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POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC ELITES: THE ENCOUNTER OF PROVINCIALS WITH PORTEÑOS IN FIN-DE-SIÈCLE BUENOS AIRES*

In 1880, following a two-generation-long civil war, Argentina embarked upon a critical period of nation-building, which culminated in the centennial celebrations of 1910.¹ In *The Argentine Generation of 1880: Ideology and Cultural Texts*, David Foster has commented upon the inconclusiveness of national cultural formation as Argentina turned from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, the uncertainty of how much from the provinces would be incorporated into the elite-constructed culture emanating from the port city of Buenos Aires.² The recently published work of Roy Hora, *The Landowners of the Argentine Pampas: A Social and Political History 1860-1945*, and the work of Tulio Halperin, "The Buenos Aires Landed Class and the Shape of Argentine Politics (1820-1930)," which preceded it, further heighten the significance of provincial-porteño interaction at this point in Argentine history.³ Halperin and Hora find that during these years, and beyond, the socio-economic and the political elite of Argentina was not a unified whole, but rather two distinctive groups. In the leadership of the socio-economic elite was a landed class based on the *estancias* of the Argentine pampa and overwhelmingly porteño in character. Provincials dominated the political elite, as the

* This article has benefited from the critiques provided by *The Americas* and the comments of various others along the years, especially those of Elizabeth Kuznesof, Jeffrey Needell and Muriel Nazzari. Above all I would like to express my appreciation to my Argentine colleagues, Fernando Rocchi and Paula Alonso, who provide the context which sustains my scholarly activity in Argentina.

¹ The importance of these years to national formation is highlighted by Lilia Ana Bertoni's discussion of public policies implemented between 1880 and 1900 in response to the volume of European immigration and the claims to this population made by the countries of origin (*Patriotas, cosmopolitas y nacionalistas: La construcción de la nacionalidad argentina a fines del siglo XIX* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica de Argentina, 2001)).

² David William Foster, *The Argentine Generation of 1880: Ideology and Cultural Texts* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1990), pp. 57-67.

³ Tulio Halperin Donghi, "The Buenos Aires Landed Class and the Shape of Argentine Politics (1820-1930)," in *Agrarian Structure and Political Power: Landlord and Peasant in the Making of Latin America*, edited by Evelyn Huber and Frank Safford (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995), pp. 39-66. Roy Hora, *The Landowners of the Argentine Pampas: A Social and Political History, 1860-1945* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2001).

provinces ‘captured’ the federal government in the years following their reunification with the province of Buenos Aires in 1861.⁴ Participation in the federal government brought the provincial political elite into contact with the porteño *estancieros* who dominated the socio-economic elite, as these were almost universally resident in the federal capital. But Roy Hora has described the relationship between the two groups as “problematic.”⁵

An in-depth study of the demonstrably literate provincial male heads-of-household,⁶ resident in district 15 of the federal capital at the time of the 1895 census,⁷ reveals that integration of provincials into the porteño elite during this formative period did occur but that it was limited in both numbers and degree. For the entire thirteen-district central area of the city, only three percent of the household census forms indicate that the head-of-household was a male from the provinces.⁸ These incomers from the provinces were overwhelmingly the engineers, doctors, *escribanos* and above all attorneys, upon whom James Scobie commented in his classic work, *Argentina: a City and a Nation*.⁹ Establishing themselves in the federal capital on the basis of the political leverage of the provinces in the federal government, the provincial male heads-of-house-

⁴ This was the view of the events of 1880 held by porteños, as expressed by Eduardo Gutiérrez in his classic of the period, *La muerte de Buenos Aires: epopeya de 1880* (Buenos Aires: Luis Maucci y Cia, 1894), first published in *La Patria Argentina* between June 25 and December 29, 1882.

⁵ Hora, *The Landowners of the Argentine Pampas*, p. 3.

⁶ Throughout the paper the literacy of those who filled out the separate household forms will be referred to not as a characteristic exclusive to them, but as a definition which characterizes them as a group. In 1895 Argentina took its second national census. Census takers recorded the population in notebooks, which made no provision for numbering households or dwellings or indicating addresses or status within households. But in the federal capital and the other principal cities of the republic, literate residents could fill out separate household forms. Consistent identification of head of household is possible for these households. The instructions for the *boletín de hogar o familia* read as follows, “These loose forms are designated for the principal cities of the Republic, and a copy may be given to each household or family in which the chief or principal person of such promises their respective census taker to fill them out truthfully, clearly and spotlessly.” The head-of-household is identified as the person on the first line of the form, unless information in the building census indicates a correction is necessary. Archivo General de la Nación (abbreviated hereafter as AGN), Buenos Aires, Segundo Censo Nacional. Población, Ciudad de Buenos Aires.

⁷ Of the thirteen census districts which formed the core of the city of Buenos Aires in 1895, district 15 had the highest concentration of provincial male heads-of-household, male heads-of-household being identified by their filling out a separate household census form (see note 6). Of the 338 provincial male heads-of-household identified in the downtown census districts, eighty-two were in district 15. Not only were twenty-four percent of all identified provincial male heads-of-household in district 15, but they also represent 7 percent of all separate households identified within this district, in comparison with the overall downtown percentage of 3. While in most of the districts, provincial households represent 1 or 2 percent, the 7 percent of district 15 is approached only by the 5 percent of district 1 and the 6 percent of district 13. AGN, Población, tomos 466-514, 548-572, 588-592.

⁸ There were 125 households headed by females from the provinces; the fate of 103 (82 percent) of these was linked to an unidentified male from whom they were widowed.

⁹ James Scobie, *Argentina: A City and a Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 151.

hold in district 15 did adopt the standard for civilized living set by the socio-economic elite of Buenos Aires. But only an environment which allowed for the presence of elites across a broad spectrum—elites of substantial, moderate and limited means—made their participation in this world possible.

For the purposes of this study the terms “provinces” and “provincials” will refer to the thirteen provinces of Argentina, which had challenged the dominance of the coastal province of Buenos Aires, and to the people whose origins were in those thirteen provinces. The term *provincianos* will refer specifically to the eighty-two district-fifteen provincial male heads-of-household.¹⁰ Resident in a diverse and tentative setting at the time of the 1895 census, sixty-six of the *provincianos* still resided in the federal capital at the time of their deaths, while five others lived immediately beyond its boundaries in the outskirts of the city.¹¹

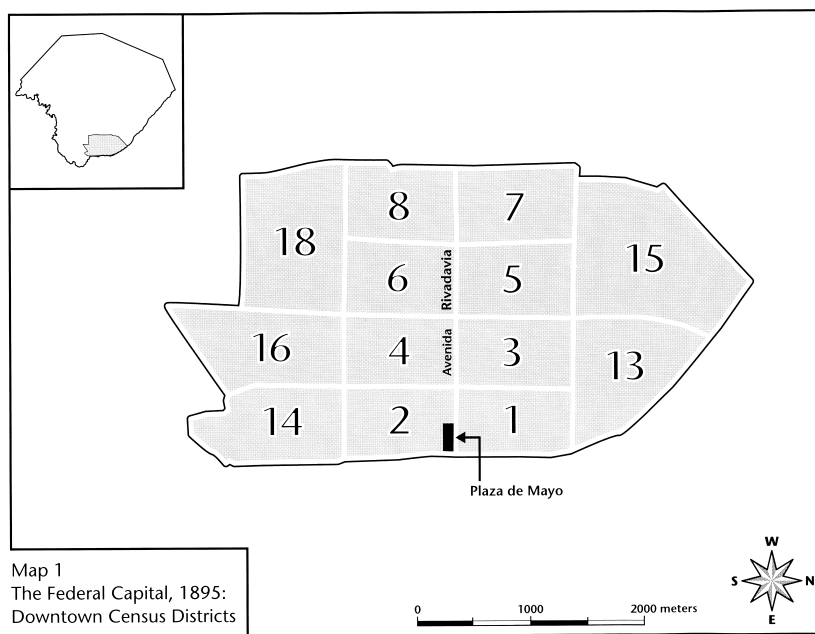
THE SETTING

Statistics on the incidence of houses of brick or stone construction extracted from the building census of Buenos Aires indicate that by 1895 the

