on larger farms had 162 acres in crops, also mostly wheat and oats. The average-size farm on the 4 mixed-crop and livestock colonies ranged from 309 acres to 773 acres. The combinations of farm enterprises on these two were as follows:

²³ Law No. 4,418 of the Province of Buenos Aires.

	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Flax</i>	<i>Oats</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>Rye</i>	<i>Corn</i>	<i>Sun-flower</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Sheep</i>	<i>Hogs</i>
309 acres	10.0	8.0	20.0	6.0	.19	11.0	16.0	71.0	50	114	20
773 acres	151.3	22.2	33.0	30.5	0	0	0	237.0	64	403	10

It is thus seen that the Instituto has no patented-sized farm. It attempts to vary the size with the type of farming, the area in which the farms are located, and the adjudged capacities of colonists. Measured by standards in the United States all its farms are large. They are, however, family-sized farms in Argentina where livestock are grazed the year round and flat lands make large-scale farm machinery usable. In the livestock colony which has average-sized farms of 894 acres, the families average almost 4 children each and the farming is predominantly beef cattle. The labor force of the family is sufficient to man the farm operations and the cost of the lands and improvements is less than \$33 per acre.

The sizes of 242 colonist families on the projects, June 1, 1943, were as follows:

<i>Number of children</i>	<i>Number of families</i>	<i>Number of children</i>	<i>Number of families</i>
0	31	7	16
1	22	8	13
2	32	9	9
3	30	10	8
4	27	11	5
5	27	12	3
6	19	13	1

There were 1,028 children in these 242 families, or an average of 4.25 children per family. Thirty-one families had no children and 26 families had more than 8 children. The median-sized family was between 4 and 5. The Instituto in its later selections has gravitated toward median ages of operators and median-sized families. In the first three colonies 14.2 per cent of heads of families were 30 years of age and younger and almost 4.2 per cent were over 60 years of age. In the last four colonies these respective per cents were 3.7 per cent and 2.5 per cent. In the first three colonies more than 17.7 per cent of heads of families were childless, in the last four less than 6.2 per cent.²⁴

²⁴ From tabulated data by Diego Ibarbia.

Appraisal of Projects of the Instituto. In analyzing the over-all experience of the Instituto's work consideration is given solely to those colonies which have been in operation for four or more years. The two most available factors by which to measure success or failure are the turnover in occupancy and the records of financial payments. Five colonies with 225 families had been in operation for four or more years June 1, 1943. The occupancy turnover during that period was 24, i.e., 9.17 per cent or about 1 in 11. Of these 24 most of them, 17, left of their own volition and the other 7 were ejected—3 of them for not residing on their farms, 3 because of poor farming, and 1 for bad conduct.

The record of payments was: (a) Twelve had received titles to their farms; (b) 130 were current in payments and 95 in different degrees of arrears; (c) of those in arrears, 21 were 18 months, 34 were 12 months, and 40 were 6 months delinquent. The sum total of all these delinquencies was only 28.2 per cent of one year's payment due the Instituto, being as high as 54.5 per cent of one year's payment in the most delinquent and only 4.5 per cent in the least delinquent colony. Due to the fact that all colonists had built their houses, increased their livestock, and added to their inventory of working capital, the increased net worth of colonists far exceeded the total delinquencies.

There are a number of facts and practices which have contributed to the rather remarkable success of the Instituto's colonization program. Outstanding should be listed: (1) The rare combination of technical and business guidance on the part of the administration and the individual initiative of the colonists, (2) the caliber of colonists selected, (3) adequate-sized farms. Each of these is worthy of special comment.

It is assumed by the Instituto that colonists desire to improve their financial status and raise their levels of living and that these two objectives can and will be attained only by use of their own maximum initiative and energy and the minimum of interference from overhead administration. This theory is rigidly and consistently followed by officers at the Instituto's provincial headquarters and by colony managers. "The Instituto keeps its supervision to a minimum . . . counsels and demonstrates but does not intervene in the direction which the colonist desires to follow," is a statement made

by the Executive Director of Colonization.²⁵ The Instituto makes periodical inspections, offers guidance in the selection of seeds, purchases purebred sires, helps to organize co-operatives, advises and even assists in selection and construction of house types and designs but prescribes no imperatives. Now and then when a colonist is bungling his enterprise it requires him to submit all purchases and sales to its direction, and in extreme cases requires him to surrender his farm.

The total average annual expenditure of the whole Instituto for the last five years has been 142,560 pesos (about \$35,640), a little less than one half of which was for salaries. The value of the property in colonies was appraised to be 36,055,845.40 pesos as of June 21, 1943. The administrative expenditures of the Instituto equaled 0.31 per cent of this amount. From these facts it is clear that the colonists and not the Instituto are the managers of the farming enterprise on the colonies. Each of the largest colonies is supervised by two salaried persons, a manager and a secretary.

The caliber of colonists selected has been excellent, in the sense that most of them had been successful tenant farmers for a number of years before coming to the colonies, knew how to farm, but had always had to live a semitransient existence and on low levels of living. They, therefore, desired to settle down and have done so. Most of them were mature men with families who one after another now state their greatest ambition to be that their children may be owners, not tenants. They do not insist on, and even sometimes in the beginning of occupancy resisted, large expenditures on houses and other improvements, but in nearly all cases use their first profits above necessary amortization payments to build good residences. They have never known what it is to be an integral part of community life but now quite generally participate eagerly in colony co-operatives and social affairs. Their own zests for and enthusiasms about their new opportunities constitute the greatest element in the success of the colonies.

One is at first inclined to think that farms are too large, but when he discovers that they are almost universally operated by family labor and that to reduce their size would make less than maximum use of available family labor he must admit that few if any of them are too large and some of them may be too small. They are farms

²⁵ Diego Ibarbia.

which when well managed yield sufficient income to support a high level of family living. If they were smaller this might not be the case and certainly the best clients would not be attracted to them.

Examples of Selected Cases of Colonist Families. The diversity in characteristics of colonist families is too great to warrant the claim that the few whose cases are presented here are statistically typical. A number of cases are cited in an attempt to present the gamut of diversity but at the same time show some of the qualitative aspects of the Instituto's colonization program. The writer visited the farms and homes of 26 colonists and talked to approximately 20 additional heads of colonist families.

Artalejos. This is a colony of 43 livestock farms averaging 350 hectares (864 acres) in size. Six farms and farm families were visited and 8 family heads were visited in a group at a community *asado*.²⁶

1. A Spanish family, the father about sixty years of age, the mother, three sons and three daughters, all grown. Father had rented for thirty years. His beginning rent was 7 pesos, final rent 17 pesos per hectare. As a tenant the family had always lived in a mud house. It now lives in a brick house which it plans to floor with brick or cement. The father and his sons operate a 925-acre farm on which are sheep, beef cattle, and 80 dairy-type cows and have a small cheese factory in the barn. Interest and amortization payments are about equal to the last rent paid and the family will own this farm in 27 years. It has a large yard and garden fenced in and planted with fruit trees, flowers, and vegetables. The barn is of mud and the farm machinery unhooused. The father has no doubt of his and his sons' success and believes that they will be worth 80,000 pesos (about \$20,000) when their farm is completely improved and stocked.

2. An Argentine of Basque origin, forty-two years of age, wife, and fifteen-year-old son. Is employing a hired man until his son is old enough to do a man's work in operating the 900-acre almost purely sheep farm. The father worked some years as hired man, became a farm boss, then manager on an estancia on a share-the-profits contract and at thirty-eight years of age started, with some capital, on this colony. He has just completed a new 9,000-peso (\$2,250) brick home with cement veneer, modern in every way except for the lack of electric lights. He will install a wind charger, lights, and radio very soon.

²⁶ An *asado* is most nearly described as a barbecue.

3. A very poor Italian immigrant colonist, who rented for years in the dry zone farther west and never accumulated anything more than the most meager working capital. He tried to follow dry-area farming methods on this colony and failed badly during the first year. Other colonists pleaded his case and Instituto granted him extra credit. He is now making progress. The family, father, mother, and two minor children, live in a well-constructed five-room mud house with zinc roof on which grass had been put to shield it from hot sun.²⁷ They have a good barn. The man said this is the best house his family has ever lived in and that the good barn will help to build a better house. He and his wife believe they will succeed with the help of their children—a boy and girl just now reaching the age where they can help with the crops and livestock.

4. A family of French origin, husband, wife, daughter, and two grown sons, one at home, the other in commercial employment. The father worked as peon, then as tenant before coming to colony. They are remodeling brick house which was the residence of *capataz* on the old estancia, tearing out and replacing partitions, building porches and constructing what will be one of the best houses on the project, though of poor design. They have a nice flower and vegetable garden, plenty of farm machinery, and a forge; produce mixed crops, cattle, and sheep.

5. Two Basque brothers, one married with no children, the other a bachelor, who arrived in Argentina with 4 pesos between them and started as peones. They operated a brick kiln before they began farming as tenants, and accumulated about 14,000 pesos each before coming to the colony. They are mixed-crop and livestock farmers and very careful managers; have just completed a new brick, cement-veneer house, the structure costing 9,000 pesos and the tile floors and other exceptional internal improvements 1,000 pesos, 10,000 pesos (\$2,500) total cost.

Claromeco. This colony has 13 families and the type of farming is chiefly grass and livestock with some grain. The average size of farms is 250 hectares (618 acres).

1. The head of this family was born on this estancia before it was purchased by Instituto to found this colony. He had farmed as tenant in partnership with brother for a number of years; is married and has two small children, about eight and ten years of age; some-

²⁷ See description of the construction of this house, page 301, Chapter XII.

what delinquent in payments and claims various types of hard luck. The family has a good four-room brick house, small but well arranged and furnished, and a nice grove of trees started and a flower garden.

2. An Italian Argentine-born widow with five sons and one daughter. Lives in large zinc house with dirt floors which they say is hot in summer and cold in winter, not as comfortable as the mud house in which they lived as tenants. The farm is well stocked and fenced. They have a fine garden irrigated from an Australian tank and say they produce practically everything they consume and invest all cash income in paying for the farm and improvements. The sons operate their own blacksmith shop. Their house is large but unsatisfactory. The beds are good and tastefully furnished. All members of the family wear rough clothes but the mother's clothes were neat and her hair well kept. They are all happy and very sure they will "pay out." When asked about individual farms for the sons they said, "We want to own this place and build a new house."

San Francisco. This colony has 55 families engaged in mixed and livestock farming. The average size of farms is 225 hectares (555 acres).

1. An unnaturalized Hollander who came to Argentina eighteen years ago had heard that one could earn enough money in one year to pay his way over and back and said to himself, "If I don't like it I'll go to the United States or return to Holland." It did not turn out to be that easy so he worked as a peon for a Dutch farmer for a number of years, then became a tenant, now is buying a farm. The family has a new house, well-planted yard, garden, and orchard. The Dutch Reform minister holds church services in this home.

2. A *Criollo* family, financially the most precarious in the colony, has built a house which looks like a public building but is not being allowed to complete interior finishing because of financial involvement. The house is surrounded by a large vegetable garden and small orchard, all irrigated from a large Australian tank. They have a great deal of farm machinery, a brand-new combine. The husband has planned a large poultry layout and wants to go into bees on a large scale. He repeated many times, "I am trying out many things and will select those things which are best." He is not resentful of the fact that the management has taken over his business affairs and

exercises the right to approve everything he buys and sells, even collects his income and pays his past debts.

3. A Danish immigrant, wife—Argentine-born Dane—and young baby have been in the colony only six months. He was a tenant before coming to the colony. The family lives in a small, well-constructed, well-designed brick house having a kitchen-dining room, extra workroom for washing, separating cream, etc., two bedrooms, a bath. The husband said, "A house isn't a home if it isn't built of brick as all of them are in Denmark."

4. A sixty-five-year-old Italian who had rented for thirty years before coming to the colony. He and each of his two sons have adjacent farms and all live together. They are buying 1,875 acres and renting 700 additional. Their house is a rambling mud structure built around a court, having been expanded as the family increased in size. The farm lot was strewn with an immense amount of farm machinery, all unhoused. The father objects to payments of 18.23 pesos per hectare—interest and amortization—although they are paying 17 pesos per hectare rent for 700 acres of additional land, one half of which is under water. The sons would like to live on their own farms but the father says he supported them a long time, now they ought to stay together and operate his farm.

5. A Basque, whose Dutch wife and two children live with her father and he with her sister—unmarried. He is one of the best farmers in the colony and has one of the best frame houses in the colony, bathroom, electric lights, well furnished, yard well planted. His production is mixed grain and sheep. He has won many colony prizes in crop competitions. He has smaller farm than average but manages it exceptionally well. His family complications, while creating no complications in the colony, will be a problem when the date for transfer of property title arrives.

6. A sixty-five-year-old Italian immigrant, wife, two sons, and two daughters, probably the poorest family in the colony. They rented thirty-one years and started here three years ago with practically no capital. The husband said he desired to build a mud house, but is now glad that the Instituto urged him to build a brick one, even though with dirt floors. The other improvements are very poor and a large truck garden was being irrigated by carrying water from 50 to 250 feet in tubs and buckets whereas the installation of a windmill, a tank, and a few feet of pipe would make it easy to

irrigate by gravity. The family does not complain about these things because he says it is making progress. The father knelt beside and handled the soil about a tree some 8 feet high and said, "I planted this tree three years ago, on the coldest day of the year, July 15. It was only 8 inches high, now look at it." He said that the family's progress was just like that tree—growing. The house has a living room, two bedrooms, a kitchen-dining room, and a storage room—all of them small. It is the best house by far the family has lived in. The storage room was filled with foodstuffs and both the father and mother insisted on giving us a large ring of sausage which we did not take although we were torn between a desire to respond to their wholehearted courtesy and our knowledge that we should not take anything from their hard-earned food supply.

7. The last family to be described in this colony represents the other extreme from this poor Italian immigrant. The father is a Portuguese Criollo with a fine house, good barn, new cement sheep dip, good chicken house, a combine, and tractor. His old father, eighty-two years of age, was a Portuguese immigrant who had been a peon most, if not all, of his working life. This family practices mixed farming—sheep, cattle, poultry, wheat, and flax. The father said the mother some years makes more money out of the poultry than he does out of livestock and crops. The vegetable garden is fenced with "chicken wire," is irrigated from an elevated tank in the tower of the windmill, and a son has framed all flower beds with formally designed cement borders. The residence on this farm is not only large but well equipped, costing however only 9,000 pesos (about \$2,250). They, however, have an extra building, used as a work house, in which there is a shower bath. The two houses together cost 14,000 pesos (approximately \$3,500). A small front yard is literally a flower garden and a large yard is planted to evergreens. The father was well dressed and reminded one of a substantial Iowa farmer.

Santa Maria Colony. There are 84 families, 706 people, and 36,000 acres of land in this colony.

1. An Italian immigrant, who came to Argentina more than twenty-five years ago, worked for awhile as a peon but had been a renter for eighteen years before coming into this colony. He and his wife were both worried, he because he is attempting to get started in swine production and has lost some of his hogs with cholera and he

is short on capital, she because she feels that her two young-lady daughters do not have a sufficiently diversified social life. He is not too sure he knows how to raise hogs and corn, put the two together and make them pay, and would probably drift back into his old tenant habits of cash grain farming if the management gave him any encouragement to do so. The family has the best residence it has ever lived in—a kitchen, a separate living room, two bedrooms, and a bathroom. The battery of the radio set was “down” and the mother and daughters regretted this very much because they like to listen to music and stories.

2. A very different family is that of a native-born Argentine, the son of a Basque, whose farm consists of 230 hectares. He rents 115 additional hectares and is thus farming 852 acres. At the time of our visit he was cutting barley with a big tractor-drawn combine and two other combines were standing in the yard. The father confessed he could not help wanting to speculate in grain farming. He was at one time a salaried manager of a large property which had many tenant farmers and thinks he made a mistake when he quit that job and took a colony farm. This family has a nice house with front and back porches, three well-furnished bedrooms, a very modern living-room suite and electric lights. The house had many more windows than most Argentine farmhouses. The father had spent two years in the Navy and thus had traveled considerably. He reads rather widely. One of the daughters was the colony queen the previous year, and the other who served us mate probably has high possibility of repeating her older sister's record.

3. An Italian immigrant who came to Argentina forty years ago when he was eighteen years of age. He is having a hard time because he lost his last tenant, produced wheat crop with the money for which he had expected to get started into owner operatorship, and has lost hogs by cholera twice since coming to this colony. He has just sold some hogs to bring his payments up to date and has instructed the “meat man” to deliver meat only every other day. His residence is not very good but is substantial—three rooms, with dirt floors. He had just completed an additional room for his two boys of whom he is exceedingly proud. The father said, “I may not live long enough to pay out but my boys will be farm owners.”

4. A Galician Spaniard who speaks pure Castilian, reads much, and counts himself an intellectual. He has the largest and probably

the best residence in the colony and has completed sufficient payments (25 per cent) to receive the deed to his farm. He produces field crops, sheep, cattle, hogs, and has 70 stands of bees. He is a militant member of the Farmers' Federation.

5. Another Galician who practices thoroughgoing diversified farming has the best out buildings in the colony, a cement barn, a running-water system, and electric lights in the house. The house is small—a kitchen, dining room, and two bedrooms. The family is also small, however, father, mother, and one child. They have a separate small work building, constructed of cement with built-in cement wash tubs. A sewing machine was in this building. This man said he paid more than 50,000 pesos in cash rent in the twenty years he was a tenant and added, "The man who started this colonization should have a monument built in his honor."

Social Services and Social Studies. Undoubtedly the first and greatest contribution being made through the program of the Instituto is that of assisting worthy and competent tenants to gain farm ownership. The second is improvement in rural housing. It also has a program of systematic improvement of crops and livestock and a program for improving the general level of living of colonist families. All of the larger colonies have social centers where books and magazines are kept and conferences and social affairs held. Each has some provisions for games, dances, and other recreation. Co-operatives are encouraged but not enforced. The school equipment and conduct is superior to the average for rural areas of the province and a beginning has been made in boys' and girls' club work.

Recently the Instituto has begun making some social analyses in which the colonists participate and through which participation it is expected a great deal of education and improvement can be accomplished. The only data on farm-family level of living, gathered in a careful fashion, available in all Argentina are to be found in the records which the Instituto is now taking in its colonies (see Chapter XII). The colonies are not used as guinea pigs for Utopian planners or research laboratories for social scientists but are used as experiments in social and economic progress and the officials of the Instituto are attempting to make such analyses of them as will not only guide their own future work but influence a much wider area of thinking and action.

NATIONAL AGRARIAN COUNCIL

National Colonization Law. Law No. 12,636, "Creation of a National Agricultural Council [Consejo Agrario Nacional]" was passed in September 1940. It is probably one of the most complete colonization or settlement laws ever enacted and is an excellent example of finely formulated reform legislation of far-reaching purposes. It can be briefly analyzed here.

The first paragraph of Article 1 of the law reads as follows:

"The nation will apply, in keeping with present norms, an agricultural plan destined to populate the interior of the country, to rationalize rural developments, to subdivide land, establish rural population upon the basis of ownership of the same, and provide greater well being for agricultural workers."

Article 7 spells the program out in detail by listing 19 "Functions" to be performed by the National Agricultural Council. A few generalized statements about these functions will serve to show the scope and ideals of the purposes of the law. Land can be acquired by the Council by transfer of public domain by the federal government, by assignment by banks, by lease, purchase, or expropriation.²⁸ The Council is authorized "to organize a campaign to increase the rural population of the nation," by holding meetings with groups of families in Argentina or in foreign countries, by making contacts with the International Labor Office and similar international agencies, to organize councils in Argentina and foreign countries to explain the law, and to promote colonies.²⁹ It is to study conditions of wage workers in agriculture and submit its findings for legislative action. In the colonies it is to organize rural and technical schools, promote co-operatives of all kinds, develop the common use of agricultural machinery, and promote mutual insurance. It can employ technical specialists—Argentine or foreign.³⁰ Local councils are provided for and one of their members is to be a member of the National Agricultural Council.

This law comes near to attacking every weakness in Argentine agriculture—large holdings, excessive specialization, lack of technical education, poor rural housing, lack of community life. It is to promote diversified and scientific agriculture, farm ownership,

²⁸ See Article 7, a, c, d, e, of Law No. 12,636. ²⁹ Article 7, f, i, n.

³⁰ Article 7, g, h, j, k, m.

family-sized farms, co-operatives, immigration, and even the increase in birth rates. It specifies that the farm purchaser's initial debt shall be reduced by 5 per cent for each legitimate child born on the property.³¹

After the law was passed a series of Executive Decrees was issued as interpretations and directions to the Council. Later the Council issued its own regulations and procedures of action.³²

The Plans and Accomplishments of the Council. The Council was slow in getting under way. No money was set aside for the purchase of land until more than two years after the law was passed. During these two years the small staff spent its time working out "regulations," methods of land appraisal, house- and community-building plans, and many other things which could be done in a semiacademic fashion.

During the next two years (1943-44) considerable land was acquired by various means but no colonies were set up, no farms allotted to settlers, and of course no houses built. Farms are now being offered for sale in at least three and probably more colonies. It is, therefore, possible to know pretty well what the whole scheme of organization and operation will be. It is not yet possible to know what types of clients will apply for farms or be selected by the Council.