¹⁰ In 1895 31,290 people were counted in district 15, “República Argentina, Segundo Censo, Tomo II: *Población*,” (Buenos Aires, 1898), p. 3. Most of these were entered into notebooks by the census taker of their block. But **1,382** households containing a total of 11,407 people filled out individual census forms, which were distributed by the census taker and later collected. On 268 of these forms two or more separate family units can be distinguished within the household. But on **1,114** of these forms it is possible to identify a family unit, which connected all the members of the household, as relatives, boarders or servants. Of these **882** had a male head-of-household. Reflective of the massive immigration Argentina experienced in the late nineteenth century, 525 were foreign-born. Among the **357** Argentines are 8 whose place of origin did not indicate their province of birth. In indicating their place of origin, 267 Argentines listed the province or the city of Buenos Aires and **82** Argentines listed one of the other thirteen provinces. Two of the eighty-two—Juan José Paso and Vicente González—although born in the Mesopotamian provinces (Corrientes and Entre Ríos), were the sons of families long-established in Buenos Aires (Archivo General Tribunales, Capital Federal (hereafter abbreviated as AGT), Sucesiones, “Vicente González” 1373 (1918); “Juan José Paso,” 18493 (1942)), and Simon Andrés de Santa Cruz was not born in Entre Ríos, as listed, but in La Paz, Bolivia (Vicente Osvaldo Cutolo, *Nuevo Diccionario Biográfico Argentino*, 7 volumes (Buenos Aires: Editorial Eleche, 1968), VI, 661-62. Ricardo Piccirilli, Francisco Romay, Leonicio Gianello, *Diccionario Histórico Argentino*, 6 volumes (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Históricas Argentinas, 1953-1954), VI, 382 (hereafter abbreviated as *NDBA* and *DHA*).

¹¹ Five had returned to their home province. *Anuario Kraft*, tomo 2 (1912), 4355; Registro Civil, Capital Federal, Defunciones, “Mario A. Calvento,” March 13, 1901; Archivo de la Provincia de Córdoba, Civiles; Archivo de la Provincia, Salta, Sucesorio, “José María Uriburu,” carpeta 9 (1914). No trace has been found of four of the remaining six following the census of 1895 and the other two disappear from the records following the deaths of their wives. Information on residence at the time of death was extracted from the death certificate customarily found in a *sucesión* (or in two cases obtained directly from the Registro Civil), or from the entries in the registers of Cementerio Norte (hereafter abbreviated as CN), Entierros (1892-1901), (1901-1906), (1906-1911), (1912-1917), (1917-1922), (1922-1927), (1928-1933), (1933-1937), (1938-1943), (1956-1961). Study of the setting through the prism of the 1895 census was first undertaken by Francis Korn in *Buenos Aires, 1895: una ciudad moderna* (Buenos Aires: Editorial del Instituto, 1981).

MAP 1.



solidly built city which radiated south, west and north of the Plaza de Mayo covered thirteen census districts (districts one through eight, thirteen through sixteen, and eighteen).¹² This central or downtown area of the city encompassed an urban reality far more complex than that captured by the building census. An uncounted number of more “provisional” structures went unrecorded; structures whose presence gave even the central area of the city a far more “ephemeral” air than that projected by the statistics.¹³ A mixture of housing types and business uses characterized streets and neighborhoods throughout the city, creating a pervasive “uniformity of diversity.” Even “The Barrio Norte,” which would soon become synonymous with aristocratic residential life, was, more a geographic than social expression.¹⁴

¹² República Argentina, Segundo Censo, 10 de mayo 1895, Tomo III: *Censos Complementarios* (Buenos Aires, 1898), p. 3. Charles Sargeant, *The Spatial Evolution of Greater Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1870-1930* (Tempe, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1974), pp. 22, 28-29, and James Scobie, *Buenos Aires: Plaza to Suburb, 1870-1910* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 91, have commented upon the persistence, throughout the nineteenth century, of a settlement pattern centered on the Plaza de Mayo.

¹³ Jorge F. Lienur, “La ciudad efemera: consideraciones sobre el aspecto material de Buenos Aires, 1870-1910;” in *El umbral de la metropolis: transformaciones técnicas y cultura en la modernización de Buenos Aires, 1870-1930*, edited by Jorge F. Lienur and Graciela Silvestri (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1993), especially pp. 215-216.

¹⁴ Adrián Gorelik, *La grilla y el parque: espacio público y cultura urbana en Buenos Aires, 1887-1936* (Quilmes, Argentina: Universidad de Quilmes, 1998), especially pp. 154-55, 183, 196, 288-90.

The households of provincials, however, were not evenly distributed throughout the city but rather heavily weighted northward; seventy percent of the 338 identified are found north of the line, Avenida Rivadavia, which divided odd from even-numbered census districts.¹⁵ As already noted, by far the greatest concentration was in district 15 (see note 7).

District 15 emerges from the pages of the 1895 census as a heterogeneous neighborhood, reflecting the heterogeneity of the city as a whole. While 5 percent of the buildings had a value of \$100,000 or more and 13.7 percent had a value of \$50,000 or more, 14.2 percent had a value of less than \$10,000. Most buildings were worth between \$10,000 and \$25,000 (57 percent). The 6,121 families counted in the building census lived under a diversity of conditions. While 1 percent shared, one with the other, a single room, another 1 percent lived in single-family dwellings of twenty-three rooms or more. And while 40 percent of the families had residences of six or more rooms, 34.5 percent had less than three rooms.¹⁶ Scattered along the streets of this residential neighborhood were numerous small shops and workshops. And among the 919 businesses within the district, 75 (12 percent) of the commercial establishments and 101 (28 percent) of the industrial establishments had more than five workers.¹⁷

THE 'STORY'

By the 1880s, *estancias*, sprawling across the fertile plains which extended back from the coast, were the engine driving Argentine prosperity, and the *estancieros* were the most respected members of Buenos Aires society, accruing to themselves great fortunes and the characteristics of aristocracy.¹⁸ Based on the premise that the great *estancieros* dominated the society and the economy of Argentina during this period, the operating definition of the porteño elite in this article will include those who partook of the ambiance, lived in accord with the lifestyle, and were accepted in the wider social circles of this landed class. This was a society increasingly shaped by a model rooted in Europe, especially the aristocracies of England

¹⁵ These 338 households encompass fifteen percent of the provincial population in the thirteen downtown census districts of the city. Their northward bias is paralleled by a similar, though less marked, bias (56 per cent) in the provincial population of these districts in its entirety. *Población*, p. 18.

¹⁶ The unit of currency referenced in this article is the peso. AGN, Segundo Censo Nacional, Boletín 20, Edificación, Capital Federal, seccion 15, legajo 95. Unfortunately only the data on number of stories and construction material were compiled and published and it is not possible to make comparisons on building value and living accommodations with other census districts.

¹⁷ AGN, Segundo Censo Nacional, Ciudad de Buenos Aires, distrito 15, Boletín 32, Industrial, legajo 106; Boletín 41, Comercio, legajo 116.

¹⁸ Halperin, pp. 39, 46, 62-63; Hora, *The Landowners of the Argentine Pampas*, especially "The Making of a New Landed Class, 1880-1912," pp. 45-83.

and France. In the provinces the penetration of this culture, as evidenced by the continuing dominance of colonial architecture in the residences of the wealthy in the provincial capitals, was both slow and limited. But in Buenos Aires the *provincianos* of district 15 adapted to the standard by which civilization came to be measured in the great capital cities of Latin America in the late nineteenth century.¹⁹ So significant was the federalization of the city of Buenos Aires, which followed defeat of the 1880 rebellion of the province, that in Argentina this era and its leadership came to be identified as the "Generation of Eighty."

OCCUPATION²⁰

Although they were well represented in the census among landed Argentine male heads-of-household,²¹ *provincianos* were not members of a landed class who installed themselves in the national capital on the yield of proper-

¹⁹ Oscar Terán, "El Lamento de Cané," *Vida intelectual en el Buenos Aires fin de siglo (1810-1910): Derivas de la "cultura científica"* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económico, 2000). Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, "1910 Mexico City: Space and Nation in the City of the *Centenario*," *JLAS* 28:1 (February, 1996), pp. 75-104. Jeffrey D. Needell, "Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires: Public Space and Public Consciousness in *Fin-de-Siècle* Latin America," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37:3 (July 1995), pp. 519-40. James R. Scobie (completed and edited by Samuel L. Baily), *Secondary Cities of Argentina: The Social History of Corrientes, Salta and Mendoza, 1850-1910* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1988), pp. 164-65.

²⁰ The occupational categories employed in this study are adaptations of the classifications developed by Eugene F. Sofer and Mark Szuchman in "The State of Occupational Stratification Studies in Argentina," *LARR* 11:1 (1976), pp. 159-172 and in supplementary lists. I divided those in non-manual occupations into just two categories, low and high. The principal criteria for distinguishing between the two is the focus of the economic activity; whether it was oriented toward the locality (primarily store-keeping) or the wider world (primarily the import-export sector) but also industry, entrepreneurial activities, the arts and diplomatic posts. As enumerated by Szuchman and Sofer, manual occupations were classified as skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. Professionals are divided into two categories, low professionals and high professionals, according to the degree of formal education required. As the objective of this study is based on identification of sectors of the population, rather than examination of issues such as mobility, I created separate categories for certain groups. Among these are occupational labels, which do not necessarily indicate a uniform socio-economic standing. These were the servants, landed, *rentistas* (landlords), military officers, students, *dependientes*, *empleados* and *comerciantes*. Participants in the commercial sector of the economy identified their occupation in the census either by a general label, *comerciante* or *comercio*, or less frequently by a specific trade or enterprise. In the case of the latter, it is possible to distinguish between low non-manual and high non-manual occupations. But in the case of the former, it is not. Merchants (high non-manual category) and shopkeepers (low non-manual category) alike might identify their occupation as *comerciante* or *comercio*. However for the *provincianos* among them we have supplemental information. The identification of the shopkeepers in the commercial census and the information collected from biographical entries, the social register, the building census and the city guides on the merchants allow us to make distinctions in our more detailed descriptions of the *provincianos* which we cannot make in our census statistics on *comerciantes*.

²¹ The eight landed *provincianos* represent 21.6 percent of landed Argentine male heads-of-household, approximating the 23.4 percent representation of provincials among all Argentine male head-of-households.

ties in their home provinces. Of the eight who identified themselves by their landholdings, only the three *correntinos* left evidence in estate records of properties, none extensive, in their place of origin.²² On the rich expanses of the province of Buenos Aires, we have documented only two purchases. There, the Torrents' 1,725 hectares and Escalante's 587 hectares were dwarfed by the *campos* (an *estancia* with its residence) of porteño neighbors, which exceeded 10,000 hectares. Originating in the families of their wives, the rural land holdings in the province of Buenos Aires of four other *provincianos* were even smaller.²³ Julio Roca and Miguel Juárez Celman, presidents of the nation, and Ramón Cárcano, president-designate prior to the financial crisis which beset Argentina in 1890, along with Benito Villanueva, whom we will encounter later, may have been "merging their economic interests" with the porteño *estancieros* of whom Roy Hora writes, but these four landowners do not characterize the overall provincial experience in Buenos Aires.²⁴ If the great *estancieros* who dominated the society and the economy of Argentina did not exemplify the provincial presence in the federal capital, neither did the numerous shopkeepers and skilled artisans, who dominated the occupational structure of district 15.²⁵

By 1895 the population of Buenos Aires exceeded 600,000; this was in part a result of the interaction between political stability and economic growth, and a flood of new immigrants. In a city at the hub of an export boom and an expanding state apparatus, external trade, manufacturing, local commerce, construction and bureaucracy fed on each other and created a labor-scarce economy which attracted Europeans seeking to improve their

²² AGT, Sucesiones, "Ernesto Fernández," 27336/27337 (1957); "Juan Agustín Torrent," 3027 (1909); "Vicente González". Torrent's administration of another property, one in the province of Buenos Aires, which he owned in partnership with his brother, was described by his sister-in-law as more "appropriate to a frontier *estancia* in 1820 Argentina" (AGT, Sucesiones, "Juan Eusebio Torrent," 9077 (1901), p. 110.

²³ AGT, Sucesiones, "Wenceslao Escalante," 984 (1912); "Carlos Sarachaga," 21966 (1928); "Emilio Gouchon," 31692 (1912); "Lucas López Cabanillas," 15234 (1935); "Ernesto Fernández," "Benjamin Paz," 2244 (1903); "Enrique Sobral," 2743 (1917). Members of the Caseres, Martínez de Hoz, and Ortiz Basualdo families studied by Diana Hernando [Balmori] ("*Casa y Familia: Spatial Biographies in Nineteenth Century Buenos Aires*," (Ph.D. diss.: University of California at Los Angeles, 1973) are found in district 15 (AGN, Población, district 15, blocks 6, 21 & 75).

²⁴ Hora, *The Landowners of the Argentine Pampas*, pp. 61-62. While Cárcano went home to Córdoba, after the disintegration of his presidential hopes, and then on to Europe (Ramón J. Cárcano, *Mis Primeros 80 Años* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, n.d.), p. 113, Roca and Juárez Celman are found among the provincial male heads-of-household in the downtown census records of 1895 (AGN, Población, district 1, blocks 3 & 19).

²⁵ In the separate-household-form database, forty-two percent of male heads-of household in district 15 fall into one of these two categories (commerce/low non-manual and skilled labor), and in a database which combines the separate household forms and the notebooks of the census takers, forty-five percent of the entire male population of district 15, fourteen years of age or older, are similarly categorized.

lot in numbers which dwarfed similarly motivated migration from the provinces of Argentina. Those within the two populations who shared the characteristic of literacy did not, as one group, follow similar paths.²⁶ Whereas foreign immigrants, especially Italians, abounded among the tradesmen and storekeepers of a city rapidly expanding under the stimulus of a vigorous import-export sector, provincials were scarce among their ranks.²⁷ It was not commercial, but professional and bureaucratic, opportunities, which drew provincials to Buenos Aires. They gravitated to those areas where their Spanish-language skills and network of political contacts provided an advantage and were less likely to compete in areas where Europeans were highly active. The reasons for this pattern may be multiple and complex—the benefits immigrants derived from the associations and institutions they established, the stimulation of commerce and commercial opportunities in the provinces by an incipient national market, a concentration of the literate provincial population among the highly educated and/or cultural preferences may have, in isolation or in combination, played a role.

Biographical and census data testify to the importance of government employment (political or bureaucratic) in provincial-capital migration. At least forty-seven (57 percent) of the *provincianos* were tied to the government. This includes many of those categorized as high and low professionals, as well as *empleados* (minor bureaucrats) and military officers.²⁸ Pursuit of a political career was virtually monopolized by those who had studied the law. The most distinguished careers were those of Joaquín Victor González

²⁶ Along with descriptive information, two statistics place the occupations of provincial male heads-of-household in context. One is their percentage in the various occupational categories in comparison with (a) their percentage in the total population of male heads-of-household and (b) their percentage in the total population of Argentine male heads-of-household. The second is the actual numbers of provincial male heads-of-household in the various occupational categories in comparison with the expected frequency, the frequency which would occur if chance was the only factor determining the distribution.