A report, as of December 31, 1944, covering the activities and accomplishments of the Council for the years 1943-44, presents the following facts.³³ A total of 23 properties containing a total of 398,000 acres had been purchased and bids had been called for on 290 additional properties. In addition, 554,000 acres had been acquired by expropriation and 33,000 acres otherwise acquired. It can probably be assumed that all of these lands were sought by the Council. Other lands had been turned over to the Council, 6,000 acres transferred to it by provincial governments, 9,600 acres made available by the Mortgage Bank and 193,000,000 acres transferred to its jurisdiction from the old Federal Land Office (Dirección de Tierras Publicas). Probably not all of any of these groups of land

³¹ Article 29, c.

³² Reglamentación, de la Ley, No. 12,636 (1ra, 2da, y 3ra parte) Agosto 4, Octubre 3 y Noviembre 10, 1942—Ministerio de Agricultura, Buenos Aires; and El Plan de Colonización de la Ley 12,636—Consejo Agrario Nacional, April 4, 1943.

³³ *Memoria, Años 1943-44*, Buenos Aires: Consejo Agrario Nacional, 1945.

will be accepted for settlement. Those turned over to the Council by the provinces and even by the Bank may, upon examination by the Council's experts, be considered suitable for settlement. The hundreds of millions of acres turned over by the General Land Office are all of those lands owned by the national government in the national territories. Some of them, as in Chaco and Misiones, would probably continue to be settled by the same or modified procedures in process by the General Land Office. Some of them will undoubtedly be converted into forests and others, as in Patagonia, may continue to be rented.

In April and May of 1945 a total of 42 farms, located in three colonies, 1 in Santa Fe, 1 in Entre Ríos, and 1 in La Pampa, were offered for sale. These 42 farms contained a total of 57,384 acres.

The Agrarian Council has gone much farther in detailed planning before it begins operation than did the Instituto in Buenos Aires Province. It has, however, moved so slowly, and apparently under so many handicaps, that its future is not easy to predict. The organization has almost unlimited autonomous power and great possibilities. It has hundreds of millions of acres of land at its disposal but at the end of four and one half years after its creation has offered only 42 farms for settlement. It has fairly carefully examined and platted the areas in which it feels settlement is a safe venture, worked out the type of agricultural production which it believes is suitable to each area, formulated its own procedure, done rather elaborate planning on types of houses, and widely publicized its purposes. It is, however, aware of the fact that it has offered to it many properties not suitable for settlement, that land values at the present time are high, and that the immigration policy of the future is not determined. Its leaders have high aspirations of future attainment but only that future itself can tell whether the outstanding purposes of the law will be attained and whether something approaching a new colonization era may develop under its sponsorship.³⁴

³⁴ The Consejo Agrario Nacional has issued many pieces of literature dealing with its work. They are too great in number and diverse in character to list here but can be obtained from the organization itself at Buenos Aires.

CHAPTER XV

AGRICULTURAL ENLIGHTENMENT AND REFORM

CHANGE AND PROGRESS IN RURAL LIFE

Processes and Record of Change. Between 1856 and 1914 change in agriculture and rural life was as marked in Argentina as it was in the United States during the period 1830 to 1890. It was during that period that all the major farm-production belts, except the cotton belt in Chaco and the fruit belt in the Río Negro Valley, were established. Immigrants changed the ethnic composition of the population and all of the present large cities came to dominance. (See Chapters IV, VI, VII.) Since 1914 no such marked changes have occurred. No new major crops, except cotton, have been added; no rich areas, with the possible exception of Chaco and Misiones, have been opened for settlement. Once rapidly developing, farm ownership has slackened and farm tenancy has increased. Changes incident to frontier development have come to an end and there are now few if any new land frontier opportunities. With the maturity of national development processes of change have shifted from those of crude ecological adaptations to ideological and promoted programs of education and legislation.

Because there is no widespread physical distress among rural people and because there is practically no conscious cohesion among the different segments of the rural population, practically all promoted programs of progress have come down from above, from educators, publicists, government officials, and legislators. The only exceptions are those that come from the farmers' organizations, discussed in Chapter XVI. In spite of these facts considerable progress has been made at the grass roots through the process of cultural infiltration. An analysis of all of these processes working together toward change and progress is difficult but worth the undertaking.

Argentina Has All the Agencies of Rural Enlightenment. As in many other aspects of modernity, Argentina has some of all the agencies and institutions of agricultural and rural enlightenment:

A compulsory common-school system, some rural high schools (*colegios*),¹ agricultural colleges, an agricultural extension service, experiment stations, farm journals, newspapers, and radios. One who is acquainted with agricultural education and educational agencies in older, settled countries is, however, surprised to discover that relatively few agricultural-college teachers and few experiment-station and extension workers were born and reared on farms; that very few farm boys attend colleges of agriculture, or even agricultural high schools;² and that agricultural journals are either the house organs of farm organizations or are issued by merchants who have a large country trade. All of this is a commentary on the extent to which farm people are culturally isolated from those levels of life in the nation on which such cultural traits as higher education and reform ideologies originate and from which they spread. It is not only the existence of agencies of enlightenment but the question of who uses them and how they are used that makes them effective in rural progress.

TECHNIQUES AND AGENCIES OF ENLIGHTENMENT

The Cultural Infiltration of Agricultural Knowledge. Although all types of agricultural production except primitive ranching are products of the last eighty years, and although the majority of farmers are first-, second-, or third-generation immigrants, the volume of common sense about the production of cereals, cotton, fruits, grapes, sugar cane, and livestock is very great. Except for a few vine growers, practically all immigrants had to learn new systems of agriculture when they came to Argentina. They did not learn from the common schools and they learned very little from agricultural experiment stations and the agricultural extension service because neither was in existence until relatively recently. They learned by more subtle methods of cultural penetration and infiltration. All major types of agriculture now practiced in Argentina are relatively old in other areas of the world. Established types and breeds of animals and types and varieties of plants have a long his-

¹ Most *colegios* are not high schools. They are practical schools which require only fourth-grade attainment to enter. "*Colegios nacionales*" only are equivalent to the high school in the United States.

² Only 2 per cent of students who enter grade schools in Argentina go through secondary schools. The percentage is much smaller in rural areas.

tory of development by means of selection and breeding in some other nations. Argentine farmers have borrowed the end results of these developments, adapted them to their needs, and moved forward rapidly and in a big way.

Farming operations are, on the whole, so extensive that there has been little necessity of refining knowledge and using precise techniques. All farm products are produced at such low cost that to know the very best scientific methods and to use the most careful management are not prime requisites of success in farming. A European-trained Argentine economist in commenting on the relatively advanced development of medical science and the relatively backward development of the agricultural and economic sciences in his country said, "People at the top as well as those at the bottom of the social pyramid get physically sick. The rich have, therefore, brought scientific medicine into the country. Only those at the bottom are now economically sick. When those at the top begin to suffer we will begin to advance scientifically in the fields of production and economics." Argentine agriculture has, by and large, been well and husky and therefore has not called for the scientific doctors.

The practices of scientific agriculture have, however, filtered into the country in many ways other than through the promotion of science itself. For more than three quarters of a century the big cattle and sheep producers have been purchasing bulls and rams from some of the finest herds and flocks of Europe. They are still doing so. In addition they have employed farm managers (*mayordomos*) from England and Scotland and more recently sheep managers from Australia and New Zealand, who, though seldom agricultural-college graduates, have a vast knowledge of the practical application of scientific animal husbandry. From the top herds which they manage have developed improvements in cattle and sheep and improved livestock culture which have gradually spread throughout the nation. The infiltration of the great improvements in cereal culture has not been so obvious but equally real. They have come by way of borrowing, seldom by breeding, of many types and varieties of plants and the selection of those which are best adapted to Argentina's seasons, soils, and climate.

In the cultivation of these crops the use of the most scientifically constructed farm machinery has induced, if not forced, modern methods. These machines are constructed of rigid iron and steel,

built to operate in a given way, and farmers automatically learn to practice the methods of planting, cultivating, and harvesting which these machines dictate. Most of the machines were built in response to what scientific agriculture required and those who use them have come to practice a degree of scientific method without knowing science.³ In other words, scientific practices have become folk knowledge or common sense without having passed through a filter of personal knowledge of theoretical science. Manufacturers and salesmen of farm machinery have, of course, tried to increase volume of business for the sake of economic profit. In order to do so they have often employed a corps of servicemen who performed the role of agricultural extension agents and have thus done some effective teaching.

Agricultural Colleges. Argentina has two well-organized colleges of agriculture, another which has been operating for only a few years, and a fourth which has been established for a long while on paper but is not operating in fact. Their announced objective is to convert the science of agriculture into farm practices. Much of their teaching is, however, highly theoretical and their contacts with farm people are so slight that they are considerably handicapped in carrying out this announced objective. Neither the agricultural experiment stations nor the agricultural extension service is an organic part of the agricultural colleges, and the colleges do not, therefore, have established channels through which to reach farmers. The agricultural high schools do not feed students into the colleges of agriculture and only a minor portion of agricultural-college students come from farm homes. No flow upward from the farms to colleges creates a channel for a downward flow from the colleges to the farms.

Few members of college faculties give their full time to teaching and unless, therefore, the remainder of their time is given to work at an experiment station or to the Ministry of Agriculture they are not able to give their entire professional efforts to agriculture. Each of these things and all of them combined serve to establish fences rather than bridges between the colleges of agriculture and farmers.

Agricultural colleges offer work leading to two degrees, one in agronomy and one in veterinary science. Agronomy includes, in a

³ See Appendix to Chapter VI on progress in mechanization in Argentine agriculture.

general way, what is called "*agricultura*" (field crops); veterinary science covers largely animal diseases, and while this is in the field of what is called "*ganadería*" (livestock culture), it does not deal with livestock practices. These two broad fields constitute the extent of specialization in undergraduate courses. During the first two years students study the basic sciences and liberal arts—mathematics, chemistry, physics, biology, Spanish, English, history, and geography. During the second two years they chiefly study general agricultural courses. No one studies animal husbandry, horticulture, or agricultural economics as a major, however. All such specialization is left for the fifth or succeeding years, i.e., for graduate studies.

The doctor's degree is obtained by one year of graduate study. Most departments have attached to them *institutos* (seminars) with a major professor in charge. In these seminars the instructor and a small group of graduate students, each working on a thesis, carry on research and discussion on specialized subjects. Thus, while each student participates in a discussion of the theses topics of all other graduate students and thereby covers a considerable gamut of graduate subjects, there are few if any systematically taught graduate courses.

Certain changes are contemplated by the colleges of agriculture in their curricula and their methods of instruction. They do not as yet, however, have faith that adequate funds will be appropriated in the near future to make possible the employment of full-time professors. Some of the professors are very anxious to secure full-time employment in specialized fields by combining teaching and experiment-station research. A few are now doing this and a great many others accomplish somewhat of the same purpose by employment in federal or provincial agricultural agencies. In this latter type of case all too often their teaching work and agency work are in different subject-matter fields.

A number of the educational leaders of the country believe that neither agriculture nor industry is receiving due consideration in the national system of higher education. Dr. S. Novillo Corvalán, President of the Commission of Education (Consejo de Educacion), said in 1941, "The country has 15,000 physicians, according to the Institute of Statistics of the School of Economic Science of Córdoba, and 17,000 to 18,000 lawyers, according to my personal investigations; we need less lawyers and more industrial and agricultural

experts.”⁴ Dr. Tomás Amadeo, Head of the Department of Agricultural Economics of the University of Buenos Aires, has for years pleaded for greater specialization and more practical teaching in the colleges of agriculture.⁵ Others have been even more specific than he in their advocacy of change and have laid down curricula of a very practical type.⁶ The College of Agriculture of La Plata University has a new plan of curricula.⁷ The University of Cuyo is already engaged in applied teaching and the University of Litoral, in the field of soils, has done some very practical work.⁸ All of these institutions will, however, have only long-range influence on farm practices so long as they do not have experiment stations of their own and have no organic relationship with the agricultural extension service. This is recognized by many college teachers. Those who are most concerned about it seek employment with government agencies which give them some opportunity to do either extension or research work. A few others take the situation in their own hands and do research work on their own responsibility.

Secondary Schools of Agriculture. There were in 1942 seven secondary agricultural schools (colegios) and five others in the process of formation, all national and operated by the Ministry of Agriculture. They are for the training of boys who are either not qualified educationally or not financially able to enter colleges of agriculture, and are of two general types. One is almost purely practical, the other a combination of practice and theory. Students may enter them at the completion of the sixth grade of elementary schooling, the more “practical” ones at the completion of the fourth grade.

⁴ From address by Dr. Sofanor Novillo Corvalán while President of the University of Córdoba, May 10, 1941, in *Homenaje al Dr. Sofanor Novillo Corvalán Discurso*, Córdoba: Imprenta de la Universidad Córdoba, 1941, p. 52.

⁵ Tomás Amadeo, *La enseñanza agrícola en la República Argentina*, Buenos Aires: Talleres, French y Cía., 1913; and *La enseñanza y experimentación agrícola en la Argentina y en el extranjero*, Buenos Aires: Museo Social Argentino.

⁶ Mauricio Perez Catan, “La adaptación de la organización de nuestras explotaciones agropecuarias y la Comisión Nacional de Colonización,” in *Revista de Ciencias Económicas*, Buenos Aires: Facultad de Ciencias Económicas Centro de Estudiantes y Colegio de Graduados, Año XXI, Series 11, No. 144 (July 1933), pp. 461-77.

⁷ Interviews with college teachers; “Plan de Estudios,” College of Agriculture, Univ. of Buenos Aires, Univ. of La Plata, Univ. of Litoral (at Rosario), and Univ. of Cuyo (at Mendoza).

⁸ See Josue Gollan, *La Investigación Científica y Técnica Como Factor de Progreso*, Santa Fe, 1942, for exposition of technical research in agriculture.

There were 561 students registered in these schools in 1941.⁹ In the so-called practical schools no textbooks are used, and only two hours per day are given to classroom work. The remainder of each day is given to work on the large farm that each school operates. Students are rotated in groups from work with field crops, truck crops, poultry, horticulture, dairy, swine, etc., always under the guidance of instructors. The majority of the students in these schools come from farm homes. In the schools that tend more toward theoretical training the student's day is more evenly divided between classroom and field work. Hired men do most of the manual labor on the farms, the students observing under the guidance of teachers and assisting with some of the work. Many of them come from families who own land but live in towns and cities.

Students graduated from the more practical schools most often become assistant managers on large farms. Those from the more theoretical schools do the same or assist their fathers in managing family-owned farms. Few of those from farm families return home to assist in the operation of their fathers' farms or to become actual operators of farms of their own and thus fail directly to influence the farm practices on the farms from which they came.¹⁰

Agricultural Extension Work. In general form and purpose the agricultural extension work of Argentina is the same as in the United States. Regional agronomists operate like county agents, and cotton, livestock, dairy, horticultural, and other specialists are very similar to subject-matter specialists in the United States. The major difference is that all of them are employees of either the national or provincial ministries of agriculture rather than of the colleges of agriculture. As such they give much of their time to regulatory and inspection work and thus have comparatively little time for actual adult education. Furthermore, there are few of them, sometimes only one for a whole province, and they, therefore, cannot and do not spend much time actually visiting and conferring with farmers.

Experiment Stations. The work at experiment stations reflects the results of the general scheme of organization and content of agricultural science and education. With two notable exceptions, most of the work at these stations is what should properly be called test-

⁹ *Anales de Enseñanza Agrícola*, Buenos Aires: Ministry of Agriculture, Vol. III (June 1941); and personal interviews during 1942-43.

¹⁰ Information from directors of colegios.

ing rather than research. Various cereal or cotton varieties are tested for climatic and soil adaptation, for best dates of planting, best width of rows, spacing in rows, etc. Systematic reports are made to the Ministry of Agriculture and bulletins or other written reports on the findings are published. This information is then used by college teachers and extension workers. It is, however, a circuitous route from experiment station to Ministry of Agriculture, to extension workers, to farmers, with the result that few farmers ever see the publications. The experiment stations do not hold farmers' field days and extension workers in the localities of the experimental or test farms seldom frequent the experiment stations. There are exceptions. The provincial experiment station at Tucumán is outstanding in both its scientific work and local influence. The Santa Catalina Station, semiattached to La Plata University, is doing some good work in plant breeding. The cotton-testing farms in the Territory of the Chaco are highly practical, and the extension men in that area keep in close touch with them.¹¹

The fact that a few men working at experiment stations and a number of men in the Ministry of Agriculture also teach in colleges of agriculture tends to bridge the gaps between the different professional services to agriculture. If the various segments of agricultural education in Argentina could be more closely integrated, experimentation become more closely related to teaching and extension work, and secondary agricultural education brought more closely in touch with both the administration and content of college education, the divergence between the "theoretical" knowledge of professional agriculturalists and the "folk" knowledge or day-by-day, common-sense knowledge of farmers could be greatly narrowed. As it is now many agricultural scientists do not know farm practices and few farmers know scientific practices. Leading scientists in Argentina see this clearly and are doing all they can to rectify a system of

¹¹ The Experiment Station at Tucumán was established in 1907 and in 1942 had a technical staff of eight persons. Its director is Dr. William E. Cross, an Englishman educated in Germany, who spent a number of years in sugar-cane experimental work in Louisiana and has been in charge of the Tucumán Station for over a quarter of a century. It is not feasible to list all of the scientific reports published by the Station. For those desiring to know a little more about the excellent work of this Station three documents are cited: *La caña de azúcar*, Buenos Aires: Faculty of Agronomy and Veterinary, University of Buenos Aires, 1939; *Notas sobre el progreso*; and *Revista industrial y agrícola de Tucuman*, Tucumán, Vol. XXXII, Nos. 1-3 (January-March 1942), all by Dr. Cross.

agricultural education and research which they think is considerably short of modern.

Other Agencies of Agricultural Education. The farm journal, an early and still important educational agency in Europe and the United States, has not yet emerged in Argentina. This is due primarily to the fact that relatively few farmers read. Each of the major farmers' organizations publishes a periodical. That of the Rural Society is, in fact, a magazine dedicated chiefly to the improvement of the livestock industry in Argentina. This periodical publishes important articles which are presumably widely read by its members but by relatively few others. One issue each year—either the August or September one—is dedicated to the annual national livestock exposition and carries no reading material other than the annual addresses of the president of the society and the minister of agriculture. The remainder of the issue is given to photographs of the exposition prize winners, other photographs of the exposition, and a complete report on the entries, the competitions, and the auction sales that follow.¹²

The periodical of the Confederation of Rural Societies of Buenos Aires and La Pampa is a daily newspaper called *Edicion Rural* with a subcaption, "for the farmers and livestock men of the country." In addition to being a militant house organ and giving its major news space to activities of the Confederation it regularly carries news on all kinds and types of agricultural issues, national and international, regional and local. It is a combination of a farmers' organization paper and an agricultural journal similar to those published in the United States.¹³

La Tierra is the house organ of the Farmers' Federation. Like *Edicion Rural* it is also a newspaper and an agricultural journal. Its format is that of a daily paper but its content largely consists of articles which promote the program and ideologies of the Federation. It is almost literally the Bible of Federation members. Its promotion of economic doctrines is effective and its aids to the local clubs of the Federation are by no means inconsiderable. As an instrument of education it is highly effective among those who read

¹² The name of the magazine is *Anales*, published by Sociedad Rural Argentina, Buenos Aires.

¹³ *Edicion Rural*, published by Confederación de Asociaciones Rurales de Buenos Aires y La Pampa, Buenos Aires. They also publish *Buenos Aires y La Pampa*.

it, who, in comparison to the total number of farmers in the nation, are relatively few.¹⁴

There are a few other farm periodicals which circulate in local areas, sponsored and circulated by local merchants but edited and printed by a jobbing house in Buenos Aires. Local daily papers also carry agricultural news, sometimes articles and announcements of regional agronomists, and often articles on agricultural issues and policies by their editors. They do not, however, circulate widely among farmers.

La Prensa, one of the greatest daily newspapers of the world, published at Buenos Aires, attempts to render an outstanding group of agricultural services: Articles, editorials, conferences, and a question-box information system through which it answers thousands of queries from farmers.¹⁵ Other daily papers also give much space to agricultural issues and problems. Few of these papers, however, reach farm people and thus do little by way of spreading enlightenment below the upper strata of the country's population.

One of the most forward looking and purposeful institutions in the whole nation is the Museo Social Argentino, founded and directed by Dr. Tomás Amadeo, Head of the Department of Agricultural Economics of the University of Buenos Aires. It issues a bimonthly bulletin which carries many articles on agriculture and rural life.¹⁶ Dr. Amadeo and his associates have for years sponsored the improvement of rural teaching, the organization of co-operatives, and the establishment of assistance to farm women and children. In July 1942 La Asociación Femenina de Acción Rural (Women's Association for Rural Action) was established as a division of work in the Museo.¹⁷ This followed by two decades a similar movement to train women rural teachers in what might be designated as domestic science and two treatises by Dr. Amadeo on "The Redemption of Woman," and "The Teaching of Home Economics."¹⁸ These approaches to agricultural enlightenment and improvements

¹⁴ *La Tierra*, published by Federación Agraria Argentina, Rosario.

¹⁵ See "La Prensa, Public Institution," *Comments on Argentine Trade*, Buenos Aires: Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America in the Argentine Republic, Vol. XXIV, No. 4 (November 1944), pp. 49-50.