²⁷ The 79 Italians classified as *comerciantes* exceeded their expected frequency (60), as did the 28 Spaniards (20). Although Italians were 24.7 percent of the literate male heads-of-household of district 15 and Spaniards 8.2 percent, they represented 32.5 percent and 11.5 percent respectively of the *comerciantes*. And although Spaniards only represented 8.7 percent of the skilled workers, Italians represented 59.6 percent. These 62 greatly exceeded an expected frequency of 26. The numbers for the *provincianos* reveal a far different pattern. None were skilled workers and the fourteen *comerciantes* do not approach the expected frequency of 23.

²⁸ *DHA*, II, 112, 359; III, 191, 396-97; IV, 160-62; V, 700; VI, 643, 805-806. *NDBA*, I, 352; II, 102, 540, 682-83; III, 94, 372-73, 421; V, 338, 657; VII, 362. Enrique Udaondo, *Diccionario Biográfico Argentino* (Buenos Aires: Casa editora 'Coni', 1938), p. 270. It is quite unusual for there to be no biographical entry in the *NDBA* or *DHA* for someone for whom *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires) or *La Nación* (Buenos Aires) published a tribute at the time of their deaths. Nevertheless in four cases information was taken from such tributes (*La Prensa*, December 5, 1915, p. 17; November 21, 1935, p. 10; September 24, 1939, p. 12; *La Nación*, March 16, 1930, p. 11) in the absence of biographical entries.

(La Rioja) and Benjamin Paz (Tucumán). Each had served as governor of his province, a role which was the linchpin in connecting provincial political networks to the presidency.²⁹ Not only did they serve in the Senate, as was customary for ex-governors, but also in the executive branch as cabinet ministers, as did Wenceslao Escalante (Santa Fe). There was in addition, Benito Villanueva (Mendoza), who was party to almost every political deal of the day. He too served in the Senate, as did Nicasio Oroño (Santa Fe) and Juan Eusebio Torrent (Corrientes). Among these luminaries are five who, at some time, served in the Cámara de Diputados, as did ten other *provincianos* of lesser light.

For Argentines in district 15, identification as an *empleado* indicates employment in the government bureaucracy. Although the eight *provincianos* were only slightly below the expected frequency (9.5), one of their numbers, for reasons to be noted later, might well be subtracted. Despite the importance of government employment in provincial-capital migration, the opportunity to join the lower ranks of the burgeoning bureaucracy did not exert a strong draw on literate provincials.

It is Scobie's professionals who characterize the presence of the population under study in the city and on whom we will focus. Since a professional education was only available in Córdoba or Buenos Aires, entry into one of the high professions by a provincial indicates the possession of certain advantages—most importantly, sufficient family resources to underwrite an education outside the home province. Specific education data has been encountered for twenty. Of the five who studied in Córdoba, three were from other provinces. Thirteen received their degree in Buenos Aires; these included not only *provincianos* from the littoral provinces of Entre Ríos, Corrientes and Santa Fe but Catamarca, Salta, Mendoza and Tucumán as well. Two of the engineers obtained their education in Europe.³⁰ But although such an education represented a significant investment, an examination of the inheritance records of porteño professionals verifies that it was not in itself the source of great fortunes.³¹

²⁹ Paula Alonso, "The 'Partido Autonomista Nacional,' Order, and State Building in Argentina in the 1880s," Latin American Studies Association XXII International Congress, Miami Florida, March 16-18, 2000.

³⁰ *DHA*, I, 667; II, 112, 359; III, 396-97; IV, 160-63, 191; V, 657, 700; VI, 643, 805-806. *NDBA*, I, 352, 535; II, 102, 136, 540, 682-83; III, 80, 94, 236, 372-73, 395; IV, 421; V, 338; VII, 362. *La Prensa*, December 5, 1915, p. 12; November 21, 1935, p. 10. *La Nación*, March 16, 1930, p. 11. *Principios* (Córdoba), August 29, 1933, p. 1.

³¹ A complete list of citations for the twenty-four inheritance records of the porteño high professionals may be requested from the author.

TABLE 1. OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY OF PROVINCIAL MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD: DISTRICT 15 AND THE OTHER TWELVE DOWNTOWN CENSUS DISTRICTS³⁵

Occupational Categories	Number in District 15	Number in Other Districts	Percent in District 15	Percent in Other Districts
<i>Comeriante</i>	14	45	17.1	17.6
<i>Empleado</i>	8	25	9.7	9.8
High non-manual	3	14	3.7	5.4
High professional	33	102	40.2	39.8
Landed	8	14	9.8	5.5
Landlord	4	21	4.9	8.2
Low professional	3	5	3.7	2.0
Military	9	12	11.0	4.7

Thirty-three *provincianos* identified themselves as attorneys (18), engineers (4), physicians (7), or *escribanos* (3). In addition, two provincial high professionals listed in the census as *hacendados* had degrees in law and engineering and two others listed as an accountant and a merchant had degrees in pharmacy and medicine.³² Statistics confirm that the percentage of provincials who were high professionals is disproportionately high (40.2 percent). Their actual number (33) is three times the expected frequency (11). Conversely, the presence of provincials among the high professionals is also disproportionately high. Although provincials were 9.6 percent of the male heads-of-household, they were 28.4 percent of the total number of high professionals in district 15. Likewise although provincials represented 23.4 percent of all Argentine male heads-of-household, they were 43.4 percent of all Argentine high professionals.³³ The degree of concentration of the provincials in one category is uncharacteristic of any other group in the district.³⁴

Similarities in the occupational distribution of provincial male heads-of-household in district 15 and their counterparts in the other twelve central

³² *NDBA*, III, 395; *DHA*, VI, 805-806. *Principios*, August 29, 1933, p. 1. AGT, Sucesiones, "Nicanor Elejalde," 955 (1901), p. 20.

³³ We observe a mirror image of this pattern when we look at the Argentine spouses of provincial wives. Thirty-eight percent (three from the city or province of Buenos Aires and fifteen from the provinces) were high professionals.

³⁴ Although 42.6 percent of the German male heads-of-household, 37.4 percent of the Italian and 40 percent of the Spanish were *comerciantes*, in none of these cases is the ratio of the actual number to the expected frequency (20:13, 79:60, 28:20 respectively) so disproportionate as the 33:11 of the provincial high professionals.

³⁵ Although there were none in district 15, there were, among provincial male heads-of-household in the other twelve districts, one *dependiente*, and one unskilled, six semi-skilled, and four skilled workers.

census districts are significant. *Empleados* are represented in both populations to the same degree (9.7 and 9.8 percent). The proportion of *comerciantes* is no higher (+ .5 percent) than in district 15 and there is an equivalent 'absence' (see note 35) of manual and low non-manual workers. Representation of high professionals is comparable; 40.2 percent in district 15 and 39.8 percent in the other twelve central census districts. The confirmation of the pattern of high professional dominance among provincials in the other twelve central census districts reveals that migration of literate provincials to the federal capital was a highly selective process.