¹⁶ *Boletín del Museo Social Argentino*, Buenos Aires.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI (November-December 1943), pp. 350-58.

¹⁸ Amadeo, "La Acción de la Mujer," *Servicio Social*, pp. 8-20; and "La Asociación Femenina de Acción Rural," pp. 161-65 of same volume.

have attempted to be direct but like the ideologies and work of the other agencies of enlightenment described here find few channels established and open between intellectuals and reformers near the top and the masses at the bottom of the class structure of the national society.

AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL LIFE REFORM

Reform Ideologies. It would not be an exaggeration to say that for every weakness in Argentine rural life there are a number of conceptual remedies held and promoted by Argentine citizens. Weddell says of Argentina, "The man tied hopelessly to his condition does not exist here,"¹⁹ and Inman, quoting Austin Chamberlain, says, "It is natural for the Latin mind first to fix certain abstract principles, to settle general rules, and proceed to apply them to detailed cases."²⁰ These two traits are conducive to a great body of reform ideology in Argentina, the first an expression of hope and the second a penchant for fine formulation of logical plans.

Like any other modern nation Argentina has its major problems and many minor ones which educators, legislators, and reformers seek to solve. Not every major economic and social problem automatically stimulates or generates a reform program to solve it. Either masses of persons involved in the problems must be sufficiently vocal to raise issues or a few influential persons must take up the cudgels in their behalf. It is always possible, of course, that neither of these things may occur. It is also possible that both things may happen and make conjunction with each other. This latter seldom comes about in Argentine rural life because of the lack of habitual and apt communication between the farmers and those who represent them in intellectual and influential circles.

Farmers have few if any channels through which they can pass a knowledge of their discontents up to those who study their problems or are concerned about them. In fact they do not even have many reciprocal contacts with each other nor have local organizations by means of which to formulate statements of their discontents. Intellectuals, on the other hand, usually are so little acquainted

¹⁹ Alexander W. Weddell, *Introduction to Argentina*, New York: Greystone Press, 1939, p. 41.

²⁰ S. G. Inman, *Latin America, Its Place in World Life*, New York: Willet, Clark and Company, 1937, p. 17.

with farm people that they are not in a position to formulate reform programs which are highly practical. These facts do not cause a poverty of reform ideologies. Such ideologies arise in academic circles, in farm organizations, in provincial legislatures, and in the national congress. A great many of them arise in the Ministry of Agriculture and a very great number in the minds of other intellectuals. The assumption that much reform will and should come by way of legislation is implied by the facts that colleges of agriculture offer complete courses in rural law and legislation.

An example of the role of an intellectual in agricultural reform is to be found in the writings and other activities of Dr. Tomás Amadeo. His writings are voluminous and he has been professionally influential for forty years. His listing of problems is logical and his discussion of them equally so. He says, "All nations have three fundamental agricultural problems or issues, land policy, education, economic and social organization of farm people." In discussing each of these issues he cites programs of improvement in other nations and describes what he thinks would be right and feasible in Argentina. He says that "when agricultural reform is mentioned land reform is what is generally meant but this is a mistaken and too simple idea for immediate application; that agricultural reform in order to be complete must embrace a union of the whole agricultural system and a complete understanding of the rural economy of the country—land, labor, and capital in all of their manifestations." He does not drop the discussion of these so-called fundamentals without spelling out desirable and necessary lines of action—"practical and vocational education, agricultural experimentation, long-term agricultural credit, co-operatives, professional organizations, home-demonstration work, legislation"—but expresses the judgment that all of these things can and should be organized for progress by evolutionary rather than by revolutionary methods.²¹ There are other college professors who write in this same vein, but this one illustration will suffice.

A very different type of reform ideology is that of farmers' uprisings of which there have been some, but not many, in Argentina. The tenant strike in 1912 was somewhat violent but not widespread. It probably had a considerable part in brewing tenant-reform ide-

²¹ Tomás Amadeo, *El Falso Dilema*, Buenos Aires: "Librería del Colegio," Alsina y Bolívar, 1939, pp. 165-248.

ologies. In addition, there have been several other minor tenant disturbances. The organization of the Radical Party in 1916 was undoubtedly intended as, and was in many ways, a general reform movement but the author has been unable to ascertain that farmers participated widely in this movement. Only the Socialist Party has had a consistent agricultural reform program and it has never had a recognizable rural constituency except during the early years of the life of the Farmers' Federation. Its leaders have, however, for four decades regularly and persistently advocated land reform and the organization of co-operatives. They still do so.²² Each of the general farmers' organizations constantly promotes reform ideas and sometimes has considerable influence on public opinion and consequently on legislative action and administrative decrees. Their programs are discussed in Chapter XVI.²³

It is not possible to judge to what extent these various types of reform ideologies have been influential or which have been most influential. It is not possible, or at least not feasible, to attempt to measure the extent of agricultural reform in recent decades. The reader should, however, at this stage in his knowledge of rural life in Argentina be interested in those agricultural reforms to which most consistent consideration is given in terms of major rural problems and reform legislation.

Land-Tenure Reform. Those legislative acts having to do with the disposal of public lands were cited in the discussion of colonization. (See Chapters VII, XIV.) No one of them nor all of them combined have been able to forestall the development of farm tenancy and tenant reform has been advocated for approximately four decades. Juan B. Justo, leader of the Socialist Party in 1900, advocated that landlords be compelled by law to indemnify tenants for improvements made during their periods of occupancy. In 1912, during the tenants' strike, he advocated that rental-contract periods be of not less than five years' duration, that tenants be authorized to construct good houses and plant trees during their occupancy and be indemnified by the landlords for them. He also advocated freedom from seizure of a certain number of work animals and imple-

²² A good summary of early Socialist Party programs and doctrines is to be found in Juan B. Justo, *Discursos y Escritos Politicos* (Prólogo del Dr. Nicolas Repetto), Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1933.

²³ See also Dr. Nicolas Repetto, *El Partido Socialista y los Trabajadores del Campo*, Buenos Aires: La Vanguardia Press, 1932.

ments and that tenants be guaranteed the right to farm with the machines which they chose and to sell their crops to whomever they pleased. In 1921 the first tenant-reform law was passed.²⁴ Dr. Nicolas Repetto says, "The 1921 law reproduced in toto four great points proposed by Justo."²⁵

The basic reform intended by the 1921 law was not accomplished because its application was limited to cereal farms of more than 300 hectares (741 acres). All a landlord needed to do was refuse to rent more than 300 hectares to any one tenant and thus avoid the application of the law. This fact plus the widespread violation of many of its provisions started almost immediate agitation for its amendment.²⁶ It was superseded in 1932 by a new law intended to remedy these defects.

The provisions of the law of 1932²⁷ were quite elaborate and drastic and the list of practices which it forbade were by implication an array of abuses which it sought to abolish. Articles 1 to 5 state purposes and definitions and provide for five-year written lease contracts to be "sworn before a judge or notary public," and deposited with the "Register of Property." Articles 6, 8, and 11 are the heart of the law. Article 6 reads as follows:

The renter of a piece of arable land shall be permitted to construct a house of burned brick, up to two rooms, and a kitchen, a granary, shed, economic silo for cereal or fodder, install a well, plant 5 fruit or forest trees per each 2½ acres, up to 500 trees as a maximum, provided he does not find these improvements on the farm he occupies. Where livestock production is planned the renter shall be permitted to construct living quarters for peones and supervisors. At the termination of the contract the proprietor shall indemnify the renter for the improvements which he has made, up to a maximum of 10 per cent of the value of the land rented, as a lawful payment which he has contributed to the land, the amount to be determined by arbitrators.

In case of a dispute about immovable property, the value of the improvements and the costs occasioned by their collection shall have special privilege, preferred to all others against the proprietor.

²⁴ Law No. 11,170.

²⁵ Justo, *Discursos y Escritos Politicos*, p. 28.

²⁶ For a thorough discussion of the violations of this law and its failure to remedy the evils of tenant restrictions, even when not violated, see *ibid.*, pp. 28-32; Mariano Velez, *La Situacion Agricola de La Pampa*, Buenos Aires: La Vanguardia, 1934, Chaps. IV and V.

²⁷ Law No. 11,627.

This article was intended to remedy the practice of short-time and oral leases and the practice of restricting use of ground for other than field crops and to guarantee the recovery by tenants for the value of improvements which could not be removed from the land.

Article 8 is still more pointed and drastic. It reads:

Irremediably null and void shall be the clauses [of tenant contracts] which require the [tenant]:

- a) To sell the products of the farm to the landlord or to a designated person.
- b) To assign the crops, harvest, or landed property to a specified society or person, or in any manner.
- c) To plow, plant, cut, thresh, shear, stack, and in general to harvest; to transport or haul with a specified machine, type of work, or specified person.
- d) To renounce the rights or guarantees of security and protection which by this law are conferred on the tenant.
- e) To provide oneself with machines, sacks, twine, materials of construction, clothes, or food from specified commercial institutions or enterprises.

The evils which this article intended to remedy are implicitly stated in the provisions of the article.

Article 11 specifies that if a tenant is declared incapable of paying out he shall be allowed to retain sufficient farm implements, animals, and seeds to farm 247 acres of land and also anything he owns which can be consumed by his family. The exact tools, number and types of animals, etc., are specified in the article. The purpose is to guarantee to the tenant that he shall be able to continue farming.

The 5-year contract has today become fairly common practice but five years is too short a period to justify the building of a burned brick house. In the writer's opinion there is no doubt that the law has accomplished some of the reforms which its sponsors intended but recent events have led to the necessity of additional tenant-reform legislation.

Argentina suffered a depression with the rest of the world after World War I and some sections of her agriculture were in depression during World War II. Export tonnage of cereals fell from sixteen million in 1937 to seven million in 1938 and export value of these products fell from fourteen billion to six hundred mil-

lion pesos.²⁸ Cereal farmers were, of course, immediately in distress. The majority of them were renters and the majority of their rent contracts were for cash. They were thus caught between the anvil of fixed costs and the hammer of falling prices. First, the executive power, by decrees, and, then, the national congress, by legislation, took steps to relieve their condition. The relief came in two ways, by purchase of the cereal crops and by further tenant-reform legislation. The two were joined in another tenant-reform law in 1942. This was preceded by a number of decrees, one in 1940 stating that the 1932 law was not a sufficient remedy for the abnormal conditions which had resulted from the loss of export markets and that rents would need to be converted from cash to kind to forestall "permanent damage" to renters. It sets up a Rent Arbitration Commission to handle adjustments.²⁹

The passage of the 1942 law was followed by decrees considered necessary to guarantee the application and administration of the provisions of the Act. An official communication from the Ministry of Agriculture to the press dated July 18, 1942, explains the need for legislative action and furnishes a good summary of needs and objectives of the whole program.³⁰ In essence it said,

Difficulties in exporting cereals have obliged the government to help the crop farmers by purchasing their crops.

Because the conditions of foreign and domestic markets cannot absorb the products the Executive Power is trying to transform exclusively crop farming into mixed livestock farming by means of which not only will the cereal area be reduced but the corn be consumed in raising the hogs, cattle, sheep, and poultry greatly demanded at the present.

The Executive Power has ordered the bank of the nation to lend 50 centavos [approximately 12½¢] per 100 kilos [220 pounds] sold to the Grain Board and 70 centavos [approximately 17½¢] to small farmers. The same bank, implementing the Law of Rural Credits shall make loans of from 1,000 to 5,000 pesos [\$250 to \$1,250] to assist in transformation [from crop to mixed or livestock farming].

This solution is the most rational form of production, scientifically, for rotation, and for conservation of the fertility of the land, and will help the development of the swine industry, which should normally use the corn production.

²⁸ *Anuario Geografico Argentino*, 1941.

²⁹ See Decree No. 68,344, July 25, 1940.

³⁰ See *La Nacion*, Buenos Aires, June 19, 1942.

Almost all present contracts fix the kind of production or limit the keeping of animals; protected by the Law of Rural Tenancy, No. 11,627. For the government policy to be possible such clauses should be annulled during the present emergency.

The Executive Power understands that free arrangements should be respected, but it also understands that the extraordinary circumstances of the time demand special measures, which will finally be of benefit to all parties, the alternative to which would be to increase taxes on all the people with special damage to those related to farming.

The approval of this law will therefore permit mixed farming which will help feed the family and strengthen our economy.

The law itself read as follows:

Article 1—Any clause in rural renting contracts, be the rent payable in money, in species or in a percentage of the profit, prohibiting or limiting the employment of the land for livestock to less than 40 per cent of its area, or prohibiting in the same amount the keeping of cattle, sheep, hogs, or poultry; and any other clause preventing the production of the land being directed towards livestock raising and mixed farming, in the same amount; is declared by this law null and of no value.

Article 2—If the parties disagree about the payment of the rent, the amount corresponding to the section employed with livestock or mixed farming shall be paid in the same manner as if totally employed for agriculture.

Article 3—This law shall stand for three years, counting from its promulgation by the Executive Power, and shall be applied to every contract of land exploitation, of any kind of juridical nature.

Article 4—The dispositions of this law shall be considered of public order, and, consequently, renunciations to its benefits, established in private contracts, shall be null and of no value.³¹

It will, of course, be impossible during a short period of three years to make any great progress in the conversion of highly specialized grain farming to diversified farming and the amount of the loans to be made are not sufficient for such conversion. Most tenant-operated farms are not equipped with the fences and watering systems essential to livestock production. Furthermore, a year or more would be consumed in developing pastures. Even so, a farm-tenant family can make great progress by adding a few head of hogs, cattle, or sheep, or a few hundred chickens, and the law removes rent-

³¹ Law No. 12,771.

contract restrictions on doing so. If the law is not followed at the end of three years by another of similar import, it will, of course, have no great influence. It should be looked at in the framework of more than a decade of tenant-reform legislation and as an example of reform ideology which naturally runs well in advance of effectual action.³²

Colonization and Resettlement. Colonization as a program for assisting families to farm ownership has been an established doctrine in Argentina for almost 100 years. Today it is not so much a desire to stimulate immigration and assist immigrants as it is to assist Argentine-born farmers to gain farm-home ownership. This, of course, means resettlement for most families because the land which they now occupy is not available for subdivision. Damián M. Torino, in 1912, said, "It is necessary to recognize that while a spontaneous immigration developed the country, something new needs to be done to plan and guide future development."³³ Many books, pamphlets, and articles are still written on this topic.³⁴

The majority of the provinces have colonization laws and recently the federal government established a National Agricultural Council to carry on colonization programs in the national territories and in all provinces which grant it permission to do so within their boundaries. While official colonization organizations in some of the provinces are no more than carry-overs from the early days of immigrant settlements, others are organizations established for the specific purpose of resettling Argentine-born persons.

Since 1930 agitation for colonization programs has been almost as persistent as that for tenant reform; the two are in fact not unrelated.

The governor of Córdoba in 1933 recommended a commission to study this problem, and the provincial legislature in 1936 approved the recommendation. The study was made and a bill drawn, but no organization set up. Entre Ríos and Santa Fe both passed colonization laws in 1934. The stated purpose of the Entre Ríos law was, "To authorize the Executive Power to sell the fiscal lands (public do-

³² Recent Decrees—No. 14,001 of 1943 and No. 18,290 of 1945—have prolonged those rules and further reformed the tenancy system.

³³ Damián M. Torino, *El Problema del Inmigrante y el Problema Agrario en la Argentina*, Buenos Aires, 1912.

³⁴ *Anales de Enseñanza Agrícola*, for various years; and numerous articles in *La Prensa*, *La Nación*, and *Razon*, Buenos Aires.

main) and to buy or expropriate suitable land located within 15 miles [25 kilometers] of railway stations and 40 miles [60 kilometers] of ports for the purposes of subdividing and preparing family farms. . . .”³⁵ The Santa Fe law specified that colonization lands should be “not more than 10 per cent in scrub timber [*montes*] or sinks [*cañadas*], lakes [*lagunas*], or other types of water [*bañados* or *esteros*] and not be located more than 25 miles [40 kilometers] from a railway station, paved road, or port.”³⁶ In other words both of these laws clearly indicate that their purposes were no longer those of selling to settlers worthless or semiworthless lands for the revenues which their soil might yield to provincial treasuries. Their purposes were to help farmers gain ownership of good farm lands.

The one provincial law passed during this period which carried its purposes through to a group of successful resettlement projects was that of Buenos Aires. This was probably due to the fact that Jose M. Bustillo, an outstanding *estanciero* and businessman (later president of the powerful Rural Society), with the assistance of a commission which included some of the outstanding scholars of Argentina saw to it that an autonomous agency (Instituto Autárquico de la Colonización) was established to carry out the purposes of the law. The outstanding accomplishments of this organization were described in Chapter XIV.

Finally, in 1940, a national colonization agency (Consejo Agrario Nacional) was established with immense power and great possibilities of accomplishment.³⁷ If it meets the expectation of its founders, and many others, the land reforms which it can accomplish over the years will be immeasurable.

Progressive Land Taxes in Buenos Aires Province. Many leading Argentine citizens have sought realignment of landholdings ever since the days of Rivadavia's reforms in the 1820's. Something of that story was told in Chapter VIII.³⁸ Here the brief presentation is of recent legislative actions taken in the Province of Buenos Aires.

³⁵ Provincial Law, No. 2,985.

³⁶ Horne, *Nuestro Problema Agrario*, Chap. IV, p. 109.

³⁷ See Chapter XIV.

³⁸ See especially Coni, *La verdad sobre la enfiteusis*; Jose M. Suarez Garcia, *La Historia del Partido de Loberia*, Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos "San Pablo," 1940; Oddone, *La burguesía terrateniente Argentina*; Carcano, *Evolucion historica de la tierra*; and Jose R. Serres, *El regimen de arrendamientos agricolas*, Buenos Aires: University of Buenos Aires, 1942.

Governor Rodolfo Moreno on July 8, 1942, in submitting the "plan of the law," specifically stated the reforms which he sought. The plan was to restrict the size of landholdings by placing a graduated tax on all holdings larger than 10,000 hectares (24,700 acres). He stated in his message to the legislature that there were 221 owners of 593 properties of 4,130,021 hectares (10,201,152 acres) with a total valuation of 683,787,900 pesos (approximately \$170,946,975) and that there were "judicial persons and other societies and companies, representing 51 entities, with 153 properties of 916,035 hectares (2,262,606 acres) with a total valuation of 149,738,200 pesos (approximately \$37,434,550)." ³⁹ He declared that these properties constitute one sixth of the land in the Province of Buenos Aires and that in many cases the owners were foreigners or companies constituted of foreigners. He therefore hoped to discourage large holdings, but especially to discourage the formation of landholding and operating corporations and absentee ownership.⁴⁰

Article 1 of the law specifies the amount of the graduate tax, beginning with 6 per cent up to 15,000 hectares and increasing to 14 per cent on holdings of more than 30,000 hectares. Article 2 states that all properties held by one proprietor shall be added together and counted as one for purposes of applying the tax rate. Article 3 specifies that the tax shall be increased by 2 per cent on the properties of absentee owners. Article 4 defines absentee owners as persons who reside permanently in foreign countries, or for three years, excepting those in the service of the government. Article 5 states that all corporations (*las sociedades anónimas y demás personas jurídicas*) which are directed principally from outside the country but through administrators within the country, shall be considered absentee. Later articles specify penalties so heavy for those who violate the law or fail to register the true facts about landownership that they become confiscatory.⁴¹

In addition to this law Governor Moreno recommended a greatly expanded budget and program for the Colonization Institute in the expectation that the discouragement of large holdings, by the law just described, on the one hand, and the encouragement of small

³⁹ Nemesio de Olariaga, *El Ruralismo Argentino*, Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1943, p. 68.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

⁴¹ See especially Articles 13-16 of Law 4,834 of the Province of Buenos Aires.

holdings, by colonization projects, on the other hand, would gradually but directly start the redistribution of landownership.⁴²

Some Other Significant Reforms. No other single reform nor all others combined are as significant as the few just described, but a few others should be mentioned. The colonization program of Buenos Aires Province is introducing better breeds, better housing, better education and co-operation in its colonies. Santa Fe Province has a rural-housing law, a health-center program and, in fact, a fairly elaborate social-assistance program. The Province of Mendoza also has some sanitary laws which tend to improve housing. There are other minor, and one might say sporadic, reform programs but none which go as deep as those described above or are so well balanced as those mentioned by Dr. Amadeo.

During a number of years a special commission of the national congress has been authorized to conduct a fairly elaborate study of agricultural security. It published a detailed analysis of the incidence of drought, hail, flood, pests, and crop failures as a basis for established insurance rates. The commission was first established in 1934 and continued in 1936. It published a technical report in 1942.⁴³ In this report its authors said, "In the mind of the commission, agricultural security must be considered as social security and not as an organization interested only in rural producers. It is the whole society, the whole country, from the highest financial circles to the mass of workers, that is interested in guaranteeing the security of the agriculturist who is not only the vital nucleus of national economy but the most valuable human reserve of the country."⁴⁴

The commission has not yet converted its ideas into law but in 1943 was attempting to formulate a plan which would include in its insurance benefits the guarantee of a minimum annual income. The special technicians of the commission were attempting to measure the amount of income needed to sustain a minimum level of living. They were willing and anxious to go beyond the benefits accruing from actuarially guaranteed premiums paid by farmers and provide that the government pay the difference between accruing insurance funds and the amount needed to meet minimum

⁴² Information from personal interview with Governor Moreno, March 1943.