RESIDENCES

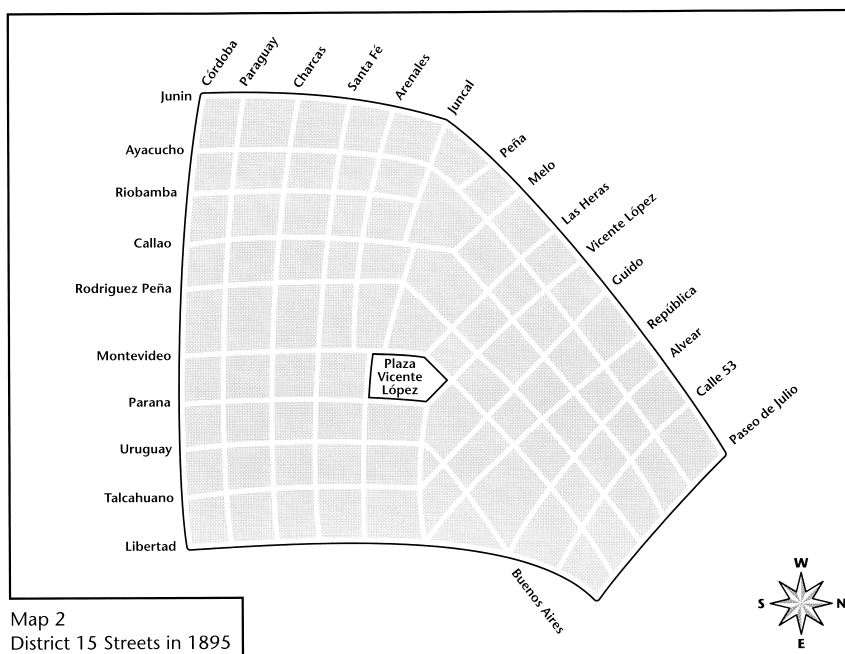
The Barrio Norte in which census district 15 is located was the site of a significant transition in porteño domestic architecture.³⁶ Described later in the estate records of its residents as a barrio "de la aristocracia" (1898), "de lujo" (1912), and "importante . . . de familias acomodadas" (1929), it became the residential expression of a generation dedicated to progress and fostering a cosmopolitan image of itself.³⁷ This modernizing elite abandoned the traditional, one or two-story, Mediterranean-style home built around internal patios, which, while originating in the area south of the Plaza de Mayo, was well established in district 15.³⁸ Importing the Beaux Arts model, the Generation of Eighty constructed solid Parisian-style dwellings of several stories. Mute facades whose one door and few windows revealed little were replaced

³⁶ Avenida Córdoba separated one tier of census districts from the next, inviting a definition of the Barrio Norte as the area to its north as far as the railroad tracks and the bay beyond them. The area north of Avenida Córdoba was divided into census districts 13, 15 and 21, which stretched westward into the country toward Belgrano. On the east district 13 came to a triangular point created by a bend in the shoreline in the vicinity of the Retiro train station. District 15 was in the center. Its boundaries of Junin (west), Paseo de Julio (north), Libertad (east) and Córdoba (south) encompassed eighty-two blocks. A block 83 was not an actual block but the label which was assigned to the entire area on the other side of Paseo de Julio (Libertador).

³⁷ AGT, Sucesiones, "Amancio Pardo," 2458 (1898), p. 50; "Tomás Cabral," 16996 (1929), p. 85; "Juan Manuel Fernández Blanco," 1088 (1912), p. 65.

³⁸ According to the Baere Maps located in the Municipal Museum, the southern-most streets of district 15 were already built up with Mediterranean-style housing a decade before the famed 1871 yellow fever epidemic precipitated a northward movement of population to this higher ground. The district was subdivided as far as Avenida Santa Fe and in its eastern-most portion as far as Juncal. But in the area north of Plaza Vicente López later development would not have to contend with prior construction. Beyond this point were country lots, often a full block in size, and on the edge of the northern slope down to the bay, quintas stood on land yet to be blocked out by the passage of streets. By 1895 considerable additional development had occurred. In 1869 there were 1,161 buildings in district 15. Only 18 had a second story. In 1895 there were 2,327 buildings in a census district 15 which had lost twelve blocks to the creation of district 21. Of these buildings, 62 were three stories and 458 two stories. República Argentina, *Primer Censo de la República Argentina*, 15, 16, 17 de setiembre de 1869 (Buenos Aires, 1872), pp. 80-81; *Censos Complementarios*, p. 3.

MAP 2.



by open visages elaborate with windows and decorative motifs. Mansard roofs supplanted flat. Sparse internal furnishings gave way to upholstered elegance, thick rugs and an abundance of paintings, statues and vases.³⁹

Amidst the heterogeneity of district 15 a faint pattern of elite residential preference can be discerned. Homes in both the \$50,000 to \$99,000 range and \$100,000 and above congregated in the vicinity of **Plaza Vicente López** and along **Avenida Santa Fe**. **Avenida Callao** had an even higher incidence of homes in these two categories. And where quintas had stood thirty years before, **Avenida Alvear** and **Avenida República** (Quintana) appear as the one truly exclusive enclave. The concentration of dwellings with six or more windows along these streets confirms a pattern pointing to the Generation of Eighty. Whereas the one or two-story Mediterranean-style dwelling associated with the colonial period commonly had only two and seldom had more

³⁹ Balmori, Diana, "Buenos Aires," in *Notable Family Networks in Latin America*, by Diana Balmori, Stuart F. Voss and Miles Wortman (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984). Scobie, *Buenos Aires*, pp. 131-32. It was a material lifestyle elaborately described in 1891 by Julian Martel in the classic Argentine novel, *La Bolsa* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Estrada, 1946), pp. 72-73.

TABLE 2. OF THE 380 MALE HEADS-OF-HOUSEHOLD IDENTIFIED IN THE BUILDING CENSUS, THE DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE OF *BONAERENSE* AND PROVINCIAL ORIGIN BY SPECIFIED CHARACTERISTICS OF RESIDENCE

Characteristics of Residence	Origin		Totals
	Bonaerese Male Heads-of Household	Provincial Male Heads-of Household	
Modern dwelling (six or more windows)			
count	26	11	66
% characteristic	39%	16%	17%
% origin	16%	22%	
Prestigious street location			
count	46	24	86
% characteristic	53%	27%	28%
% origin	29%	50%	
Value of residence \$50,000-99,000			
count	15	6	50
% characteristic	30%	12%	16%
% origin	9%	12%	
Value of residence \$100,000 and above			
count	15	8	43
% characteristic	34%	18%	13%
% origin	9%	16%	
Total			
count	150	48	380
% origin	39%	12%	

than four windows, the exhibition of six or more windows indicates a 'modern' dwelling whether it be of two or three stories.⁴⁰

Provincials were clearly outnumbered by *bonaerenses* on each indicator of residential status—architectural style of the dwelling, prestige of address and value of home. However, the statistics within their respective populations reveal that provincials were a more selective presence in the barrio. *Provincianos* were more likely to live in 'modern' structures than *bonaerenses*. They were also more likely to live on one of the prestigious streets. And not only were they more likely than *bonaerenses* to live in a house in the \$49,000-\$99,999 range; they were even more likely to live in one in the \$100,000 and above range.

⁴⁰ AGN, Edificación.

Forty-one *provincianos* continued to reside in the Barrio Norte until their deaths. And it was not only those who lived in elegant dwellings who stayed. While twenty-four *provincianos* had moved out of the Barrio Norte as its value as a place of residence increased, there were those with even scarcer resources who had chosen to remain, although they did not live in the Parisian style with which the Barrio Norte had become increasingly identified.⁴¹

SERVANTS

The presence of French servants was a sign of prestige and sophistication in turn-of-the-century Latin America, which most provincial households were lacking.⁴² A smaller percentage of provincial households had French servants (8.4 percent) than households headed by a male from the city of Buenos Aires (13.2 percent) or the province of Buenos Aires (15.9 percent).⁴³

Fewer provincial male-headed households were without servants altogether (13.3 percent), than households headed by a male from the city of Buenos Aires (24.8 percent), or the province of Buenos Aires (19.6 percent), indicating that the provincials were a more select population within the Barrio Norte. But although among households of one to four servants, a greater proportion were headed by a male from the provinces (78.2 percent) than from the province of Buenos Aires (71.1 percent) or from the city of Buenos Aires (61.2 percent), among households of eleven to five servants, a greater proportion were headed by a male from the city of Buenos Aires (14 percent), than from the province of Buenos Aires (9.4 percent) or from the provinces (8.4 percent). This is a mark of the social prominence of those native to the federal capital, which is reinforced by the greater tendency of larger domestic staffs to include French servants. Households with at least six servants were more likely to have a French servant (61.5 percent) than not (38.4 percent); whereas households with five servants or less were less likely to have a French servant (15.5 percent) than not (84.4 percent).