⁴³ *Comision Especial Parlamentaria Para el Estudio de una Ley de Seguro Agricola*, Buenos Aires, 1942, Informe de la Asesoria Tecnica, Congreso Nacional, 8,706.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxv.

incomes.⁴⁵ These ideas may never be converted into law but they serve to demonstrate how advanced some reform ideologies are.

THE LAG BETWEEN REFORM IDEOLOGIES AND REFORM PROGRAMS

The people of the United States have such a passion for organization and action that it is difficult for them to interpret correctly the widespread prevalence of reform ideologies in Argentina. They sometimes think that the existence of advanced reform ideologies is proof that revolt is brewing whereas such is not likely to be the case at all. Some who know of the freely expressed ideologies and of the logical framing of these ideologies into laws and decrees and then witness small results therefrom are prone to accuse the political administration of inefficiency or lack of stamina. The fact is, a political administration which acted otherwise would be an exception to the general tendency of action to lag far behind ideology in general practice. Those Argentines who regret this great lag agree with the North American type of thinking and say, "You are a practical people, we are not." Those who disagree with the North American type of thinking and acting say we are brash or even uncultured or vulgar because we think that every idea must immediately be converted into some scheme of organization and forced into action.

To the typical Argentine intellectual, a logically constructed, perfectly balanced statement of an idea is a worthwhile and artistic accomplishment in and of itself. Problems of reform challenge such an intellect, but reform movements are seldom severely logical and practically never well balanced. They grow out of the felt need of some great segment of the population which has developed channels and organizations for expressing that need. Neither of these has yet been developed to any great extent among Argentine farmers. The result is there is a considerable lag between the felt needs of farmers and the reform ideologies of their intellectual sponsors.

⁴⁵ Interview with Ing. Antonio J. Labiano, one of the technicians who prepared the congressional reports.

CHAPTER XVI

FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS AND FARMERS' PUBLICS IN ARGENTINA

WHY AND WHAT KIND OF FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS ARE IN ARGENTINA

Farmers' Organizations Reflect the Status of Farmers in the National Culture. One needs only to know the Argentine rural scene moderately well to be aware of two unique characteristics of farmers' organizations in the nation; first, that a very small per cent of the people who live on the land are members of farmers' organizations, and, second, that the most influential class organization in the nation is a farmers' organization. These phenomena are natural products of the history and evolution of Argentine agriculture.

The powerful and influential Rural Society (Sociedad Rural Argentina) was organized to represent and promote agriculture at a time when livestock constituted about all there was to Argentina's agriculture. Its membership is composed of large producers of livestock and other large landowners. Because livestock—chiefly cattle and sheep—today, and more so in the past, are and have been of dominant importance to national progress and welfare, this Society and its members are very influential. The Society was organized in 1866, before European-immigrant small farmers and grain farming had come to play the great part they now do in the nation's agriculture. The Confederations of Rural Societies (La Confederación de Asociacion Rurales de Buenos Aires y La Pampa and others) are also organizations of *estancieros*, but are not, by and large, composed of old, rich families. The Farmers' Federation (Federación Agraria Argentina) is an organization of small owners and tenants. Farmers' co-operatives are also middle-class organizations. Thus each stratum of farm people, except the *peones*, has one or more organizations.

As is true of farmers' organizations in other nations, these groups vary from the conservative to the radical but all of them foster and promote programs and projects for the improvement of agriculture and rural life. None of them is primarily a political organization.

Each does, however, constitute a pressure group with some influence on public opinion and therefore in public affairs. Also, as is quite common in other nations, these organizations do not always agree among themselves, are in fact quite often in sharp conflict with one another. This tendency to conflict is especially marked in Argentina because of the wide differences in economic and social status among the various classes or types of farmers in the nation.

Why Relatively Few Farmers Are Members of General Farmers' Organizations. The vast majority of the people who live on the land in Argentina are the sons and daughters of immigrants, many of them immigrants themselves. In the grain belt, where European immigrant colonies were established in great numbers between 1856 and 1900, and especially in sections where many families have gained the status of farm ownership, community organization is fairly well advanced and local co-operatives are prevalent. In the areas of more recent immigrant settlement, Chaco and Misiones, there are a number of co-operatives but only two small regional branches of general farmers' organizations. These new farmers and new citizens are in the typical stage of pioneering individualism, hewing farms out of new land, building their houses with their own hands, and struggling hard to make the new land yield a living for their families and a little economic profit with which to make payments on the land and improvements on their farms and in their homes. Their overwhelming zests are in these things and not in organizing to fight the battles of farmers in general. Visiting with farmers of this type, the writer in not a single instance had mentioned to him a general agricultural problem. If families were discouraged the issues of discouragement were things that had to do with their own farms or their own families; if they were optimistic their enthusiasms had to do with individual or family prospects.

Tenant farmers do not think of themselves as a tenant class and it would be difficult to organize them as a class-conscious group. There are many immigrant farmers who have been tenants for more than thirty years, and there are sons of immigrants who are themselves second-generation tenants. Many of them are bound to know that they will never be farm owners but they unconsciously retain ownership aspirations. Neither they nor many others in Argentina believe that Argentina will develop an institutionalized tenant sys-

tem of farming such as exists in England. The writer consistently asked tenant farmers about the new rent-contract law (see Chapter VIII) but seldom found them aware of its provisions, or if aware of them not interested in the law. Exactly the reverse was true when they were asked about the colonization law, which provides for assistance to farm ownership. On one *estancia* which has 153 tenants the farm manager (*mayordomo*) said only one tenant had mentioned the new contract law to him during the three months after it was passed. Neither farm tenants nor farm-organization leaders desire to organize tenants as tenants.

The vast majority of Argentine farmers do not have many contacts with their neighbors, and with practically no other farmers than their neighbors. There are few rural telephones, relatively few automobiles or good roads in rural districts, and few neighborhood and community organizations. In the past some immigrant farmers did not speak Spanish fluently and most of them live in areas which not more than a generation ago were peopled by families from a number of different foreign countries, strangers to each other.¹ Thus there are not only physical but social and psychological impediments to communication and association, and consequently to organization. In very few areas do foreign ethnic groups retain or rebuild the associational patterns and habits which were a part of their lives in their native countries. They do not retain their old folk games or songs and seldom their old modes of dress. The chief carry-overs from their mother countries are some foods and food habits which are home and not community practices. The subtle effects of these isolating experiences are not easily identified but are often revealed in conversation. The relation of such psychological facts to general associational practices is even more difficult to identify because the people are not conscious of it. That such a relationship exists the writer does not doubt. Class organizations to fight for long-time comprehensive objectives are products of previous associational experiences and of current ready means of communication. Neither of these requisites to organization, in the main, is present in rural Argentina.

¹ This is not as pronounced as in many other countries because almost 75 per cent of all immigrants have been Spanish and Italian. The Spaniards did not need to learn a new language and the Italians learned Spanish easily.

Rural Life in Argentina

ARGENTINE RURAL SOCIETY

(SOCIEDAD RURAL ARGENTINA)

The Second-Oldest Farmers' Organization in the Western Hemisphere. The Rural Society was organized in 1866, was antedated by a similar society in Chile, but is today probably the most powerful farmers' organization in the Western Hemisphere. It does not exercise its chief power by legislative pressure-group techniques, much less by electing its own members to seats in the national congress. Its power inheres in its long and honorable history and the class status of its members. Members are estancieros, the chief landowners, the wealthiest, best-educated, most cultured citizens of the country—the elite and aristocracy of Argentine society.

“The purposes of the Rural Society are to facilitate and promote the development and advancement of agriculture, cattle culture, and their industrial derivatives; to stimulate all the incentive possible to benefit them; to propagate the best methods of cattle culture and breeding; to hold rural expositions and congresses; to promote technical studies and scientific investigations; to stimulate private initiative; to assist the public powers; and, in general and by every means, defend the agricultural interest of the country.”² These purposes are carried out by the staging of an annual Rural Exposition, the maintenance of herdbooks, the publication of a magazine, and in a number of other ways. There have been many instances in the history of the nation when this body of highly intelligent agriculturists have foreseen and discussed agricultural problems and adjustments for some time before responsible government officials recognized them as important. They have not confined their attention to selfish ends and because they are a private organization they can speak without constraint. Because they are powerful their voice is listened to. Their interests are, however, largely confined to livestock and thus their chief influence has been in the promotion of the livestock industry. Their National Exposition includes displays of grains and farm machinery but these displays are by no means equal to those of livestock. Neither are they equal to the relative importance of the production of cereal and other field crops in the nation's agriculture.

The Society celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary on July 10,

² Estatutos de la Sociedad Rural Argentina, Article 1.

1941, on which occasion something approaching a complete history of the organization was reviewed. It reads like a record of the evolution of Argentine livestock culture from what one of the speakers described as "primitive backwardness" to its present exalted position of one of the great cattle and sheep countries of the world.³

The Structure of the Society. The Rural Society is practically always thought of in Argentina and always referred to by North Americans as "an estancieros' organization" and yet there is nothing in its constitution (*Estatutos*) which in any way restricts its membership to big livestock men. The president of the republic, minister of agriculture, mayor of the capital city, governors of all provinces, and such other persons as the Society's assembly may elect are honorary members. Correspondent members are named by the Executive Committee and must be from among "those persons who have distinguished themselves in Argentina or other countries by scientific or practical works related to the purposes of the Society." A candidate for "active membership" is presented to the Executive Committee by two active members and cannot be elected if one member of the Committee votes against him. The ballot is secret and divulgence of information concerning it carries the penalty of expulsion. The initiation fee is 1,000 pesos (\$250), after the paying of which the person is a member for life. These are the only provisions of the constitution which refer to eligibility.⁴

All officers—president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and board of directors—are elected by the majority of active members present at the annual meeting; 10 per cent of active members constituting a quorum. The Executive Committee conducts the day-by-day activities of the organization and handles quite a few activities if and when they are delegated to it by a two-thirds vote of the members present. Because the Society membership is large and the assembly has only one set official meeting annually, this high concentration of administrative power is deemed necessary. There are a number of Society activities which are continuous and it therefore maintains a large office building which houses its administrative headquarters, library, and lecture and conference rooms. It also maintains a large exposition ground which is in heavy use only during the annual Rural Exposition but is used considerably for public

³ *Anales*, Volume LXXV, No. 7 (July 1941).

⁴ *Estatutos de la Sociedad Rural Argentina*, Articles 4-7.

affairs at other periods of the year. Both are in the City of Buenos Aires.

Probably no other cattle show in the world holds the public status enjoyed by the Society's annual "Palermo Exposition." The president of the republic, his cabinet, and foreign diplomats are always present at its opening. People come from all sections of the nation to witness this grand spectacle. In the City of Buenos Aires traffic lanes are all regulated to accommodate the official parade and those going to the opening of the Exposition. During the day of "the parade of the champions" it is almost impossible to travel in any other direction than "Palermo." During Exposition week the metropolitan papers give more space to Argentina's fine cattle than to national and international news. Several Buenos Aires papers issue special graphic supplements on the opening day or on the Sunday following. Papers large and small in the interior of the country follow suit. Those who cannot attend the Exposition or auction of the champions read the newspaper accounts or listen to radio broadcasts about the events of the week. Even female domestic servants and other working people in cities, many of whom have never spent a day of their lives in the country, talk about the champion cattle and the prices paid for them at the auction.

In addition to this National Rural Exposition staged annually at Palermo Park, regional and local expositions are held throughout the nation. They are little Palermos, with their own grand champions, their parades of the premium winners, and their homage to the prize cattle of the nation and the men who produce them.

A "Commission of Breeders" is designated by the Executive Committee of the Society for each type and major breed of livestock and the registers of genealogies are property of the Society. They are sort of sacred books of the livestock industry and are, of course, the controls of the status of all purebred herds of the country. Cattle with fine pedigrees—high status—often sell for higher prices at the Palermo auction than do those which have been ranked above them by the Exposition judges. Many of the wives and children of the great breeders know the genealogies, i.e., the pedigrees, of all the great sires and dams, of the best breeds in the nation. The Society, for almost eighty years, has sponsored and promoted the development of these herds and the herdbooks, therefore, are the record of its major accomplishments.

Not only is the headquarters of the Rural Society in the City of Buenos Aires, but approximately 75 per cent of the addresses of its members are listed as Buenos Aires. The Society is related to, though not the parent of, regional societies, of which there are a number located at other cities in the republic. Each local or regional society operates very much on the same patterns as the Argentine Rural Society; has its own building and conducts its own annual exposition. The constitution of each is almost identical with that of the larger society, and its members, like those of the Rural Society, are gentlemen farmers, i.e., city-dwelling farmers.⁵ There are no real farmers' locals of any of these societies and they sponsor no programs other than those described, plus scientific lectures and discussions.

The Influence of the Rural Society. The influence of the Rural Society is immeasurable. It does not and never has operated as a political pressure group. It does not need to do so because the financial and social status of its members is so great and has been of such long standing that its influence is automatically greater than that of any other group in the nation. The annual message of its president at the Rural Exposition each August is taken somewhat as a barometer of the Society's general philosophy and attitude on current issues. The influence of its members on public opinion, politics, and legislation are powerful because the members are powerful citizens whose advice and council are sought by many persons. Their combined influence through the medium of the Rural Society is super-powerful because of the institutional standing of an organization which is outranked in the nation by none except the Catholic Church.⁶

No one can understand an organization like the Rural Society of Argentina in terms of American farmers' organizations. It is a combination of a number of movements in the United States, the old Philadelphia Society for the Advancement of Agriculture organized in Washington's, Jefferson's, and Franklin's time, and of which

⁵ See for example, *Estatutos de la Sociedad Rural de Santa Fe*. The author also visited headquarters and the exposition grounds of two of these regional societies.

⁶ Emilio Frers in his two-volume book, *Cuestiones Agrarias*, relates the actions of the Rural Society to various public acts and ideas, by citing resolutions, work of committees, etc., of the Society over the years. A record of these acts can also be found in the files of *Anales*, the official publication of the Society.

these men were members; the various pure-breed associations; gentlemen-farmers' clubs; and the Grange or Farm Bureau. Its founders knew of the Philadelphia Society but knew European Agricultural Societies much better. The idea of its organization is largely accredited to Eduardo Olivéra who received his inspiration from having seen the Birmingham (England) Agricultural Exposition. He wrote his father in Argentina about it and his letter was commented on in *El Nacional* by Sarmiento, president of the republic. On his return to Buenos Aires Olivéra joined Posadas in staging a none-too-successful exposition. The unsettled condition of Argentine society due to the war with Paraguay and Olivéra's discouragement caused some delay in his basic ideas bearing fruit. He was later, however, invited by Martínez de Hoz to assist in the formation of a Rural Society and his and Richard B. Newton's ideas undoubtedly should be given credit for its purpose and form of organization. When the Society was organized, July 10, 1866, Jose Martínez de Hoz was elected president, Richard B. Newton, vice-president, and Eduardo Olivéra, secretary. Olivéra was an officer of the Society for the following 8 years, secretary for the first 4 and president for the last 4. Martínez de Hoz was president for the first 4 years and Newton held one or another of the leading offices for 15 of the first 27 years but was never elected president. There were four offices and five Board memberships, making 135 terms of office during the first 15 years. These were held by only 49 different men. The 60 terms of chief office were held by only 21 men, 34 of the 60 terms by 6 men. These facts are stated to indicate the extent to which 6 men, Martínez de Hoz, Newton, Olivéra, Viton, Jurado, and Sundbland, contributed to the genius of the organization. They and a few others institutionalized it and its genius has never changed. In terms of its first administrator it has been "a society of men of good will, interested in the moral and material welfare of the country."⁷ As the agricultural enterprises became more diversified the very fact that the Rural Society was so thoroughly institutionalized kept it from serving the immediate needs of all farm producers and because of this fact other organizations have come into existence.

⁷ *Anales*, Vol. LXXV, No. 7 (July 1941), p. 541.

CONFEDERATION OF ARGENTINE RURAL SOCIETIES

(LA CONFEDERACIÓN DE ASOCIACION RURALES)

Origin and Purpose. The motto of this organization is "Economic Justice for the Rural Producer." It makes a great deal out of what it calls "the authentic producer." By its members it is averred to be an organization of farm-dwelling estancieros—men who live on or near their own estancias and manage them. These men are critical of the older Argentine Rural Society; claim that its members are largely absentee landowners, and its chief concern high society and politics. This organization is sometimes called "the little estancieros rural society."

There are, in fact, four confederations, "de Buenos Aires y La Pampa" with 39 societies and associations; "del Litoral" (Entre Ríos, Corrientes, Misiones, Chaco, and Formosa) with 20 societies; "del Centro y Litoral Oeste" (Santa Fe and Córdoba) with 10 societies; and "de la Patagonia" (Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut, Santa Cruz, and Tierra del Fuego) with 11 societies and associations.⁸ In February 1943 the four regional confederations founded Las Confederaciones Rurales Argentinas and elected Nemesio de Olariaga first president.⁹

President Olariaga assigns as the chief cause for the founding of a new farmers' organization the discrimination of packing companies against the smaller producers. He states that the packing companies after 1924 began investing their capital in Australia and New Zealand, reducing their purchases in Argentina, and that as the demand for Argentine cattle diminished they followed the practice of purchasing chiefly from the large feeding or fattening estancias in north-western Buenos Aires and southern Córdoba and Santa Fe. By 1931 the smaller producers, especially those in the breeding belt, were in dire straits. The Ottawa Treaty, giving preference to Dominion purchases, further restricted Great Britain's purchases of Argentine beef.¹⁰ The value of livestock exports, which had been 886,000,000 pesos for 1915-19, dropped to 790,000,000 for 1925-29, and to 477,000,000 for 1930-34. The actual amount exported dropped from

⁸ De Olariaga, *El Ruralismo Argentino*, pp. 15-16.

⁹ *Buenos Aires y La Pampa* (the House organ of the Buenos Aires and La Pampa Confederation), April 1943, p. 4.

¹⁰ De Olariaga, *El Ruralismo Argentino*, pp. 152-53 and 164.

1,268,362 tons in 1929 to 1,077,770 tons in 1932.¹¹ The decline in tonnage was only 15 per cent, but the decline in value was more than 46 per cent, which caused a considerable stir among livestock producers, especially among the smaller producers who felt they were being badly squeezed in the declining market.

Organizations for action by livestock producers were already in existence, not only the Rural Society (Sociedad Rural) but a number of local societies. Many members of the local societies were also members of the Rural Society. Each local society was, however, an autonomous, independent organization. It was a group of these local societies that called a series of conferences to wrestle with the emergency. They met in four conventions within a period of four months—at Tandil, Trenque Lauquen, La Plata, and Nueve de Julio—each location being in the heart of the cattle-breeding belt or on the fringe between the breeding and feeding belts. During the course of the conferences the issues which led to the founding of a new farmers' organization became clear. The cattle feeders, chiefly represented by members of the Rural Society who were present, wanted some degree of government control and regulation of packing companies. The small cattle breeders, representatives of the local societies, wanted the cattlemen to enter the packing business and thus be in a position to guarantee a higher degree of equity in purchases of cattle and sale of meat.¹² This schism led to a resolution on the part of the local societies to form a confederation of their associations.

The first meeting was held at Tandil in March 1932 and all local societies in the Province of Buenos Aires were invited. Eight of them and the Argentine Rural Society attended. A resolution calling for the organization of the "Confederation of Rural Societies" was presented to the convention by the Trenque Lauquen group. The next meeting was held two months later at Trenque Lauquen, to which were invited the rural societies of La Pampa as well as those of Buenos Aires. At this meeting it was resolved to form "The Confederation of the Rural Societies of Buenos Aires and La Pampa" and submit the action to a referendum of the respective local societies. At a third meeting, held at Nueve de Julio in July, the Confederation was founded, with a membership of ten local so-

¹¹ *Anuario Geografico Argentino*, 1941, pp. 376-77.

¹² De Olariaga, pp. 164-74.

cieties, the Rural Society of Argentina not participating.¹³ Since that time the membership has increased to 39 affiliated local societies and to 10,000 individual producers.¹⁴

Until the Confederation was formed each local society acted completely independently of all others. The plan of organization and their activities were largely patterned after the organization of the Rural Society of Argentina¹⁵ but they were not, as organizations, constituent members of that society.

Even after confederation the newly formed organization was not a national society. It was three regional confederations of local societies: one the Confederation of Rural Associations of Buenos Aires and La Pampa (La Confederación de Asociaciones Rurales de Buenos Aires y La Pampa); another the Confederation of Rural Societies of the center and west Litoral (Entre Ríos, Corrientes, Misiones, Chaco, and Formosa); and the other the Confederation of the Rural Associations of Central and Litoral (Santa Fe and Córdoba). There has since been added the Federation of the Rural Societies of Patagonia (Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut, Santa Cruz, and Tierra del Fuego).¹⁶

Structure of the Confederations. Because the Confederation of Buenos Aires and La Pampa is the largest and most influential of the four regional societies, a brief description of its organic structure will be given. It is a confederation of 39 locals, each of which elects one member to the Board of Directors of the larger society. The Board elects an Executive Committee of seven members, by a majority vote. This Committee carries on the day-by-day activities of the Confederation, subject to the approval of the Board. Both the Board and the Executive Committee work within policies formulated by the delegate conventions. A producer who is individually a member only of his local confederation thus acts always through those whom he elects to represent him or through officers elected by those whom he has delegated to represent him. Each local society can and does act as an independent organization. All of them, however, join in regular confederation conventions at which they carry on discussions, pass resolutions, and develop public sentiment and opinion.