⁴¹ Between 1895 and 1908 the value of the house at Juncal 1422 had doubled from \$6,000 to \$12,000. In approximately the same time period the house at Junin 1057 rose in value from \$18,000 to \$23,000 (AGT, Sucesiones, "Silvestre Dávila," 855 (1908), p. 7; "Lino Palacio," 2290 (1907), p. 87). Decades later Silvina Bulrich wrote of those who "stoically endure life in the freezing apartment building, without heating, without hot water, but yes, in the Barrio Norte, although not on the best street; one can only expect so much" in *Los burgueses* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1978), p. 12.

⁴² Jeffrey D. Needell, *A Tropical Belle Epoque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 138, 188.

⁴³ "Number of servants in household" must be approached with caution because there is no way to determine whether or in which instances servants housed in a separate structure on the property are listed or omitted in the enumeration of the members of the household.

SOCIAL REGISTER⁴⁴

According to its editors, the appearance of the *Libro de Oro* in 1898 represented the first publication of its kind in Argentina. Available solely to its subscribers, they were promised ongoing innovations “which would resemble the development, each time more notable, that such guides achieve in the capitals of Europe.”⁴⁵ The *Libros de Oro*, record not only the addresses and telephone numbers of those qualifying for entry, but also their seashore residences in Mar del Plata, their quintas in the outskirts of the Federal Capital and their *estancias*. In addition, they note the marriages and deaths of prominent members of porteño society. Some issues include a listing of the members of the Jockey Club and although the listing of members of the Sociedad de Beneficencia must be supplemented by a more complete source, it too is noted in its pages.⁴⁶

Ten of the *provincianos* are found in the inaugural 1898 *Libro de Oro*. Their representation is outweighed by the thirty-eight from the city and province of Buenos Aires. In 1898 twelve percent of the *provincianos* and fourteen percent of the *bonaerenses* are found on its pages. In 1898 four of the *provincianos* belonged to the Jockey Club. Once again their representation is outweighed by those from the city and province of Buenos Aires, as was the representation of their wives in the Sociedad de Beneficencia. Within the small memberships of these exclusive institutions, the representation of those from the city and province of Buenos Aires was twice that of the *provincianos* in both cases.

“Offering the families of our elite and the subscribers belonging to the same” a complete set of *datos sociales*, the 1908 inaugural issue of the *Anuario Social* encompassed a wider swathe of society.⁴⁷ Within its bound-

⁴⁴ La Nación, *Libro de Oro: Guía de Familias* (hereafter abbreviated as *LO*), primer a decimotercero volúmenes (Buenos Aires, 1898 a 1911). *Anuario Social* (hereafter abbreviated as *AS*) primer a séptimo volumen (Buenos Aires, 1908 a 1914). The copies are found in the Library of Jorge Tornquist currently located in the Banco Central; the set for the *Libro de Oro* is complete from 1898 to 1911 with the exception of the 1909 issue and for the *Anuario Social* from 1908 to 1914. There are scattered issues from 1916 until 1945 but by the World-War-I era the objectives of the registry appear to have significantly changed.

⁴⁵ *LO* (1898), n.p.

⁴⁶ Sociedad de Beneficencia, *Origen y desenvolvimiento de la Sociedad de Beneficencia de la Capital, 1823-1912* (Buenos Aires: Establecimiento Tipográfico M. Rodríguez Giles, 1913), pp. 21-30. Two recent dissertations give further foundation to the prominence of these two institutions in porteño society. Thomas Edsall, “Elites, Oligarchies, and Aristocrats: The Jockey Club of Buenos Aires and the Argentine Upper Class, 1920-1940,” (Ph.D. diss.: Tulane University, 1999), pp. 13-71. Karen Mead, “Oligarchs, Doctors and Nuns: Public Health and Beneficence in Buenos Aires, 1880-1914,” (Ph.D. diss.: University of California at Santa Barbara, 1994), pp. 291-300.

⁴⁷ *AS* (1908), n. p. All ten of the *provincianos* in the 1898 *Libro de Oro* are found in the 1908 *Anuario Social* with the exception of the two who had died. Thirty of the thirty-eight *bonaerenses* in the 1898

aries, the *provincianos* are better represented than the *bonaerenses*; twenty-nine percent as compared to twenty-three percent. As in the analysis of domestic staffs, *provincianos* are, once again, a more select group among the district 15 male heads-of-household within the more inclusive definition of the elite, but not as prominent on the more restrictive scale.

In the *Libro de Oro* (1898), the 12 percent rate of appearance of the *provincianos* who were in district 15 in 1895 reflects the 11 percent rate of the provincials in the other downtown districts. But if we look at the micro level, we discover that those residing in districts 1 and 13 in 1895 were far more likely (26 and 20 percent) to be listed.⁴⁸ Within the *Anuario Social*'s broader version of notable society, the *provincianos* of district 15 are a more distinguished population. While the rate of appearance of provincials in the other downtown districts in 1895 is 22 percent, that of those in district 15 is 29 percent. Nevertheless if we look at the micro level we discover that those resident in districts 1 and 13 in 1895 were as or more likely (29 and 32 percent) to be listed.

BURIAL⁴⁹

The porteño elite not only imported Parisian architecture for their residences, but for their places of burial as well. Cementerio del Norte, more commonly referred to as La Recoleta, on the western boundary of district 15 is a 'city' of above ground crypts with internal stairs descending downward several levels.⁵⁰ It has been, from the nineteenth century onward, the final resting place of choice for the Argentine elite. Burial in La Recoleta was the overwhelming preference of the *provincianos* (69.5 percent of the cohort).

Libro de Oro are found in the 1908 *Anuario Social* (four of these may have died). But fourteen of the twenty-four *provincianos* and thirty of the sixty-three *bonaerenses* found in the 1908 *Anuario Social* are not found in the 1898 *Libro de Oro*.

⁴⁸ Paralleling the residential location of those found in the *Libro de Oro* in 1898, are the findings of Francis Korn on the residential location of members of the Jockey Club in 1897. In her article, "La gente distinguida," *Buenos Aires: Historia de Cuatro Siglos*, v. 2 edited by José Luis Romero and Luis Alberto Romero (Buenos Aires: Altamira, 2000), pp. 45-55), she indicates the highest concentration was to the immediate north of the Plaza de Mayo, voting district 14, covering the same area as the 1895 census districts 1, 3 and 5.

⁴⁹ A meticulous search of the Recoleta indices lends confidence to the claim that the fifty-seven *provincianos* found there represent the total. Unfortunately such a search of the Chacarita indices is not possible. Therefore it was only possible to identify those eleven buried there for whom a date of death was available from other sources. In theory, any or all of the six *provincianos* for whom a final destination has yet to be identified could be buried there.

⁵⁰ Burial in Cementerio del Norte does not necessarily indicate a long sojourn there. However it does indicate a mentality oriented toward status and connections which allow one a space, if only temporarily. An illustration of this is the case of José María Ortiz whose removal to Cementerio Oeste is documented in the records of Cementerio del Norte (CN, Entierros (1901-1906), April, 6, 1902).

Far fewer *provincianos* (13 to 20 percent) were buried in the less prestigious, Cementerio Oeste, more commonly referred to as Chacarita (see note 49). This was a far more economical choice. Although Benjamin Basualdo's coffin was pulled to Chacarita by four horses, followed by two mourning coaches and a cortege of five automobiles and five carriages, the funeral cost only \$1,150 (1929); approximately half the cost of a comparable funeral at La Recoleta four months later.⁵¹

THE LIFESTYLE

Pretensions to the lifestyle embraced by the porteño elite are pervasive in the records of the *provincianos*. On the basis of its orientation and aspirations, the cohort can be characterized as an elite. But this is an elite across a broad spectrum of socio-economic resources—an elite of substantial, modest and limited means. The estates of the elite of substantial means exceeded \$500,000. The estates of the elite of modest means do not rise above \$250,000, while the estates of the elite of limited means are truly meager.⁵²

Despite inconsistencies in individual cases, there is sufficient congruence to describe the lifestyle of the *provincianos* on these three levels and identify among the *provincianos* those who clearly represent each level.

⁵¹ AGT, Sucesiones, "Benjamin Basulado," 13087 (1929); "Tomás Cabral."