¹³ *Buenos Aires y La Pampa*, December 1943, pp. 40-43.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, October 1944, p. 9.

¹⁵ See p. 399, footnote 5, this chapter.

¹⁶ De Olariaga, *El Ruralismo Argentino*, pp. 15-16 and 180.

Each other confederation is organized and operates in about the same way. In February 1943, the four regional confederations joined together into Las Confederaciones Rurales Argentinas and elected Olariaga, president of the Buenos Aires and La Pampa Confederation, president of the new National Confederation. The new organization has no administrative jurisdiction over the regional confederations but does join them together in such a way that they can exercise a greater national influence than when each acts alone.¹⁷

The Influence and Attitudes of the Confederation. The National Confederation has been in existence for too short a time to measure its influence. The appraisal made here is, therefore, largely of the Buenos Aires and La Pampa organization, often, however, joined by other regional confederations.

Throughout the life of this organization it has been chiefly concerned with the livestock industry, with improvement and marketing of cattle and sheep. Its greatest claims are in the field of marketing, especially in the more efficient and equitable distribution of the purchase and shipment of livestock and meat products. It is probably justified in its claim that it was father of the Argentine Corporation of Meat Producers (*Corporación Argentina de Productores de Carnes—C.A.P.*).

It has expressed consistent attitudes in its conventions, in its official paper, and before the national congress against what it considers the dominating influence of the cattle-feeding estancieros and the packing companies. Recently it has advocated the establishment of corporations of producers of cereals and other products similar to the C.A.P.¹⁸

It approved Governor Moreno's land-reform legislation in Buenos Aires Province in 1942, backed the federal administration in its measures to improve farm tenancy in 1942-43, and in general has taken not only liberal but militant attitudes about encouragement to co-operatives, the Colonization Institute, and even taxation reform.¹⁹ President Olariaga in his address to the convention of the Buenos Aires and La Pampa Confederation in November 1942 covered almost every conceivable issue of economic or social justice with which livestock or cereal producers could be concerned.²⁰

¹⁷ *Buenos Aires y La Pampa*, December 1943, pp. 34-43.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, July 1943, pp. 1-12.

²⁰ *Edición Rural*, November 1942, pp. 2 and 10.

At this same convention the governors of both Buenos Aires and La Pampa made formal addresses in which they acknowledged the influence of this farmers' organization.²¹ Other confederations also keep in fairly close touch and seem to have influence with provincial and territorial political administrations. They pass resolutions and petitions on such issues as taxation, marketing, crop purchases and relief, tenancy, tariffs, and colonization and their speakers by direction or implication praise or criticize legislatures, congress, governors, and even the president of the republic.²² There is little doubt that these confederations have furnished a public voice to many Argentine farmers who previous to their organization wielded little influence, but who today are not easily disregarded.

FEDERACIÓN AGRARIA ARGENTINA

Its Origin. The Farmers' Federation is very different from the other two general farmers' organizations; its members are "dirty farmers," mostly tenant farmers, and mostly cereal producers. It came into existence through a tenant farmers' strike and has been a militant fighting organization during its whole existence. It claimed a membership of 27,000 in 1943.

Like any popular movement it is impossible to separate the influence of economic conditions and militant leadership in the origin of the Argentine tenant farmers' strike in 1912-13. The cereal belt had developed rapidly and at the hands of immigrant farmers. Shortly after 1900 the ascent up the agricultural ladder from immigrant peon, to tenant, to owner slowed sharply. This may have been an unrecognized element in the general background situation. The physical volume of wheat, corn, and flax production in 1912-13 was more than double that of 1910-11.²³ Prices of farm products declined rapidly and neither rents nor mortgage indebtedness followed them down. This was undoubtedly a significant element in the situation. A lawyer sponsored the cause of the distressed farmers and this was an important factor in that it furnished the tenants vocal

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

²² The publications cited in this section are ample proof of these tendencies and influences. Personal conversations with Confederation officials made the organization's viewpoints even more explicit.

²³ "Resúmenes estadísticos y su expresión gráfica," *Revista de Economía Argentina*, Tomo XLII, No. 300 (June 1943), p. 194.

leadership. The shibboleth "we produce no more until our conditions are better" was announced in Alcorta, Santa Fe Province, and spread rapidly. The provincial government appointed a committee to arbitrate but the tenants and their leaders claimed that the Rural Society of Rosario was so influential that arbitration was impossible and that the only solution was to form an organization of their own. Such an organization was formed August 15, 1912, in a meeting of representatives from 15 communities. Francisco Netri, the lawyer-promoter, was elected legal adviser and for some time traveled constantly among the striking farmers. A reduction in rent was obtained and the strike subsided. It was claimed by some that the whole movement was sponsored by the socialists. The president, Antonio Noguera, was a socialist, but was the only member of the central committee who was. There was, however, a struggle between the socialists and nonsocialists for control which lasted until 1916. It ended when Netri was elected to displace Noguera. Netri was shortly afterward shot on the streets of Rosario, and Esteban Piacenza, a substantial tenant farmer from Moldes, Province of Córdoba, was elected president in November 1916. He has held that office ever since—for a period of twenty-eight years.²⁴ President Piacenza came to Argentina as an Italian immigrant at fourteen years of age. For two years he worked at various jobs and then became a hired man (peon) on an estancia. He was promoted to manager during his second year on the estancia, and although he says he had only about a third-grade education, the owners of the estancia, two brothers, a lawyer and a doctor, became his sponsors and helped him in every way possible. He was soon able to start tenant farming for himself and when the strike began in 1912 was operating a 600-hectare (1,483-acre) farm. He left the farm when he was made president of the Federation in 1916, but still operates it *in absentia*.²⁵

Growth and Development. The Federation increased in membership from 865 in 1918 to 27,000 in 1943. After its annual meeting in 1921 it definitely severed relations with the Socialist Party.²⁶ In 1928 it purchased its own building in Rosario, to be used as a headquarters for itself and its co-operative and as a hotel for farmers.

²⁴ *Apuntes de su historia 1912-1928*, Rosario: Federación Agraria Argentina, 1939, pp. 5-25.

²⁵ Interview with Piacenza, 1942.

²⁶ *Apuntes de su historia*, p. 57.

In 1931-32 the cereal belt was again in depression, the Federation in debt, and the life of the organization at stake. It, therefore, went through legal bankruptcy and thereby suffered some setback. Since



FIGURE 39

its reorganization it has become a sounder business organization but probably has a slightly smaller membership than at its height in 1923. This fact is difficult to ascertain because its structure is now slightly different from what it was then. Its books showed 3,000 new mem-

bers received from September 1942, to February 1943²⁷ and it can probably legitimately claim a membership of over 25,000, practically all of which is located in the cereal belt.

Structure and Activities. The Federation is in fact three organizations: the parent body (Sindicato), the co-operative union, and the youth clubs. In addition to these it has an insurance company, legally a separate organization but definitely a child of the Federation. The Sindicato is the overhead organization of the Federation and might in fact be called "The Federation." Its function is "to handle all defense measures for members, fight their battles in the courts, legislatures and congress, and with merchants and landlords." The co-operatives handle the commercial projects and are operated as independent business organizations. Each member of a co-operative must subscribe for 200 pesos (\$50) worth of stock. The youth organization is primarily an educational agency. Its dues are the same as those of the Sindicato, 13 cents per month. In 1943, the Sindicato had 287 branches and 12,000 members. The members join branches, not the Federation as such, except when no local branch is available. The co-operative had 14,000 members and the youth organization had 248 clubs and 18,000 members. These cannot be combined as a total membership of 44,000 because there are duplicate memberships. Only farmers are eligible to membership. Regional agronomists (county agents) and others are permitted in the organization but may not vote. Anyone who sublets his land for more than 10 per cent profit and those who own enough land to be considered other than genuine small farmers cannot be members.²⁸

The activities of the organization are reflected in the proceedings and resolutions of its annual conventions. These resolutions, passed over a period of years, were pretty well covered in a restatement of the purposes of the organization, adopted in 1935. It reads:

To attempt by every means possible to obtain the division of latifundia; to enable those with capacity to own or rent farms; to organize co-operative and mutual aid; to educate the rural people and teach youth the love of country and work; to care for the interests of those who till the soil; to co-ordinate their aspirations and impulses toward moral and material objectives; to obtain for rural people a greater part and greater

²⁷ Interview with Piacenza.

²⁸ Estatutos de la Federación Agraria Argentina, Article 61.

responsibility in the affairs of the nation; to support the federal and provincial governments in everything done for the welfare of farmers, especially concerning primary and technical education; to advise its members on legal affairs and interfere in their behalf in rent contracts; to attempt to obtain the passage of helpful laws and oppose laws which may be harmful to rural interests.²⁹

Few organizations of this type can claim a better record of following resolutions with accomplishments than the Federation. It started its hail insurance in 1918; staged a renters' strike in 1919; and claims credit for a new rent law in 1921. It started its co-operatives in 1920 and its accident insurance in 1922. It started a colonization project in La Pampa in 1924, which it later abandoned, and another in Santiago del Estero in 1925, which it still operates. In 1926 it rented a large estate in Córdoba and sublet it to its members in family-sized farms. It staged a strike in the sugar-cane area in 1926 and claims credit for successful adjustments. It has defended many tenants threatened with eviction and kept up continual agitation for division of large estates. It keeps a black list of what it calls the worst large landlords and notifies tenants on the farms of these owners that it stands ready to defend them.

Because the organization's work among rural youth is the only thing of its kind in the nation it is especially worthy of comment. The work is educational, recreational, and social. Boys and girls are organized into clubs and furnished books. Paid women leaders and demonstrators employed for this work are rural school teachers selected by a careful examination and then given special training for their club work. Subjects taught are "dressmaking, child care, needlework and embroidering, first aid, cooking, hygiene and personal care, knitting, handiwork, housecleaning." The following is a synopsis of instructions to a group of those extension workers:

In the zone which you will visit you will find mainly potato farms, operated by tenants. The same deficiency in the acreage of farms observed in this zone is found in the aspirations and standards of the people. Their purpose is to get the greatest profit out of their work. Their homes are generally dirty; no flower or vegetable gardens; semi-illiteracy; carelessness in children's education; disharmony between parents and children because of work conditions, and consequent departure of the latter as soon as possible; lack of associational life.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Article 4.

Your work is to tackle the whole education that those deficiencies show to be needed. The course you will teach in the clubs on needlework, cooking, etc., will attract the farm girls, but after that you must go to their homes to teach them and their mothers and even the men, these practical things. You should make mothers wish clean and neat bedrooms and dining rooms; you should teach them private hygiene; you should show them how to supply themselves out of what is produced on the farm and how to make meals not only sufficient but pleasant and neat. In other words, all the things that home economics teaches you should show them practically in their homes.³⁰

The Influence of the Organization. It is much more difficult to appraise the influence of an organization which works at the grass roots than one which works at the top of a nation's political and social structure. President Piacenza says he calls on the minister of agriculture, the national deputies, and the president of the nation and makes farmers' wants known; tries to get bills drafted, introduced, and passed, but that the large landowners are so powerful that he has little success in this field. Told of how American farmers' organizations sometimes circulate questionnaires and then vote for the political candidates who answer them satisfactorily, he said, "That would do no good here because the large landowners would simply take even stronger stands than they now do and tell their tenants to vote the other way or suffer the consequences." He claimed that regional agronomists are sometimes afraid to work closely with the Federation because of the powerful political influence of big landowners. Others well established do not hesitate to help in every way possible. Even in the face of these discouragements he believes the fact that the Federation fights hard and in the open and that it attacks farmers' problems on all fronts, is gradually developing a public opinion among farmers and in behalf of farmers. He readily admits that its influence is largely confined to the cereal belt and that it has had little or no success in penetrating the livestock areas.

It would be difficult not to believe that such agricultural reforms as longer rent contracts, colonization, depression benefit payments to farmers, and the Santa Fe rural-housing law have come at least

³⁰ Source: *Central Clubs Juventud Agraria Argentina: Instrucciones para las Maestras Especializadas, toda vez que deban realizar una gira de instruccion por el campo*, Rosario: Federación Agraria Argentina.

partly because of the work of the Federation. Even greater than these, however, are the co-operative, the insurance, and the youth program of the organization which are self-help programs among farmers. The Federation is the only Argentine farmers' organization which conducts its work through local farm-community organizations.³¹

ASSOCIATION OF ARGENTINE CO-OPERATIVES

The Growth of Agricultural Co-operatives. In Argentina as in many other agricultural countries, farmers' co-operatives have developed sporadically but persistently. The first to be organized, in 1899, was a "mutual aid society" which combined insurance and credit-union features. This co-operative still exists under the name of "Agricultural Progress." Its establishment was followed a year later by the organization of "La Agrícola Israelita" (Jewish Agriculture), the forerunner of one of the great federated co-operative societies of the nation. Others followed quickly and there were 22 in 1911-12; 69 in 1917-18; and 128 in 1922-23.³² By this time both sentiment and experiences were ample to constitute agricultural co-operation a movement seeking widespread public sanction. It is not our purpose to essay a complete or definitive analysis of Argentine agricultural co-operatives but rather to describe the nature of co-operative federations or unions which rank as general farmers' organizations and which seek not only to aid farmers but to influence public opinion.

What may be called the co-operative movement began in 1919 when, under the sponsorship of the Museo Social Argentino, a congress of co-operative societies met in Buenos Aires. This, followed by a similar congress in 1921, served to crystallize the senti-

³¹ Practically all of the information contained in this section is based on visits to Federation National Headquarters and interviews with various farmer members in their homes. President Piacenza made all headquarters' documents readily available and the organization publishes a newspaper—*La Tierra* (The Land)—which contains current information.

³² For a fairly complete study of Argentine agricultural co-operatives see Juan L. Tenenbaum, *Una Clasificación Racional de las Cooperativas Agrícolas Argentinas*, Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Casa Editora Coni, 1939. An even more comprehensive report is by the same author, *Agricultural Cooperatives in Argentina*, Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, Div. of Agricultural Cooperation, No. 17 (May 1941), Series on Co-operatives.

ment for a co-operative law which was passed in 1926. This law not only laid down regulations to govern all co-operative societies but specified that "the Ministry of Agriculture will exercise public control over the co-operative societies, will revise and certify the balances submitted by them, and will establish an information service for and about the co-operative movement within the Republic."³³ Law No. 11,388 authorizes the National Bank and the National Mortgage Bank to grant loans to co-operatives and exempts co-operative societies from the payment of national taxes. Because of federal government sponsorship and control of these co-operatives the Farmers' Federation and some others claim that co-operatives have been robbed of their own creative initiative. Be this as it may, two things of interest have resulted: the Ministry of Agriculture militantly promotes co-operatives and some co-operative federations militantly promote the welfare of farm people by developing public opinion and to some small extent creating farmer pressure groups. The number of co-operatives increased rapidly after the passage of the federal law in 1926. By 1932-33 there were 251 of them. The number decreased to 138 in 1937-38 but the volume of business has increased steadily and some very strong associations have thoroughly established themselves. Only a few examples can be described here.

Operation and Influence of Co-operatives. In order to appraise the role of co-operatives as together constituting a general farmers' co-operative movement, it is necessary to recognize three levels of co-operative activities, the activities of local co-operatives, of federated groups, and the Ministry of Agriculture which sponsors many of them. Tenenbaum listed 290 co-operative organizations in existence in 1938 and classified them into seven groups—"agricultural, dairy, cotton, yerba and tobacco, grape and fruit, insurance, and miscellaneous."³⁴ Almost one half of them were "agriculture" and since it is these which, through confederations, function more than others like a general farmers' organization, it is a description of their organization and influence that is apropos here. Mention should be made, however, of the fact that other local and federated co-operatives bring many farmers together which results in discussion of a public-opinion-making nature. The federation of eight cot-

³³ Article 10 of Federal Law No. 11,388.

³⁴ Tenenbaum, *Una Clasificacion Racional*, pp. 51-64.

ton co-operatives in Chaco, a dairy co-operative in Santa Fe Province which owns and operates a large butter factory, and the central co-operative of the Jewish Agricultural Society would demand special attention if the purpose here was a discussion of farmers' co-operatives as such.³⁵

A typical local agricultural co-operative is the Co-operative Society Limited of Bragado. The functions of this local co-operative are "to sell the products of its members, to provide them with consumer produce, tools, machines, supplies, sacks, wire, and other things necessary to rural activities; to acquire and rent farms for its members; to facilitate credit for the development of rural tasks; to emit all obligations in accordance with the laws and banking relations; and to promote by every means the advance of primary and technical education of people of the farms."³⁶ It is a stock company, one share of stock and one vote per member, and had 219 members on the thirtieth of September 1941. Its economic activities for the year 1940-41 included the sale of corn, wheat, sunflower seed, barley, and a few minor products—a total volume of 197,320 quintales (19,436 tons); the negotiation of 30,335.75 pesos (\$7,584) of production credit for its members; and the sale of 46,755.30 pesos (\$11,689) of supplies. In social affairs it operated a library, held social meetings, and participated in the convention of the general co-operative association.³⁷

Local co-operatives are many times not directly managed by farmers themselves. The business managers generally are not farmers or even farm-born persons. Outstanding exceptions are the Jewish co-operatives and the dairy-products co-operative in Santa Fe Province. The boards of directors are composed of farmers, but most often white-collar salaried managers are town or city persons. These persons rationalize that the farmers need men more experi-

³⁵ The best general discussion is Tenenbaum, *Agricultural Cooperatives in Argentina*. Some more specialized references are: *Sancor*, House Organ of the Cooperativas Unidas Ltda., Fabrica de Manteca, Sunchales, see especially issue for October 1944; Roberto F. Ortiz, *Las Sociedades Cooperativas en la Argentina—Clasificación y resumen de las contestaciones a una encuesta*, Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1939; *Cooperativas Argentinas de Comercialización de Granos*, Buenos Aires: Comisión Nacional de Granos y Elevadores, Publicación No. 32, 1938; Annual reports of the Jewish Colonization Association.

³⁶ Estatutos de Productores Rurales, Sociedad Cooperativa Limitada Bragado, 1939, Article 2.

³⁷ *Memoria y Balance de Productores Rurales*, Bragado, 1941.

enced than themselves in buying, selling, and accounting and that the co-operative movement would be weakened if farmers had to depend on themselves alone. There is some validity in their contentions because few farm youths ever receive college or even high-school training and are not therefore prepared for business-management positions. The Farmers' Federation calls these nonfarm managers "professional co-operators" and argues that they do not either understand or believe in co-operatives, but only work for the salaries they receive and the political influence they can wield.³⁸

There were five unions or federations of co-operatives in 1941, the oldest, "The Association of Argentine Co-operatives," established in Santa Fe Province in 1922. Others are "Entre Ríos Federation of Co-operatives," "Union of Chaco Agricultural Co-operatives," "Butter Co-operative Union of San Carlos Centro," "Agrarian Fraternity" (Jewish), and in addition the co-operative of the Farmers' Federation.³⁹ Only the one that exercises the greatest public and political influence will be described here. A concrete picture of its public operation can probably best be presented by a description of one of the conventions and the resolutions passed by the delegates.

The writer attended one of these annual conventions as a guest of the Vice-President of the National Agricultural Council (Consejo Agrario) and traveled from Buenos Aires to Bragado, the place of the meeting, on the special train of the Governor of Buenos Aires Province. The Governor's party was met at the railway station by a great crowd of farmers and local townspeople and we all marched behind a band and a mounted guard composed of local and federal police and a considerable coterie of "gaucho-dressed" local horsemen to the theater where the meeting was held. The assembled crowd was at least 5,000 persons—farmers, townspeople, and politicians—about one half of whom could be accommodated in the hall. The remainder listened over loud speakers as they stood or sat in the central plaza. Speeches were made by the Governor of Buenos Aires Province, the President of the Co-operatives, a provincial senator, and the Provincial Minister of Government (Secretary of State). Delegates and guests were served a great dinner, at which some

³⁸ Interviews with managers of local farmers' co-operatives and officers of the Farmers' Federation.

³⁹ Tenenbaum, *Agricultural Cooperatives in Argentina*.

of the most fiery speeches were made. The tenor of the whole day's performance was very much like an American farmers' mass meeting to which come politicians and other public leaders seeking farmer support and whose public influence farmers can use. One political speaker said, "I do not live on a farm but psychologically I am a farmer"; another delivered a fiery speech about injustices to farmers; and the Governor expressed his determination to "break up latifundia" and said his two chief agricultural planks were colonization (dividing estancias into small owner-operated farms) and farmers' co-operatives. The President of the Co-operative Association said, "When we first organized we were called Communists, when we sought government assistance we were called Fascists; we are neither but only co-operating farmers seeking justice." A farmer delegate, when asked what he thought of the Governor's promises, replied, "Maybe he means what he said and maybe he knows that he can promise to break up the estancias but that his legislature, controlled by large landowners, won't pass the law and he is therefore only talking politics."

This brief description of the convention, no matter what the motives of the participants, serves to show the public role played by this farmers' organization. The resolutions adopted by the convention were:

1. Approval of Governor Moreno's proposed bill for progressive taxation of latifundia.
2. Request the senate of the nation to pass the proposed "law for adjustment of rent contracts."
3. Because the solution of the farm problem is the "possession of the land by those who farm it," and because "tenants are subdued by large owners" the appropriation for the Instituto de Colonizacion should be increased to 1,000,000 pesos to finance its program of establishing home-owning farmers on the land.
4. Recommend the establishing of a "marketing organization," a joint enterprise of the government and the co-operatives, to finance the marketing of farm crops.
5. Request the federal government to continue its crop-purchase policy.
6. Request the provincial government to exempt co-operatives from the "grain-operations tax."
7. Approval of Governor's program for the expansion of the colonization program, but request that he keep its organization autonomous.

8. Recommend the organization of rural youth for the purpose of directing their interests and activities to farming.⁴⁰

FARMER PUBLICS

A public seldom includes all the people of a nation except in times of war when the nation's life or integrity is at stake. There are usually at least two and sometimes many publics operating in any nation at any given time. They are formed about public issues and express themselves by means of public opinion. If the issues are persistent and of long standing, two or more publics, such as political parties, are fairly permanent in the life of the nation. If the issues are important but transient, publics form on the various sides of the issues but dissolve as soon as the issues are settled. If an issue must be settled by legislation or administrative decision, the various publics are likely to organize pressure groups and bring to bear all influence possible on legislators or administrative officers. In the United States the most easily recognized operation of farmer publics is the pressure-group activities of farmers' organizations. In some other nations agrarian political parties use even more direct action methods by electing their members to public offices.

One cannot judge the strength of farmer publics in Argentina by the membership in farmers' organizations because the financial and class status of the members of the various organizations are very different. Thirty thousand members of the Rural Society would hardly be possible whereas the Farmers' Federation can probably claim near that number. The rank and file members of the one are prominent men nationally while the rank and file members of the other are not known beyond the local communities where they live. Publics generally function on a national, or at least provincial, basis and it is therefore easy to see that the public influence of the Farmers' Federation is restricted while that of the Rural Society is very great and almost automatic. That of the Confederation is intermediate but militantly active.

In practically all modern societies newspapers are the chief organs of public opinion because they constantly discuss the issues with which various publics are concerned. Relatively few Argentine farmers read the great daily newspapers of the nation and many

⁴⁰ *La Prensa*, July 13, 1942.

local papers do not discuss public issues. The major instruments of public opinion do not, therefore, function widely in rural areas. The result is that the majority of farmers are seldom a part of national publics. Furthermore, they believe that other persons, mainly politicians, direct these publics and that to influence them is beyond the reach of unorganized farmers. Among the farmers who are organized, their own organization newspapers and officials circulate freely and thus help to develop public opinion on many issues. Each of the farmers' organizations described above does, therefore, become something of a farmers' pressure group in that its members are aware of the issues on which its officers seek to influence legislatures and public officials. They are also educational and propaganda agencies which serve to enlighten their members on public issues, stimulate discussion of these issues among them, and therefore draw them into national publics in which they would not otherwise participate.

CHAPTER XVII

THE FARMERS' PLACE IN ARGENTINE CULTURE

THE NATION'S CULTURE

Culture Is Integral. It is not easy to identify those things which properly can be classed the components of a nation's culture and once they are identified it is even more difficult to know to what extent a given person or class of persons are participants in the various components of that culture. It is easy to see comparisons and contrasts between one's own culture and that of a considerably different type. It is not so easy to observe objectively the differences and similarities of various classes within a culture. One can observe material differences and can fairly easily know the zests and discouragements of persons and classes, but finds it very difficult to know what one class thinks of other classes or to ascertain a true picture of sentiments and aspirations. The members of one class do not always reveal these things to members of other classes in their own society. The manager of a large sugar plantation understood this when he said to the writer, "I hope you will talk to the *peones* and then tell me what they think because they won't tell me." I did talk to the *peones* and to members of all other classes. I sometimes found out what they thought of other classes but most often discovered that they took other classes for granted, took their own position in the total class structure of the nation for granted, and lived their day-by-day life without much worry or discontent. To them their way of life is quite normal, their society is total and integral, and their culture accepted without question.

It is not the purpose here to contrast Argentine culture with other cultures but rather to convey to the reader the most analytical and best-rounded picture possible of the cultural status, participation, and behavior of the Argentine farmer as a member of his own society. This is a very different undertaking and the observations and conclusions are very different than would result if the purpose were to compare the cultural status of Argentine farm people with

that in other countries and appraise their behavior by standards which prevail in some other nation or culture.

Identifiable Components of Argentine Culture. Fundamental to the culture of any modern people is what may correctly be called their nationalism. It is easily identified by a set of loyalties, prides, and prejudices based on the historic development of their national society. Its symbols are the great historical episodes in the evolution of the nation and the great national heroes who participated in those episodes. Equally important and almost as easily identifiable is the folklore of a people. This also is a reflection of the history and evolution of their society. It is identifiable in songs, stories, school textbooks, and in the best literature of the nation. Like the story and symbolry of great historical events and heroes it is paraded on all sorts of public occasions and therefore revealed to anyone who is present to observe. These two things are found everywhere in Argentina.

The cycles and rhythms of day-by-day and year-by-year activities are not the same for all segments of the nation's people. They can therefore be observed only by a careful and somewhat detailed study of the life of the different groups within the nation. Because these rhythms and cycles are diverse but nevertheless interwoven with those things which are common to all people of the nation, one must look for both national cultural common denominators and group cultural common denominators, in behavior, ideas, and sentiments.

Farm operators and their families (both tenants and owners) are the real middle class in Argentine agriculture. Peones, especially transient farm laborers, are the lower class. Owners of great tracts of land, often absentee owners, are the upper class. In what is said here we will be discussing largely the farmer middle class. They live in great numbers in the cereal, vineyard, sugar, cotton, and fruit-producing areas but are also scattered all through the livestock areas. They are the major population elements and therefore have greatest right to be recognized as representative of the extent to and ways in which farmers participate in Argentine culture. Even they are not a homogeneous group. They consist of many ethnic stocks, live in different climates, and grow different kinds of farm products. It should be evident that these multiple factors cannot be described and could not be observed in this type of study. The

observations had to be more of a reconnaissance nature and the generalizations must therefore be of a broad character.

In a number of preceding chapters information has been presented which bears upon the cultural participation of Argentine farmers. Chapter X discussed their isolation, Chapter XI discussed their community life, Chapter XII discussed their levels and standards of living, Chapter XV discussed the extent to which reforms and reform ideologies influenced them, and Chapter XVI discussed their participation in public affairs. This chapter is not a summary of what was said in other chapters and cultural observations recorded in them should, therefore, be considered a part of the discussion presented in this chapter.

THE ROLE OF AGRICULTURE IN THE NATION'S LIFE AND CULTURE

Agriculture Dominates the Nation's Economy. Argentina is and always has been predominantly an agricultural society. It rose to and maintains its position among the nations of the world by the exportation of agricultural products, and farming is by far its greatest economic enterprise. Landowners constitute its most influential economic, social, and political group and the basic economic concerns of the nation are with the issues and problems of agriculture. Rural life forms the theme of most of the national folklore, music, and literature. These facts are not easily observed by one who visits the great City of Buenos Aires and comes to know the extent to which it is the hub of Argentine economic and social life. Their truth may be doubted by those who learn that less than 26 per cent of the Argentine people live on the land. Evidences to buttress the validity of the statements just made are, however, convincing once they are known.

The value of raw agricultural products constitutes more than one third of the annual wealth production of the nation and farm products furnish almost four fifths of the raw products for Argentine industry. Almost 96 per cent of the nation's export values are agricultural products, and the chief industries of the nation are engaged in the manufacturing of agricultural products—foodstuffs, beverages and tobacco, textiles and leather constituting 77 per cent of all industry. A much higher per cent of the agricultural enterprise than of any other is owned by Argentines and it is therefore considered

to be almost purely Argentine. This is not true of the railroads, public utilities, or packing plants.¹

Agricultural Traditions and Folklore. A large component of any society's culture consists of its traditions and folklore and in Argentina only the traditions of the great historic episodes of the nation's evolution and pride in the national heroes who participated in those episodes outrank the agricultural and rural life folklore. The longest standing and most emphasized agricultural tradition is cattle culture and the most famous, well-known, and universally loved piece of literature is Hernandez' "The Gaucho, Martín Fierro."² Grade-school textbooks from first readers on inculcate these traditions in the minds and hearts of all Argentine youth. Pictorial art, drama, and poetry keep them alive. The air waves, night-clubs, and other public places are as jammed with tangoes in Argentina as they are with jazz and swing in the United States. There are gaucho songs by the dozens which are known by practically everyone. Country costumes—the poncho, *bombachas*, boots, and belts—and country foods—*asado* and *puchero*—are national, not merely rural, in status.

The various agricultural production belts of the nation are so thoroughly known by even the most unlettered that the mention of Mendoza means wine, of Tucumán means sugar, of Misiones means yerba, of Chaco means cotton, of Río Negro and Tigre means fruit, and of Patagonia means sheep. These ideas are not merely learned in school; they are traditions, ideas plus prides, handed down by word of mouth, shared by everyone. It is highly doubtful that the whole population, old and young, foreign born and native born, know as much, in a broad way, about anything else that concerns the whole of Argentine society as they do about its agriculture. It is a safe wager that if a stranger were to ask the first hun-

¹ S. E. Harris, et al., *Economic Problems of Latin America*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1944, Chap. IX; Weil, *Argentine Riddle*, pp. 272-84. Anyone interested in detailed statistics or other types of information on the relation of agriculture to industry or the development of industry in Argentina is cited to: Dorfman, *El desarrollo industrial*, p. 88; Bunge, *Una Nueva Argentina*, Chap. IX; Garcia-Mata and Llorens, *Argentina Económica*, Chaps. VI-VII; *Anuario Geográfico Argentino*, 1941, Chap. VII; Ing. Pedro J. Cristia, et al., *Argentina Económica e Industrial*, Rosario, 1944, p. 106; and *Technological and Economic Survey of Argentine Industries*, Chicago, Ill.: Armour Research Foundation, 1943.

² Jose Hernandez, *El Gaucho Martín Fierro y La Vuelta de Martín Fierro*, Buenos Aires, 1872.

dred Argentines he met in any part of the nation, or the world, to justify their universal pride in Argentina that a marked majority of them would recite the facts which have just been cited. They would not demonstrate their membership in Argentine society by telling you what they think of Yankees or Englishmen or by discussing Parisian styles but by reciting the chief prides of Argentina—her agriculture and agricultural products.

FARMERS IN THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF ARGENTINE SOCIETY

They are High, Low, and Middle Class. A writer who knows Argentina well says, "About two hundred families make up Argentine social fabric, but they are interwoven in an astonishing degree."³ He might have added that they are members of the landed aristocracy. By "social fabric" he means only the quite exclusive social set which constitutes the elite of Argentine society. They are farm families, even though relatively few of them live on the farm for more than a few weeks or months per year. They constitute the top layer of the Argentine class structure, and they are farmers.

Another writer describing the Argentine "poor," says, "The bitterest economic pills are allotted the agricultural workers in the sugar, cotton, yerba-mate, and lumber industries of the north. . . . Contract labor involving entire families down to the smallest children, wages paid in company script, company stores with excess prices, mean housing, inadequate food, pay of a few cents a day and seldom exceeding fifty American cents—such conditions, according to Juan Antonio Solari, affect the lives of from 150,000 to 200,000 Argentine workers. . . ." ⁴ As the author of this statement makes clear, he is describing not only the lowest layer of Argentine rural life but the lowest layer of all Argentine society. Between these two classes, and not represented by either of them, are some three million other farm people. They, too, are a part of the social fabric of Argentine society and are at neither the top nor the bottom of the class structure. In terms of farm operators ("*productores*"—i.e., entrepreneurs), in 1937 there were 440,000 families. They and the members of their families constitute 90 per cent of the farm

³ Weddell, *Introduction to Argentina*, p. 80.

⁴ Hubert Herring, *Good Neighbors*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1941, p. 43.

population. The typical person from the United States would say that these are the people who should represent farmers as a class. This, too, would be unrealistic because both the *estanciero* and the peon are persons whose almost complete economic concern is with farming. Neither would hesitate to classify himself as belonging to agriculture, but neither thinks of himself as belonging to the same class as the other or belonging to the middle class.

Farmers traverse the whole class structure of Argentine society. An *estanciero*, when asked to characterize this class structure and place the different segments of the farm population in their places within it, said, "The classes here, as everywhere in the world, are 'upper, lower, and middle.' In agriculture the *estancieros* are in the upper, the *peones* are in the lower, and the white-collar workers, managers, accountants, etc. (*empleados*), are in the middle class." He was unconsciously describing only the *estancia* segment of Argentine rural society, overlooking most of the farm people of the nation, doing the same thing in fact that most foreign observers and writers have consistently done. This was, however, inadvertent because he is a highly intelligent and broad-minded man. Further questioning led him to give what the writer considers to be a quite accurate description of the places of all farm people in the class structure of Argentine society. He placed the "small-farm owner operator" in the "lower upper class," and "the tenant operator" in the "lower middle class." The wide difference between the tenant operator and the peon might well suggest that the tenant be placed merely in the middle class. He ranges all the way from just a little higher than a peon to just a little lower than an owner operator. There would be little point in attempting to estimate the number of farm people in each of these classes. It is the participation of each in the life and culture of Argentine society that is important.

They Play Varying Roles in Argentine Society. The role of agricultural classes varies with their positions in the class structure of Argentine society as a whole. It varies also with the degree of participation in the different components of that total culture. If a culture is conceived as a pyramid, the base constructed out of the daily manner, means, and methods of producing goods by which the total national society sustains itself, and the apex constructed out of intellectual and artistic activities and accomplishments, it

would have to be recognized that the Argentine farmer is the most fundamental element in the base of that pyramid but has little or no conscious relationship to its apex. The manual worker in agriculture, whether peon, tenant, small owner, or employed manager, feeds, clothes, and houses himself and family and produces most of the raw products which make possible the development of Argentine industries and export products. It would be difficult to imagine any segment of a nation's population being more important to the nation's life and at the same time being less conscious of its importance than is the Argentine farmer. The explanation of why this is true can be found chiefly in the history of the nation's economic and social development and the institutionalization of the class structure which came out of that development.

The most important, and powerful, institution evolved during the settlement and economic development of the nation was land-ownership. The owners of large farms have always constituted the top layer of Argentine society and culture. Today many of them live with one foot on the soil and the other in the heart of metropolitan and national life. Their so-called social life is in the city but their economic and political interests are predominantly and always in agriculture. They are powerful in both areas. Seldom does an outsider break into their social set and never has any other group been able to challenge successfully their dominance. They are the class which participates in and is influential at both the base and the apex of the nation's cultural pyramid. They are in the upper class in agriculture and also the upper class in the nation's culture. They are members of both Argentine rural and Argentine urban life.

The agricultural peon is as definitely a product of the economic and social evolution of Argentine society as is the estanciero. He is not and never was a serf. He is not a "domesticated gaucho" as is so often averred or implied. He is, by and large, the son or grandson of a European immigrant who has failed to climb the agricultural ladder into tenancy or ownership as did the forebears of the present large landowners. He has now been in hired-labor status so long that he has been institutionalized as a class. Not only have the processes by which his kind moved up the economic ladder a few generations ago ceased to operate but his status has been static so long that his aspirations to break over the boundaries of his own class have practically disappeared. Here and there a farm peon ad-

vances into tenancy or even into small ownership by means of assistance from a sympathetic employer or in a colonization project. Fairly large numbers of them shift into urban employment. But their ranks are more than filled, especially in the northern and western boundaries of the country, by those of even lower status who flow in from Paraguay, Bolivia, and Chile.

The transient agricultural peon who comes into Argentina from an adjacent country, whether he remains only for the harvest season or remains for a longer period, comes as near being a cultural "no-caste" person as could well be imagined. He is looked upon as an inferior. His children are not compelled to and do not attend school. Neither he nor they, therefore, assimilate the prejudices and pre-*judices*, i.e., the loyalties, which are taught in history and literature in the schools of Argentina, just as they are in all other nations, and which constitute a part of the nation's culture.

The transient does not, however, constitute the majority of the peon class. Others are the great mass of single men who make up the bulk of estancia hired labor, the single and married men who supply labor in the crop belts, and those who move in and out of agricultural employment. These people are definitely a part of the communities in which they live, not transients. Their children attend the common schools and their parents are known and respected. They, however, universally testify that they do not expect their children to rise out of the peon class and that they know no way by which they can better, and therefore do not expect to better, their economic and social status. Needless to say, they live poverty-stricken lives not so much because they are hungry or cold, which they most often are not, but because they participate in so small a segment of the total culture of the society in which they live.

Farm operators and their families are the real middle class in Argentine agriculture. There are hundreds of thousands of them but they are seldom mentioned by anyone writing about life and conditions in Argentina. They live in greatest numbers in the cereal, vineyard, sugar, cotton, and fruit-producing areas but are scattered all through the livestock areas. If they are tenants they trend toward the lower levels of the middle class, if for no other reason than the fact that they do not own land. They may, however, possess more capital and be far more substantial producers than the very small owners. If they are landowners, they may, by right of that tradi-

tionally powerful fact, be considered as constituting the lower layer of the upper class even though they are poverty stricken and not influential. In the cereal belt they are the dominant element in the farm population. Almost the same is true of farm owners in the vineyard belt and Río Negro fruit belt. In the cotton belt, where ownership is fairly widespread, settlers are, for the most part, newcomers and for that reason not yet completely a part of Argentine culture. In the sugar-cane belt, where they constitute a majority of the producers, they are overshadowed by the big producers on the one hand and the mass of peon laborers on the other hand. If owners of only small sugar farms they are proud to be property owners (*propietarios*) and if owners of substantial acreages they are recognized by everyone as of superior status. In both levels of living and social participation they are distinctly middle class agricultural people. In the livestock areas even the class line between small owner and estanciero is not always clear. It probably depends more on family history and farmer-organization members than upon magnitude of production.

CULTURAL TRAFFIC

The Channels of Cultural Traffic. On the surface it would appear that there is very little cultural traffic between the upper and lower classes in Argentine agriculture or between the highly provincial and relatively isolated farming segment of Argentina's population and those who direct the economic and political affairs and participate in the so-called higher levels of the nation's life. But channels of transportation and persons who implement the flow of agricultural products through the channels of trade necessarily are channels of cultural traffic between country and city and it is impossible for owners of the land and those who live on it to be completely isolated one from the other.

Persons engaged in transportation, commerce, and finance either move through these channels of transportation or carry on communication over them or supplementary to them. Livestock, cereal, cotton, wine, sugar, fruit, and yerba buyers move in and out of the areas where agricultural products are grown. Machinery and seed salesmen, practically all of whom live in cities, travel through the country areas. More important even than the personal contacts estab-

lished and maintained in these economic functions is the fact that the products by which the farmers of the nation make a living, and with which they are most deeply concerned, move away from the farm and into the city. The farmer is concerned with what happens to them, especially with the prices which they bring in the cities or foreign markets, even though he may not have a great deal of information on what takes place in the city. Similarly, businessmen and industrialists—buyers, shippers, processors, wholesalers, exporters, and financiers—are all concerned with what goes on in farm production. They are highly aware of the place farm products hold in the nation's domestic economy and international status. Even the majority of those gainfully employed in manufacturing know they are dependent upon the flow of farm products, and are therefore concerned indirectly, and consciously, with agriculture.

While there are subtle inhibitions to the free exchange of ideas among the various classes of persons represented in the farm population and between the dirt farmer and the white-collar workers who serve him, they are all in contact with each other and thus each is known to the other. At least some of those at the top know the ways of life of those at the bottom. Between the most lowly peon and the wealthy owner of the estancia on which he works there is an ascending scale of contacts. Each immediately higher class deals directly with, and knows intimately, that just below it. The hurdles in the path and inhibitions to the flow of culture from top to bottom and from bottom to top are many but the channel is there and functions constantly.

Cultural Traffic up and down the Social Structure of Argentine Society. How do urban traits penetrate into rural culture? How do rural traits penetrate into urban culture? How and to what extent do the desires and aspirations of farm people register themselves in the upper levels of Argentine society? How and to what extent do the intellectual, artistic, and other contributions of the upper layers of Argentine society filter down to the people who live on the land?

Those things most easily observed about the culture of farm people are: (1) their farm products and techniques of production, (2) the houses in which they live, (3) their habits of work and play, and (4) their general modes of life in homes and at work. Things not so easily observed are: (1) their aspirations and discouragements, what they think of their lot in life, and (2) what they think about

other classes in their own national society. The things most noticeable in Argentine urban culture are (1) the modernity of physical structures and technologies, (2) the prevalence of art—art galleries, operas, sculpture, literature, parks, and flower gardens, (3) the great daily papers, (4) a great multiplicity and magnitude of leisure-time activities, (5) a jumble of traffic and a polyglot population. In the city one can very easily know something about (6) the ideologies and aspirations of classes of people because of the various types of publications and meetings which sponsor their causes. Few of the things most easily observed on the farm are similar to those observed in the city and vice versa. Furthermore, there are hurdles in the paths of cultural traffic between farm and urban centers which slow down such traffic. There is little mingling of these two segments of the nation's population and relatively little knowledge one of the other.