⁵² AGT, Sucesiones. Of the fifty sucesiones, two, "Emilio Cabral," 597 (1908) and "Celso Nasario Rojas," 2627 (1912) are missing and two "Emilio Gouchon" and "Benito Villanueva," 49511 (1933) are missing volumes. Estate records describe those with resources but are not confined to the noteworthy, the powerful, the wealthy, while the absence of a record of a *sucesión* has a variety of possible meanings. It can indicate that the individual possessed no property, that the estate was inventoried in a jurisdiction other than the federal capital (a fifty-first *sucesion* was in fact located in the provincial archives of Salta and three others in La Plata, the capital of the province of Buenos Aires); that the property of the individual was held in a *sociedad anónima*, as it appears was the case with the merchants of the cohort. Drawing on the research of others, Samuel Amaral (*The Rise of Capitalism on the Pampas: The Estancias of Buenos Aires, 1785-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 56) has noted our inability to measure the completeness of the probate inventories, most importantly the diminution of estates through "the extra-legal distribution of wealth." The case in this study, which inspires the least confidence, is that of César González Segura. A member of a wealthy mendocino family (Joan Supplee, "Provincial Elites and the Economic Transformation of Mendoza, Argentina, 1880-1914," (Ph.D. diss.: University of Texas, 1988) and Beatriz Bragoni, *Los hijos de la revolución: Familia, negocios y poder en Mendoza en el siglo XIX* (Buenos Aires: Taurus, 1999), pp. 207-209, 231), long-time resident of a \$140,000 (1895) dwelling on Avenida **Callao** (Edificación, 173), member of the Jockey Club and the Club Mar del Plata (*NDBA*, III, 395), one of the original subscribers to the *Libro de Oro* (1898, 29), the claim of his heirs in 1940 that there were no existing goods suggests the extra-legal distribution of wealth to which Amaral refers rather than an impoverished estate (AGT, Sucesiones, "César González Segura," 79890 (1948)). *Nevertheless from the items listed in existing inventories, a lifestyle can be sketched, more accurate in some cases than a monetary valuation.*

In six of the estate records we find detailed evidence of the material culture, which describes the elite of substantial means.⁵³ Santiago Brian was an engineer, and Wenceslao Escalante, an attorney. Adolfo Labougle, was the secretary of the Senate. This *empleado* demonstrates characteristics more closely associated with provincial high professionals. He had in fact entered the Law Faculty in Buenos Aires, but had become so embroiled in the politics of his day that he did not complete his studies.⁵⁴ Alejandro Franco and Clodomiro Ledesma are exceptional as merchants for whom there is an inventoried estate. Identified in the census as a *rentista*, *La Prensa* paid tribute to Rafael Pero at the time of his death as “a person widely known in the financial circles of the country to which he was connected by his long career in the midst of its principal institutions.”⁵⁵

The total value of the six estates ranged from \$500,000 to \$6,000,000. The principal residences had in common, halls, parlors, dining rooms, studies, numerous baths, and five to ten bedrooms; one had not only a study but an office, two had a formal and an informal dining room, another a smoking room and billiard room. These homes were filled with the bric-a-brac and other accouterments of *fin-de-siècle* Europe. In 1895 Brian, Franco and Labougle had been living on **República** and Pero on **Callao**. Escalante was living on **Santa Fe** in an eleven-room, one-story Mediterranean-style dwelling with three windows. Its reported value was \$100,000. By 1912, he had replaced the original structure with a *petit hôtel*, as had Ledesma with his residence on **Plaza Vicente López**. Only Brian remained in his 1895 residence until his death. Both Pero and Franco lived in three-story residences with numerous windows in 1895 but Pero built a new residence on the other side of Avenida **Callao** and Franco one on Avenida **Alvear**, the most elegant street in the Barrio Norte.

All but Alejandro Franco, the one lifetime bachelor among the six, are found in the social register.⁵⁶ Pero, Brian, Ledesma and Escalante traveled in Europe and had homes in the seaside resort of Mar del Plata; all but the last holding a membership in the Club Mar del Plata, the gathering place of the most distinguished of its vacationers.⁵⁷ The Labougles summered on

⁵³ AGT, Sucesiones, “Santiago Brian,” 11354 (1923); “Alejandro Franco,” 13613 (1911); “Adolfo Labougle,” 22481 (1926); “Clodomiro Ledesma,” 12727 (1918); “Rafael Pero,” 11089 (1921); “Wenceslao Escalante.”

⁵⁴ *DHA*, IV, p. 643; *NDBA*, IV, pp. 10-11.

⁵⁵ *La Prensa*, May 24, 1921, p. 11.

⁵⁶ *LO* (1898), pp. 34, 53; (1902), pp. 16, 29.

⁵⁷ The work of Elisa Pastoriza (“Sociedad y política en la gestación de una ciudad turística: Mar del Plata in los años treinta,” (Ph.D. diss.: Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, 1999), pp. 93-122 and Ingrid Fey, “First Tango in Paris: Latin Americans in Turn-of-the-Century France, 1880 to 1920,” (Ph.D.

their quinta west of the capital in Ramos Mejia.⁵⁸ Brian and Pero had quintas as well; theirs near the delta area famous for yachting and rowing clubs. Franco's summer residence, a replica of a medieval castle, was also to the north but in Belgrano closer to the outskirts of the city, while the quinta of Ledesma was to the south in Temperley. The six held additional real estate as investments. Those of Pero, Ledesma and Labougle were significant, but meager compared to the numerous holdings of Brian and Escalante and the downtown hotel in which Franco's investment capital was concentrated.

Of the few estate records, which yield information on the funerals, the most elaborate described was that of Wenceslao Escalante. Music from a quintet of instruments and an organ accompanied Escalante's funeral mass. In the cortege four horses pulled the oak casket to La Recoleta, followed by four mourning carriages, thirty *coupes* and an imperial coach for the flower garlands. Santiago Brian's casket of mahogany was also pulled to La Recoleta by four horses but followed by only three mourning carriages and twenty accompanying coaches. In contrast the heirs of Alejandro Franco, twenty-four nieces and nephews, buried him in Chacarita, an act which preceded a lengthy and bitter litigation over the division of his estate.

The estate of Benito Villanueva, a *hacendado* with a law degree, may well have exceeded that of Escalante but the unfortunate loss of all but the second and sixth of his seven-volume estate record leaves us bereft of the precise figure. Villanueva evinced in his lifestyle the largest fortune among the eighty-two provincials in the cohort. His three-story house, with thirty-two windows, had more French servants than any other in the district. Only two other homes exceeded its \$300,000 value and had more than its nine servants. One of only three lifelong bachelors in the cohort, he does not appear in the *Libro de Oro* until 1902. A member and one time president of the Jockey Club, he bred fine stock at "Los Arenales" and "Chapadmalal." Following a state funeral, he was buried in La Recoleta in his uncle's crypt, alongside President Roque Saenz Peña.⁵⁹

diss.: University of California, Los Angeles, 1996), pp. 44-52)), testify to the importance of these practices to the lifestyle of high society.

⁵⁸ Carlos Alberto Carranza, *Recuerdos de Infancia* (Buenos Aires: n. p., 1947), p. 185.

⁵⁹ AGT, Sucesiones, Villanueva; *LO* (1902), p. 84; Edificación, p. 62; AGN, photographic archive, caja 40, negative B86.072. *La Prensa*, April 9, 1933, p. 9; April 10, 1933, p. 9. Villanueva is the only district 15 provincial mentioned by Roy Hora in his description of "the extent to which the elites of the interior were merging their economic interests with the littoral upper classes, . . . in the process adopting the values and outlook that were also transforming Argentina's wealthier group." *The Landowners of the Argentine Pampas*, pp. 61-62.