How then do farmers participate in those phases of national culture which dominate city life and city people participate in those which dominate rural life? The answer is manifold. There are some not easily observed things which are common to all Argentines, rural and urban. There is a great deal of indirect and some direct cultural traffic between the two segments of the population. There are, however, concerns of farm life which are never adequately relayed to the city segment of the population and there are cultural traits in the city which never or only partially reach the farming areas. In some ways cultural flow is one-way traffic from city to country. Those things transmitted by radio and newspapers flow almost altogether out of cities. No one knows how many radios there are in farm homes in Argentina but the writer can testify that they can be found in the most remote parts of the country. A great many of the radios are battery sets with short-wave reception. Most radio listeners say they are not selective in things to which they listen, therefore, the farm family listens to what is being broadcast from local stations. The programs are mostly music, drama, stories, and advertising, with some news and practically no discussion of public issues. It would, therefore, appear that about the only thing from the city which flows over the radio into farm homes and is recognized as a cultural contribution is music. Country people testified that they like dance music best, usually the tango. This type of music is, however, already national, not necessarily

urban. Patriotic music is no more an urban than a country product. It is, therefore, only the band, orchestra, and opera music that is the city's gift to rural people by way of the radio.

There are few towns in Argentina, except in Patagonia, so distant from some city in which a daily paper is published that farm people could not receive such papers by modern means of transportation. Editors and publishers of these newspapers testify, however, that practically no farmers are subscribers to their papers. There is no rural free delivery service and bus routes are limited because of the prevalence of dirt roads. Few interior towns or even cities have daily train service. The result is that the circulation of metropolitan dailies in rural districts is almost nil. Furthermore, daily papers published in the smaller cities are read chiefly in these cities. This great agency of cultural diffusion, therefore, does little to carry city culture to rural areas.

Modes and styles of dress travel easily over channels of trade and do so to a considerable extent in Argentina. There are, however, relatively few country social occasions and relatively few visits to towns and cities which require or even stimulate the use of city types of costumes by country people. Countrywomen more often than countrymen tend to follow city styles and fashions, due largely to the fact that countrymen quite generally have their own accepted and interesting types of costumes. The flow of city fads and fashions, however constant, is slight and slow in time and much diluted in form when it reaches the farm. It is doubtful whether country people more often adopt city modes of dress than city people adopt certain romantic types of countrymen's costumes.

Art, literature, leisure-time types of activities, types of housing, and modes of thinking which prevail in large cities of Argentina have no easy channels over which they can travel into country areas. The people who actually till the soil or live in farm homes seldom go to large cities where they can witness or participate in these phases of city culture. Argentine art and literature therefore circulate almost altogether in the cities and in the top layers of Argentine society. Urban ideologies do not pervade the day-by-day life of the average farm family.

The first medium by which the Argentine farmer reaches up into the higher levels of Argentine society is through the owners of the land. It is true that some of the large landowners are almost com-

pletely absentee, members of companies which own great estancias operated through employed administrators. Such owners have few contacts with the people on the land. They do not, however, constitute the majority of their class. Generally some member of the estanciero family assumes major responsibility for the family's farming business. Such a person is not only in constant contact with farm managers but goes often to the estancias, knows and is known by farm foremen, sees and is seen by peones. Generally at some time during the year they live with their own families for a few weeks in the estancia mansion. Thus they see and know much about the life of the working people on their farms. Because there are many such farm owners who live in cities, mingle with each other, and discuss farm problems, a knowledge of the people who live on the land is carried by them into the heart of the city.

Farm managers who live on and operate the large farms, although their own homes and mode of social life are much more than halfway up the social scale between the peon and the estanciero, work constantly with other people on the land. Responsibilities demand also that they frequently go to towns and cities. On the farms they do not live with the peones and in the cities they do not move in the social circles of estanciero families but they know some members of each group intimately and thus form something of a bridge between the top and bottom layers of the people concerned with agriculture.

In the grain and cotton belts the channels between the top and the bottom are differently constructed. In the case of the tenant farmer his landlord may not even be known to him personally and there may not be a farm manager between the two. The owner of the land who lives in the city thus does not, so often as the estanciero, reach down and touch the farm people in any direct way. There are, however, other channels through which contacts operate, such as buying and selling. The farm-machine salesman, the local merchant, and the cattle buyer are town or city men. They are not members of the top layers of Argentine elite society but many of them come directly from Buenos Aires and work directly with farmers. They thus know a great deal about both farm and city life and conditions and act to some extent as cultural carriers between them.

Here and there officials of farmers' co-operatives or other types of organizations have pretty substantial contacts with city people and talk with the Minister of Agriculture, with members of state

or national legislatures, and city businessmen. They generally live in interior towns but frequent the large cities. Many employees of the Ministry of Agriculture, who live in large cities, travel among farm people and leading farmers come to the city and contact them.

Metropolitan newspapers carry much more information about agriculture and farm people into the homes of urban dwellers than they do of urban news into farm homes. This, of course, is because few farm people read newspapers. It is also a commentary on the recognized importance of agriculture to all persons in the nation. Any daily issue of *La Prensa* or *La Nacion* will serve to demonstrate the extent to which farm news is available to urban persons. One will find not only news from most of the interior provinces and territories, but from many interior towns. Meteorological data are reported for all areas of the nation and comments often added concerning their significance to agricultural production. Outstanding sales of livestock and land are always reported and many editorials and columns discuss agricultural issues. Because of these facts non-agricultural, prominent, and influential persons can be fairly intelligent in the capacities of representing farmers in reform and legislation.

Few farmers aspire to urban levels, much less to urban standards of living, but there are few effective ways by which the aspirations of Argentine farm people are known and appreciated in the so-called upper levels of Argentine society. Some 30,000 dirt farmers are members of the Farmer's Federation, a militant organization which attempts to make farmers' desires known and demands heard. Farmers' co-operatives do somewhat the same thing and each of the *estanciero* organizations does so for its own class. In the cereal belt some farm boys and girls go to high school and even to college and thus break over the barriers of cultural isolation. By and large, however, the cultural isolation of the middle and lower classes in Argentine agriculture is much greater than their physical isolation and neither their capacity nor desire to make their aspirations known is very great. Vertical mobility or ascendancy up the class-structure ladder is essential to any such accomplishments and the ascendancy will be facilitated only if and when boys and girls born and reared on farms are boosted up the ladder by processes of education. This would demand a system of public high schools in reach of rural youth, high schools that definitely prepare such youth for uni-

versity training or for city occupations. Not all of those who passed through the local high schools and on into the so-called higher circles would dedicate their lives to agricultural science. Some of them would become medical experts, automatically interested in the health problems of rural people, and some would become artists who would be capable of depicting rural life both realistically and ideally.

Techniques and Inhibitions to Cultural Traffic and Diffusion. Presumably it is the role of intellectuals to analyze and offer solutions to the problems of the masses; it is the role of artists and literati to know the aspirations of the masses and idealize them. Argentine intellectuals consistently attempt to play their role in relation to the problems of agriculture and farm people; it is doubtful that Argentine artists and literati do.

In the fields of history, folklore, art, archaeology, political and social philosophy there is a large and growing body of Argentine production and professional organizations to promote such productions. The roots of modern or contemporary Argentine rural life are not, however, to be found to any considerable extent in indigenous Indian culture and the Argentine farmer is not a domesticated gaucho. His problems are not those of a federalism or unitarianism, the big issues of Argentine government up to the end of the colonial period. But these are still the dominant themes of the artists, literati, and historians. Contemporary Argentine rural life is practically never depicted realistically or romantically by Argentine artists. Poets and novelists turn back to an early period for their scenes and heroes, and historians still give most of their attention to the "colonial period." Thus those in the so-called top levels of Argentine culture do not reach down into the life of Argentine people and lift up their souls where all may see, understand, and be concerned with the ideal things with which art and literature deal. Artists and intellectuals, at the pinnacle of the cultural pyramid, are seldom persons who were born and reared at the base of the pyramid and traversed the path from bottom to top. If they were they would know their way back to the base of the pyramid and would be possessed of techniques by which to communicate with the people at the base. Furthermore, they would have an understanding and a concern for those people and their ways of life.

The intellectuals who do serve Argentine farmers are willing

and ready but not too effective in their contributions because of the same absence of vertical mobility of persons up the class structure of Argentine society and the subtle inhibitions to communication between the well-established classes. The majority of agricultural scientists and professional workers were not born and reared on farms and, although many of them are thoroughly trained theoretically, they do not possess the folk knowledge by which farmers live and work. The fact that the farmer knows this constitutes a hurdle in the path of free communication to him of what the scientist or professional worker knows. The two are unable to talk each other's language. It is impossible for the farmer to learn from the person whose language he does not understand and it is psychologically difficult for the professional to even want to know what the farmer could teach him about practical things because it is the practice of these things that marks the difference between the two classes to which the two persons belong. Unless and until there is a body of professional people in the upper layer of the nation's culture who have personally traversed the lower layers of that culture there will be subtle inhibitions or at least difficulties in the techniques of communication between the professionals and the common people. The ideals and aspirations which the artist or scientist may have for the Argentine farmer, and which he is able to formulate and express more perfectly than the farmer can himself, cannot be communicated to the farmer over these impediments. If, therefore, the farmer's participation in culture is to be measured either by the extent to which he is concerned with art and literature or by the degree to which literati and artists are concerned with farm life, he is not very much a part of Argentine culture.

Of all the contributions which intellectuals can or could make to farmers—science penetrates furthest into Argentine rural culture. The processes by which this is accomplished is a commentary on processes of cultural dispersion. Science, like art and literature, is also an attainment supposed to be created in circles of the intelligentsia and diffused downward to other levels of society. No new types of breeds of animals have been developed in Argentina but wealthy cattlemen have purchased breeding stock from the best herds in the world and thereby made livestock in Argentina equal to any. Wealthy cattlemen have not placed their immense influence behind legislation which would provide adequate funds for experi-

mentation in these fields by the colleges of agriculture or Ministry of Agriculture, but they have purchased the finest breeding stock from the best herds in the world, brought them into Argentina and thus continually improved the nation's herds by borrowing the products of the best geneticists and breeders in the world. Some of the *mayordomos* have spent forty years in building up purebred herds. They know pedigrees and they know animals even though they do not know genetics. Their *estanciero* employers and they are assiduously and continually inculcating science into Argentina's herds by their common sense and practical knowledge. Because their practical knowledge is so great and because academicians have so little opportunity to know either practical or experimental science, they are sometimes said to be the greatest enemies of the academic scientists.

In field crops and horticulture the farm operator—owner or tenant—performs the function of the *mayordomo* on the *estancia*. The absentee owner, unlike the *estanciero*, rarely plays a part in the farmer enterprise; neither does the manager on large tenant farms. Each entrepreneur does the best he can, learns from his own experience, that of his neighbors, and sometimes receives advice from a regional agronomist or other professional men from the Ministry of Agriculture. Such men are, however, skillful and intelligent operators. They farm on a large scale and with big machines. The fact that the machines are constructed to perform work according to approved scientific criteria and that farmers learn to use them properly does more to improve farming methods than any other one thing and induces scientific practices by nonscientists. Here is an example of cultural penetration at the very grass roots of the nation's culture in that it influences the manner, means, and methods by which a large segment of the nation's population makes a living. It goes much further and sustains the nation's position in world competition in the production of farm crops. The body of common sense of the Argentine farmer is great. He knows how to farm by means of the most modern implements in the world. No college professor, regional agronomist, or college bulletin can claim the credit for having taught him mechanical science. To him scientific operation inheres in the common sense—folk knowledge—which he has gained by having to use modern machines conceived and de-

signed by the best scientists and engineers in the world. He is a scientific farmer without being a scientist.

In the fields of biology the penetration of science into agriculture has not been by such straight-line methods. Most of the Argentine experiment stations, however, bring into Argentina the most improved breeds and varieties developed by experimental science elsewhere in the world. They test them in all sorts of ways under local conditions and arrive at positive results. These results form the basis for seed certification. Certified seed, through the seed markets, spread the results of science to millions of acres of crops each year.

In a few cases leading agricultural scientists have been brought in from other countries and in a number of cases Argentine agricultural scientists systematically are attacking disease problems. The fact that there is no mass demand for disease control and no mass techniques for applying these controls leaves this phase of agricultural science considerably retarded. Most of the nation's agricultural production is on an extensive, low-cost basis and nothing short of a sustained plant- or animal-disease epidemic would create the same impulse for the development of this phase of science as ease of mass production creates for better varieties and breeds and modern machinery.

Farmers Are Argentines as Persons and Culturally—in Fact. The average Argentine farmer is so deeply concerned with his day-by-day tasks and with his own family and so little conscious of his importance to the national economy that he is unconcerned about politics. He often does not care to vote and very infrequently is part of pressure groups through which he can convert his desires into effective demands for consideration. Because of these facts his role in the economic and social structure and functioning of Argentine society is not adequately recognized by himself or anyone else. In spite of these facts nonfarmer members of the national congress, high officials of the Ministry of Agriculture, and even the metropolitan press constantly advocate and sponsor the cause of agriculture and some of the deepest prides and prejudices of the Argentine elite and Argentine masses alike are concerning the status of the nation's agriculture.⁵

⁵ See Chapter XV.

In Sentiment, However, both the Middle- and Lower-Class Argentine Farmer Is a Part of Argentine Nationalism. There is a common body of prides and prejudices, a body of beliefs and sentiments which are the possessions of all Argentines, rich and poor, urbanites and ruralites, just as there is in the United States. Asked when he first learned about the twenty-fifth of May (Revolution of 1810), about San Martín, Belgrano, or Sarmiento, and the adult Argentine says he does not know. He does know that they are discussed in homes, and that ideas and sentiment concerning them are taught in common schools and paraded on public occasions.

Parts of the perennial roots of these national traditions are easily found in the school textbooks which every Argentine child, city and country, studies. One of the typical first-grade readers, after leading the children through a few exercises of word and sentence formations, presents the first conversation, a dialogue between a little boy and a little girl, illustrated by a company of marching soldiers. The dialogue is, "Yolanda, soldiers are passing. I see, Tadeo. They go up the avenue. It is the twenty-fifth of May."⁶ The only topics other than children's conversations about animals, flowers, play-mates, and the like are the three following:

General Manuel Belgrano. The name of the room where our class meets carries the name of this illustrious patriot. A picture of a great patriot adorns the classroom. The teacher tells us that Belgrano was the creator of the flag which flies proudly on the mast of the school.

The Liberator. José de San Martín was a valiant general, he loved justice, assured the independence of his country, fought for the liberty of other nations, and covered himself with glory. Argentines do not forget his heroic deeds.

Argentine National Hymn

Harken mortals, the sacred cry
 Liberty! Liberty! Liberty!
 Hear the sound of shattered chains
 See the shrine to noble equality.
 Now the United Provinces of the South
 Open their most worthy shrine
 And the free of the world respond:

⁶ The twenty-fifth of May is the anniversary of the Argentine Declaration of Independence in 1810. It, therefore, holds the same place in Argentina that the Fourth of July does in the United States.

To the great Argentine people, Hail!
Let the laurels be eternal
Which we knew how to obtain
Crowned with glory let us live
Or, let us vow to die with glory.

All other elementary readers and histories repeat over and over and elaborate on the major episodes and heroes of Argentina's development as a nation, a society, and a culture. Outstanding among the nation's heroes are San Martín, Belgrano, Saavedna, Moreno, Rivadavia, Alberdi, Mitre, Sarmiento, Urquiza. They are known to all Argentines in the same way and held in the same reverence as Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, Jackson, and Lincoln are in the United States.

Outstanding among historic episodes are the struggle for and attainment of independence (1810), the political struggle by which the government became a federal union (1810-52), the adoption of a democratic constitution (1853), the expansion of the country's economy at the hands of immigrants and chiefly through agriculture (1870-1940). There are others, but none which vie with these four in national prides. The fact that Hernandez idealized the gaucho, that Sarmiento told of Facundo the Caudillo who did not know fear, or that Gonzalez wrote the beautiful "My Mountains" (*Mis Montañas*), all loved pieces of literature, is not as important as the fact that the great historic episodes without which there would have been no Argentina and the national heroes who were a part of these episodes are known to every Argentine child. Farm children may never read these great pieces of literature named above. They all read schoolbooks. The historic roots of Argentine culture cannot be traced back to Argentine indigenous Indian origins. They are largely European. Argentina is not, however, a cluster of little Spains or Italys nor is Buenos Aires a new Paris. What made it such is common knowledge to all Argentines, buttressed by sentiment, and because Argentina is a nation, its nationalisms are a part of its culture.

Lord Bryce, writing in 1912, only about thirty years ago, deemed it pertinent to raise the question of how many and which of the Central and South American countries or peoples were in fact nations. He said that "wherever a community has both political independence and a distinctive character recognizable in its mem-

bers, as well as in the whole body, we call it a nation." He then applied the test of his definition to "the Spanish-American Republic" and listed only Mexico, Argentina, and Chile as surely meeting the test.⁷ For Lord Bryce or anyone else to raise such a question in Argentina today would be both ridiculous and insulting to the Argentines, whether on the streets or on farms. It would be equally so to the nation's historians and sociologists. Probably in no place in the Western Hemisphere do common citizens announce their nationalism with greater pride than does the Argentine workman or farmer when he says, "I am an Argentine" (*Soy Argentino*). He may not agree with those who dominate the politics of the national government, may speak Italian, German, English, or some Spanish provincial dialect more fluently than he does Argentina's peculiar version of Spanish, and he may not vote; but he knows the history of Argentina, can name its great military and political leaders of the past, and can and will tell you how and why the Argentine people is different and greater than any and all other South Americans. He makes his living by farming, working in a factory, or driving a taxi cab in Argentina, he rears his family in Argentine traditions, and, although he universally criticizes his political leaders, he does not look to those outside his own nation to rectify the situations against which he complains.

⁷ James Bryce, *South America, Observations and Impressions*, New York: Macmillan Company, 1912, pp. 425-26.

EPILOGUE

October 1947

IT HAS been four years since the major portion of the manuscript for this book was written and some valuable information has since become available which should be presented as an epilogue to what was presented in the body of the book. A school census was taken in April 1943, and a complete population census was taken in May 1947. The school census included all persons under twenty-two years of age and all fathers, mothers, and teachers of this large age group. The 1947 Federal Census covered the total population, but thus far only preliminary releases on it are available. In addition to these new bits of information on population, Argentina has a Five Year Plan which proposes many important reforms in agriculture.

In the school census the 0-21 year age group was tabulated in three subgroups, 0-5, 6-13, and 14-21, and included information on illiteracy and school attendance of each of these groups. Data on the illiteracy of their parents were also secured. Although the age classes are not comparable with those in the older census, the information is better than any previously available and is of course more recent. Information is also contained in the school census on the percentage of foreign born in different geographic areas. Practically all data are presented by provinces and territories and by urban-rural classifications.

Nothing will be discussed in this epilogue which does not serve either to alter or correct information in the main body of this book or to verify important conclusions which were based on less recent data, except in the account of the government's Five Year Plan which is new and relates to no portions of this book except "Programs on Enlightenment and Reform" in Chapter XV.

NEW INFORMATION ON POPULATION

A June 20, 1947, release on the Federal Population Census shows that the population of Argentina has passed the 16,000,000 mark.

The data are preliminary, and, of course, subject to correction, but they are surprising. Both the estimates of the school census for April 1943 and of the Dirección General de Estadística y Censos de la Nación for December 31, 1943, were less than 14,000,000. If the increase for each year since January 1, 1944, was 200,000, as would be expected from the trends of recent years, then population in May 1947 would have been approximately 14,600,000. If the preliminary estimates of the 1947 census are verified, the writer's judgment that previous estimates did not duly account for persons entering the country will also be verified. The locations of foreign born, recorded in the school census, indicate that this one fact will probably account for the additional number of people which the new Federal Census reports.

The general trends revealed by the school census are: (1) there has been a progressive increase in urban as compared to rural population; (2) fertility and birth rates are pronouncedly higher in the rural than in the urban population; (3) the per cent of the total city population which is foreign born has increased rapidly; and (4) the rate of illiteracy, while not as high as previously estimated, is very high in some of the interior provinces and territories. The same is true of nonschool attendance.¹

The most interesting things revealed in the release of preliminary estimates of the 1947 Federal Population Census are: (1) the population of the City of Buenos Aires is more than 3,000,000—including suburbs it is well over 4,000,000; the population of Buenos Aires Province is more than 4,408,000; the two combined have more than 46 per cent of the country's population; (2) the movement of population from the interior to the *Litoral* has been even greater than previously suspected, and the rapid progress of urbanization is continuing; (3) even so, the population of the territories is approximately 500,000 greater than most recent estimates.²

No precise comparisons can be made between many of the data of the 1943 school census and Bunge's 1938 estimates which were used in Chapters III and IV of this book, but the following interpretations are possible: (1) The per cent of the total population made up by the 0-21 age group continues to decline; (2) about a 6 per

¹ La Distribucion Por Zonas de la Poblacion Argentina Consejo Nacional de Educacion, Direccion del Escolor de la Nacion, Buenos Aires.

² Official release by Argentine government, June 20, 1947, Buenos Aires. See also *Time* magazine, July 7, 1947, p. 36.

cent greater portion of the rural than of the urban population is in the 0-5 year age group and about a 5.5 per cent greater portion of the urban than rural population is in the 14-21 year age group, and in the semiurban population (living in towns with from 500 to 1,999 inhabitants) there is the highest portion in the 6-13 year age group; (3) the per cent of foreign born in urban areas has apparently increased and that in the rural areas has decreased during recent years.

Of those enumerated in the school census, 28.9 per cent were foreign born. Of these 46.2 per cent were in the City of Buenos Aires, 36.5 per cent in the territories, and 23.6 per cent in the provinces. Among the provinces, those in which large cities are located had a relatively high and those with a predominantly rural population had a relatively low percentage of foreign born, e.g., Buenos Aires, 34.3; Sante Fe, 25.9; Mendoza, 28.4; and Córdoba, 19.5 in contrast to Corrientes with 6.0; Santiago del Estero, 4.8; La Rioja, 3.3; and Catamarca, 2.7. In those territories which border Chili, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Brazil the per cent of foreign born is high partly because these are recent settlement areas, and partly because great numbers of *peones* cross from these other countries to work in Argentina. The outstanding increase in population reported for some of these territories by both the school and Federal censuses is undoubtedly due to these previously uncounted persons.

In the school census the population was classified into urban, semi-urban, and rural groups. The rural included those living on farms and in villages with fewer than 500 inhabitants; semiurban included towns with populations of 500 to 1,999; and urban all other towns and cities. In Argentina this grouping of the rural population is reasonable because only very small towns are truly rural. The semiurban group might very well have included towns up to 10,000, because very few small cities are anything more than large agricultural trade centers.

It is necessary to combine the semiurban with the rural population to have data on an urban-rural ratio comparable with those of previous periods. When this was done it was found that only 64 per cent of the persons enumerated lived in urban areas. It is, however, almost certain that the school-census sample was not representative of the total population in this respect because it included among persons over 21 years of age only those who were either parents or teachers of school-age children. Single, divorced, and unattached

persons are far more prevalent in urban than in rural areas, and, furthermore, many older children of country parents have moved into cities. These facts plus the fact that during the war years Argentine industry was attracting a great many persons would make it appear that, even allowing for the unrepresentativeness of the data, the Argentine population is not as urbanized as Bunge estimated. The pronounced urban concentration is emphasized, however, by both the school census and the recent Federal Census. An agricultural country of from 14,000,000 to 16,000,000 population having one city of more than 3,000,000, seven with more than 100,000, and six others with between 50,000 and 100,000 is highly urbanized, and especially so in some areas. Most of these cities are in the Litoral. Buenos Aires Province alone has 5 cities with more than 50,000, 56 with from 10,000 to 50,000, and 137 with from 2,000 to 10,000 population.

There are a few data contained in the school census which contribute to an understanding of internal migration. They show that the number of males per 100 females declines steadily in the urban population with the increase in the age of those 0-21. In the 0-5 age group there were 105, in the 6-13 age group there were 102, and in the 14-21 age group there were only 96. The reason for this is not that male youth are leaving the cities, for the movement is in the opposite direction, but that many more older girls than older boys are moving from rural to urban areas. This conclusion is verified by looking at the distribution of the sexes in the rural population. There were only 104 males per 100 females in the 0-5 age group, but there were 111 males to 100 females in the 14-21 year age group.

The information on birth rates is especially valuable because even so ardent a student as Alejandro Bunge refused to make estimates from the civil registers of some of the territories. Actual number of births was not obtained in the school census but all living children were enumerated, and it is therefore possible to approximate accurate comparisons between urban and rural areas and between provinces and territories. It would appear that the birth rate was 22.8 for the total population; it was 15.9 in the City of Buenos Aires, 23.5 for the provinces, and 29.3 for the territories. In each of the frontier territories of Chaco, Formosa, Misiones, Los Andes, and Neuquén it was 30.0 or more. It was 40 per cent higher in rural than in urban areas.

Because there was some discussion of the abnormal population composition of Tierra del Fuego in the body of the book a note will be added on what the school census revealed about that interesting Territory. Among the 1,105 persons less than 22 years of age, 626, or 56.6 per cent, were males. The percentage of males increased steadily with increasing ages. Females constituted 47 per cent of the children under 10 years of age but only 33 per cent of those from 15 to 21 years of age. Few girls remain in this isolated area with its inhospitable climate. In three locality groups of this Territory no one lives in an urban area; about 88 per cent of the people live in semiurban areas and about 17 per cent in very small towns or the open country.

The data on illiteracy are particularly valuable because trustworthy information on literacy was not available from any source at the time this book was being written. For all those enumerated in the school census the rate of illiteracy was 15.2 per cent. It was 12.0 per cent for fathers and 18.2 per cent for mothers. In urban areas it was only 9.8 per cent, in semiurban areas it was 18.9 per cent, but in rural areas it was 25.7 per cent. In all areas it was higher for women than men. In the City of Buenos Aires it was only 6.4 per cent—4.4 per cent for men and 8.3 per cent for women. In the territories it was 25.6 per cent—18.5 per cent for men and 32.2 per cent for women. There are ten provinces and territories, all of them in the deep interior, which had illiteracy rates of over 25 per cent; in fifteen of the twenty-four provinces and territories more than 25 per cent of the mothers were illiterate.

Among those in the younger age groups, nonschool attendance is a natural corollary of illiteracy. Of all those of school age, 76.3 per cent were in school and an additional 10.2 per cent had been in school at some time; 13.5 per cent had never been in school. The comparisons between urban, semiurban, and rural areas are very like those for illiteracy. In Buenos Aires City only 1.4 per cent, whereas in the provinces 14.6 per cent and in the territories 21.1 per cent, had never attended school. Nonattendance in Los Andes was 30.7 per cent; in Chaco, 29.6 per cent; and in Rio Negro, 25.1 per cent; all of them National Territories.

THE FIVE YEAR PLAN OF THE GOVERNMENT³

In terms of public or popular sentiment the Argentine government's Five Year Plan has a status similar to that of the New Deal in the United States in the early and middle 1930's or to the first Russian Five Year Plan in the 1920's. It is not as specific as the Russian plan but is more specific than the New Deal. It is not easy to describe precisely because it is, so to speak, open at both ends. Parts of it had been initiated before it was systematically formulated and officially announced and many of its details are yet to be developed. As it was presented by President Juan Peron to the joint session of Congress on October 21, 1946, it is a statement of basic principles, broad objectives, and "plans of laws." He described it as a "synthetic plan" and requested the various executive departments of the government to have "analytical plans" ready for presentation to Congress by January 1, 1947. Not all of these analytical plans have yet been presented, but a number have been enacted into law.

President Peron stated in his presentation to Congress that the synthetic plan was a product of two and one-half years of work by a postwar planning committee appointed by him when he was Minister of Labor and Security and that one of its purposes was to forestall postwar unemployment and inflation. Its broader purpose, he said, is the development of the natural resources of the country and the more equitable distribution of their economic and social dividends among all the people. The two main steps in carrying out this objective are to be the geographic decentralization of industry, agriculture, and commerce, and the shift of the capital from the hands of a few to the hands of many. The first step is to be accomplished by developing the resources of the interior and the second by shifts in ownership of property and enterprises, higher wages, retirement and social security programs, a universal system of education, and social and public works.

President Peron said in the introductory section of his presentation of the plan to Congress, "We must develop our resources. We know our country has 3 million square kilometers of land but that we are exploiting only 1 million. The solution to Argentina's problem is the industrialization and commercialization of the products

³ Plan de Gobierno—1947-1951, Tomas I and II, Presidencia de la Nacion. Can also be purchased at any bookstore in Buenos Aires.

which we now produce. Our economy has for the most part been managed from the outside by means of great capitalistic organizations, and when a President has adopted any means to deal with this problem selfish economic interests have by power of credit forced the administration to abandon its plan within three or four months." He added, "Everyone knows that our social life has been dominated from abroad . . . rather than by those who worked on farms, in factories or in commerce . . . and that if a social conquest was initiated it met the same fate as economic conquests." He blamed what he called "the oligarchy" for this state of affairs and said that the oligarchy was composed of three groups, "powerful associations accustomed to rule from behind the scenes, their henchmen who serve in all sorts of positions, and men with talents but without virtue." He repeated what he had said many times before: "Those who have sat in the President's seat have exercised political government but have exercised neither economic nor social government." He therefore proposed that the government itself study the situation, present its findings and its plans to the Congress, and mobilize the Argentine people to complete the social revolution which had been initiated four years earlier.

Four years ago when he was leaving Argentina the writer recorded in his diary the following five broad conclusions about that country's economy and culture: "(1) The economy of Argentina is very much a slave of foreign markets. (2) There is a great geographic disequilibrium in the country's economic development. (3) There is a marked unevenness in the distribution of wealth and income and an equal unevenness in the social and cultural status of various segments of the population. (4) Argentina's educational system does not develop technicians who are capable of guiding the physical and economic development of her resources and economy. (5) The country desires to increase its population but will be unable to do so to any considerable extent unless its total economy is changed."

Before the war, Argentina stood first among the nations of the world in the export of beef, corn, linseed, oats, and rye, and second in the export of wheat, mutton, wool, and barley. Its chief imports were petroleum, cotton fabrics, and coal. Most of its farm products are grown primarily for export. Agriculture in Argentina is an extensive, low-production-cost type of agriculture. Its exports are raw, not processed, products. More than 87 per cent of its people

live in the east central part of the country, one fourth of these in the metropolitan area of Greater Buenos Aires City. The concentration of population, industry, wealth, income, and even agricultural production within a radius of 250 miles of Buenos Aires is astounding. One who knows Argentina cannot therefore escape the conclusion that the Five Year Plan, to whatever extent it may work out in practice, is focused on the major economic and social problems of the country. Its provisions for industrialization bulk large because it is by means of industrialization that the greater development of natural resources is expected.

Power is recognized as basic to industry and hydroelectric energy is known to be the one outstanding power resource. Because of this fact and because the building of great dams is a dramatic undertaking many people think of hydroelectric development as the heart of the Five Year Plan. Others believe that the plans for controlling international trade are of first importance because, they say, such control will accumulate within the country the capital essential to industrial development. Still others believe that the provisions for improved education and increased immigration are even more important than control of international trade and equally as important as, in fact a concomitant of, industrialization.

The proposals for regularizing and controlling international trade are already largely in effect in terms of government purchases and sales of principal farm products and the manipulation of exchange rates on imports. The Argentine Institute for the Promotion of Trade is responsible for both of these activities. It purchases and sells farm products and it is the government purchasing agent abroad. Vast powers are contained in the charter of this organization and in addition the Congress has empowered the president to raise or lower duties 50 per cent and to impose duties as high as 25 per cent on products that are now free. The exchange rates are varied so as to invite imports that are desired and to restrict those which are not desired.

President Peron in his presentation of the plan stated four reasons why new industries are needed: (1) to increase the economic independence of the country, (2) to avoid postwar unemployment, (3) to increase the nation's income, and (4) to increase the financial stability of the country. He stated that toward these ends the country must guard against dumping from other countries and provide

a program of protection especially for new industries to be developed in the interior.

The plan states that the first task is to consolidate and expand those existent industries which manufacture prime materials, especially derivatives of agricultural products, and the second is the development of new industries which will provide additional products for domestic consumption, foreign exports, and national defense. The industries listed for outstanding development may be enumerated in four groups, in the following order of magnitude, (1) *textiles*: cotton, wool, rayon, and the washing of wool; (2) *paper* of all kinds; (3) *minerals* in the following order: (a) tin plate, (b) iron or steel ingots, (c) zinc, and (d) tin; (4) *chemicals*: (a) soda, (b) oxide of zinc, (c) red ocher, (d) citric acid, and (e) other minor ones.

Hydroelectric power development is already under way but the big expansion is planned for the immediate future. Three projects are scheduled for completion and three for initiation in 1947, fifteen for initiation in 1948, eleven in 1949, seven in 1950, and eight in 1951. It is estimated that these will increase hydroelectric power from 45,000 kws. to 1,400,000 kws. Many dams will be dual or multiple purpose and they together with special irrigation works will supply water to more than two million acres of farm land.

In addition to the expansion of tillable lands, by way of irrigation, there are a number of other agricultural planks of the Five Year Plan. All the lands to be irrigated are to be purchased by the government, at raw-land values, before water is made available to them and are then to be colonized. Argentina already has on the statute books an outstanding colonization or land-settlement law which was discussed briefly in Chapter XIV. That law, with slight modifications, is to be used in the colonization program. It provides for a long amortization period, low interest rates, promotion of co-operatives, technical education and guidance for colonists, and improved housing. Foreign immigrants may be interviewed and selected in their home countries, and the colonization agency may actually promote such selective immigration.

In addition to lands to be brought under cultivation by irrigation from large dams, it is also planned to promote vigorously settlement of "fiscal lands," i.e., federally owned lands, some of which are to be irrigated, some now occupied by squatters, and hundreds of thou-

sands of acres which are being used by large operators who have never proved title to them. The colonization program will give special attention to the development and settlement of these lands as a means of partially correcting the disequilibrium of population distribution.

The plan definitely provides for an attack on the latifundia by means of an additional tax on lands which are "not worked" and progressive taxes on large holdings, "including those whose owners are corporations." The proposal is that all holdings of over 7,000 hectares (approximately 17,000 acres) shall be forced to subdivide or be expropriated. Although it is not provided for in the Five Year Plan, the Director of the Institute for Promotion of Trade recently threatened to expropriate all croplands for which more than 30 per cent share rent was being charged and to turn these lands over to the occupying tenants, they to amortize the purchase price of the land by paying 25 per cent of the crop.

It is also proposed to amend and improve "the law of rural rents," which was described in detail in Chapter XV. This is one of the oldest and most frequently amended rural reform laws in Argentina. The plan proposes to revise the scale of rents, forbid subrenting, prescribe what landlords must furnish by way of living accommodations, guarantee tenants against crop losses due to bad seasons and plagues, and permit tenants to purchase land when it is offered for sale. The proposed law is not greatly different from the one now on the statute books (see Chapter XV).

The plan for immigration is co-ordinated with the plans for both industrial and agricultural expansion and it is specified that the types of immigrants desired are those who will be assimilated into the "spiritual and social unity" of the Argentine people and who possess "moral and physical health"; especially desired are "agriculturists, fishermen, technical and specialized industrial workers." It is the plan to co-ordinate immigration with the construction of great works of irrigation, land conservation, building communication lines, and colonization. It is assumed that immigrants will find ready employment in the immense public works incident to the Five Year Plan, that they will find positions in the new industries to be established, and that later a number of them will locate on lands to be irrigated by water impounded behind these dams. Argentina has had practically no unemployment since World War II began. Industry and

commerce were booming during the war and have continued to boom since. There has been a great exodus of agricultural workers into industrial and commercial jobs and newly arriving immigrants, of which there have been a good many thousands, have had no difficulty in finding either industrial or agricultural employment. An official commission spent a number of months in the early part of 1947 recruiting immigrants in Italy. An immigration treaty was negotiated between Italy and Argentina which provides that Argentina will advance money and even provide boats for the passage of immigrants and guarantee them equal treatment with Argentine citizens. This treaty implies that Argentina expects many, if not most, of them to become colonists.

The plan provides for practically a whole new system of education from the secondary schools to the universities, for universal education of all children from six to fourteen years of age in the common schools and for free secondary schools. It provides for a great many trade or technical schools to help farm and urban youth to become skilled workmen and technicians and for an elaborate system of scholarships for the sons and daughters of farmers and workingmen. Some of these are to be "traveling schools" which will penetrate isolated areas where the population is too sparse to justify school buildings. A number of these trade and technical schools have been in operation now for six months. The university plan is already enacted into law. It provides for hundreds of scholarships for sons and daughters of industrial workers and farmers and a great increase in engineering and agricultural education by the universities. The plan states that the whole educational system is to "educate all citizens for a democracy" and to provide technicians for developing industry and agriculture.

Education is to be compulsory for all children from six to fourteen years of age and divides common school education into three parts, two years of kindergarten, five years of primary, and two years of office, manual-arts, and artisan training. It also provides for secondary education for those children whose parents cannot afford to pay for it and for free scholarships for such children in both secondary and technical schools. Secondary education is to be for five years, the last two years to be in the theory and practice of arts and trades. It is stated that secondary education shall qualify students for entrance to universities. At the present time this is not universally true. Free

transportation, free school meals, and free textbooks are to be provided.

Technical education is to be free for "all workers who live by their work and for all those who depend on them," and technical education is to range all the way from workers' schools through secondary schools to institutions of higher learning. All industrial or commercial firms operating with a capital of as much as \$125,000 must provide scholarships for a minimum of three grades of technical training. In areas where it is not feasible to establish these technical schools itinerant schools are to be provided. In provinces and territories there are to be installed technical schools "oriented to the economies of the areas." A number of workers' schools were opened in March and a plan for the establishment of the first technological college, a school of mines in the Province of Jujuy, is now under way.

President Peron proposed a detailed plan for university education and prefaced his plan with a statement to the effect that the present university regime is not democratic, that the universities have "demonstrated their absolute separation from the people," and that this has kept the humble classes "from studying in them." He asserted that university professors have not dedicated their lives to university teaching but instead have made their academic careers side lines and have often used them as platforms from which to promote political and social doctrines. The remedies he proposed are (1) that graduates from secondary schools shall be permitted to enter the universities, (2) that scholarships shall be provided for poor students, and that (3) professors shall give full time to university teaching and research. The scholarships are to cover all or part of the cost of living of the students' dependents if such is deemed necessary.

Peron proposed that all professors must secure appointment by competition but once having been appointed shall have absolute liberty to exercise their functions. He stated, however, that it is not intended that said liberty shall include the right to go beyond these functions, and that university teachers should have the right and obligation of exposition and criticism of all political and social doctrines but not the right to manifest political partisanship. The universities are to be financially supported by direct appropriations from the federal government by an income tax which all employed persons must pay, by matriculation and other fees, and from dona-

tions, or other bequests. These proposals, with some slight modifications, have already been enacted into law.

A law has already been passed and appropriations made for a National Agricultural Experiment Station, patterned to a considerable extent on the Beltsville Station in the United States. The plan calls for the establishment of regional experiment stations in each of the major type-farming areas, cereal, cotton, sugar cane, vines, fruits, and livestock. It also provides for strengthening the agricultural colleges at each of the national universities. The "Superior Technical Schools" are not attached to the university system but instead are the capstone of three levels of technical education. In the United States the three levels would be called trade schools, vocational schools, and colleges. A great expansion in both industrial and agricultural education is contemplated, the schools to be distributed throughout the country.

The plan recommends elaborate programs for the conservation and development of timber resources and the creation of a national institute of forestry to carry out this program. The space given to forestry in the published plan is an indication of the great value that is placed on this hitherto neglected natural resource of Argentina.

Because the territories have always been neglected and their development is essential to the correction of the disequilibrium of the national economy, and also because they are primarily agricultural areas, the plan provides for raising them one after the other to provincial status.

The plan as presented by President Peron was very broad, for the most part merely a statement of things that should be done. Congress is now enacting one piece of legislation after the other to put the plan in force. More laws have been passed to implement the industrial and labor sections than have been enacted to augment the agricultural parts of the plan. Some of the laws already passed provide for minimum wages for industry and farm laborers, for retirement or pension systems, for reorganization of the university system, for the establishment of trade or technical schools, for the public ownership of electric power, for the building of dams, for the construction of a pipe line from the oil fields in eastern Chubut to Buenos Aires, for the construction of roads, and for the colonization of immigrants.

No one knows how successful the Five Year Plan may be but it is clear that it is a heroic attempt to develop the natural resources of

Rural Life in Argentina

Argentina, to decentralize its industry and population, and to distribute its wealth and income more widely among all the people. Whether it succeeds in all its details or in its stated purposes, it is intended to deal with the problems which the writer believed after a year's study in Argentina to be central to the economic and social development of that country. He was privileged to spend the months of January, February, and March of 1947 in Argentina, during which time he witnessed the extreme enthusiasm of the working people for the Five Year Plan. He also witnessed the hectic play of forces operating there under the impact of the proposed reforms of the Five Year Plan. What he has said here should not be taken as a prediction of the degree of success which the plan may ultimately have but only as a brief account of the things which it proposes.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

No complete, or even selected, bibliography is presented in this book, for two reasons: First, because the ample footnotes throughout the text constitute a selected bibliography, and second, because a complete bibliography would be relatively useless. There have been few purely sociological books written in Argentina and practically no complete books written on the rural life of that country. This does not mean that sociological literature and rural-life literature on Argentina are not in existence but only that much of such literature is semifugitive and to cite it in a bibliography would be of little use because the reader would have difficulty in securing it. An even larger portion of such literature is contained in books and documents which do not carry sociological titles. Furthermore, only a small portion of this literature deals with topics germane to this book. This note on bibliography is therefore a commentary on the state of development of professional sociological literature in Argentina.

There are a number of outstanding sociologists in Argentina, but thus far none of them has dedicated his time and talents to the study of Argentine rural life. There have been, and are, many other persons who have written about rural life, some of whom may be said to have written about the sociology of rural life. In practically all cases, however, their writings on these topics are so intermingled with their discussion of other topics that they include more of the literature of other fields than they do of literature on the subject matter of this book. The reader will therefore find reference to footnotes appearing in this text economical of his time and far more precisely useful than any general bibliography that could be compiled.

There are, however, some dozen readily available books which should especially be called to the attention of persons who are interested in general or analytical literature on Argentina. The following list contains most of them:

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