The estate records of an elite of modest means depict a more mundane existence.⁶⁰ Their residences, in 1895, range from \$15,000 to \$35,000. The seven whose records most precisely depict their lifestyle are high (4) and low (2) professionals, but also include a *hacendado*. Among them were owners of *estancias* and *quintas*, investors in rental properties, and speculators in town lots within the province of Buenos Aires and urban lots within the city. None are found in the social register. They did not summer in Mar del Plata, or tour Europe. None ever owned a Parisian-style dwelling and while three remained in the Barrio Norte until their deaths, four did not. Although their households had the standard elite furnishings—paintings, bronze statues, crystal vases, pianos—the rooms of these residences were fewer in number and of less specific designations than those of porteño high society. None of their estates exceeded \$250,000 in total value. Nevertheless, with one exception, all were buried in La Recoleta to which Tomás Cabral's oak casket was pulled by four horses but followed by only one mourning coach and a twelve-automobile cortege in a more sparing display of grief than that of the Escalante and Brian funerals.

Among those listed in the census as *empleados* and as military officers, we find *provincianos* in far lesser circumstances. Where the specific responsibilities of the *empleados* are noted, the level of preparation required is comparable to that of the low professionals, but the outcomes were not. The two estate records we have for low professionals place them in the elite of modest means, but the *empleados* are more accurately placed in an elite of limited means, as are several of the military officers. Their homes and the real estate speculation in which they engaged were on a less convincing scale. The typical *empleado* and military officer lived in a Mediterranean-style house whose value was around \$15,000. Their estate records make scarce mention of furniture. Nevertheless death certificates, located for all but one *empleado* and one military officer, indicate an overwhelming preference for continued residence in the Barrio Norte. In addition, although absence from the social registers heightens the differentiation of the elite of modest means from that of substantial means, three of the *provincianos* of limited means are encountered on their pages. Nor was La Recoleta the place of burial of *provincianos* of substantial and modest means alone. It was also the place of burial of those of far more limited means; the five *empleados* and three military officers, whose records depict this group, were all buried there. However the absence of descriptions or evaluations of sep-

⁶⁰ AGT, Sucesiones, "Benjamín Paz"; "Carlos M. del Castillo," 28084/85 (1941); "Enrique Sobral"; "Alfredo Zinder," 10454 (1927); "Juan Agustín Torrent"; "Tomás Cabral"; "Lucas López Cabanillas."

ulchers in their estate records indicates that they were most likely repositied in the crypts of associates.⁶¹

MARRIAGE

At a time when specific matches were no longer the mechanism by which business and political alliances were established, what counted in marriage were more general attributes.⁶² If alliances were no longer as likely to be formed within the private setting of family life, as in an institutional setting, such as the Jockey Club, it was nevertheless advantageous to have a wife who was familiar with the lifestyle evolving within porteño high society, and at ease in an environment such as that symbolized by the inaugural ball at the Jockey Club.⁶³ We have only to look to the education of Luisa Carranza de Labougle to find an example of preparation in the manners and musical skills considered to be essential for a female of the upper class, to say nothing of her familiarity with the leading figures of the era who frequented her childhood home.⁶⁴ A direct statement of the difficulties association with this world would create for a woman without the appropriate background is found in Julia Bunge's detailed recounting of the decision of a longstanding suitor not to pursue such a marriage, due to the inability of his sisters and mother to interact comfortably with a person of this category.⁶⁵

⁶¹ AGN, Edificación, 42, 51, 97, 108, 114, 144, 160. AGT, Sucesiones, "José Lisandro Albarracín," 10317 (1920); "Abelardo Breton," 16123 (1933); "Eduardo Larguía," 1575 (1902); "Alejandro Sarmiento," 2757 (1900); "Manuel Fernández Oro," 1132 (1919); "Félix Dufourg," 879 (1911); "Silvestre Dávila"; "Lino Palacio." *AS* (1908), 107, 152; *LO* (1902), 28. CN (1892-1901), 222; (1901-1906), 4, 35; (1906-1911), 3, 65; (1912-1917), 39; (1917-1922), 52; (1933-1937), 5.

⁶² Alonso, 10. Diana Balmori and Robert Oppenheimer, "Family Clusters: Generational Nucleation in Nineteenth Century Argentina and Chile," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 21:2 (April, 1979), p. 249. Betty G. Farrell, has described in detail the transition from a system of directed marital alliances to an orchestrated system of patterned marriages within the boundaries of social acceptability in her book, *Elite Families: Class and Power in Nineteenth-Century Boston* (Albany, New York: State University Press of New York, 1993). Alicia Jurado described the effectiveness of this system in *Descubrimiento del Mundo: Memorias, 1922-1952* (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 1989), p. 161. In her recent work, Pilar González Bernaldo de Quirós locates the breaking of porteño sociability out of the bonds of the family in the mid-nineteenth century, *Civilidad y política en los orígenes de la Nación Argentina: Las sociabilidades en Buenos Aires, 1829-1862* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica de Argentina, 1999), pp. 201, 260.

⁶³ Appropriate social skills were not, however, the exclusive possession of porteñas. Who could doubt, for example, Margarita Beeche de Pero (*DHA*, I, p. 499), daughter of a noted scholar, had sufficient cultural background to converse with the leaders of Argentine society or question the ability of Clementina del Viso de Carmona (*NDBA*, II, p. 136), who accompanied her father to Italy, when he accepted the ambassadorship, to carry herself with grace in the salons, the theaters and the race track of the Buenos Aires elite. Nevertheless provincials with porteña wives were more likely to appear in the earliest of the social registers, the *Libro de Oro*, than those with wives from the provinces (32 as compared to 24 percent).

⁶⁴ Carranza, especially pp. 197-99, 216-18, 238.

⁶⁵ Julia Valentina Bunge, *Vida: Epoca Maravillosa, 1903-1911* (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 1965), pp. 237-38.

In district 15 thirty-eight of the provincial male heads-of-household (48 percent of the 79 who married) had porteña wives.⁶⁶ And the families of these porteña spouses had resources. In the words of one father, they passed on to their children “considerable goods of fortune.”⁶⁷ But for those engaged in commerce, almost without exception, they left inheritance records. And even ill-fortune did not destroy their standing. If little else, they left their reputations.⁶⁸ Eighteen percent of the porteña spouses of our cohort of *provincianos*, appeared in the first edition of the earliest of the social registers, the *Libro de Oro*, in 1898. And in the first edition of the *Anuario Social* in 1908, forty-two percent were listed.⁶⁹ However research based on the inheritance records of these families indicates that although the *provincianos* established ties through marriage with the porteño elite, it was not at the highest levels of economic and social influence.⁷⁰ Although not inconsequential, the wealth of these porteño families paled in comparison to the wealth of those who were the great proprietors of the Argentine pampa.⁷¹

Among the porteña spouses of our cohort, we do not find, an Anchorena, Unzué, Ortiz Basualdo, Martínez de Hoz, Pereyra, or Sáenz Valiente.⁷² Of the thirty-eight, only one approaches this category. Anatilde Guerrico de

⁶⁶ Three of the spouses whom the author has categorized as porteñas are not identified in the census as Buenos-Aires born and in fact Isabel Durañona de Villafañe (Oriental), Enriqueta Segueira de Avila (Brazil) and Luisa Carranza (province of Córdoba) were not born in Buenos Aires. Nevertheless all three of these women were members of families with at least a three-generation history in the city (Carlos Calvo, *Nobiliario del antiguo reynato del Rio de la Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1936-1948), v. 2, pp. 7-65; v. 4, pp. 97-102; v. 5, pp. 213-20) and each spent a significant part of their childhood there. Two other spouses whom the author has categorized as porteñas grew up in the province, not the city of Buenos Aires.

⁶⁷ AGT, Province of Buenos Aires, La Plata, “Blas D’hers,” 426 (1886), p. 3.

⁶⁸ One need only compare the extent to which creditors besieged Adolfo Carranza’s estate at the time of his death (AGN, “Adolfo Esteban Carranza,” 5291 (1896)) to the way in which he was remembered (*NDBA*, II, pp. 139-40) for evidence of this.

⁶⁹ The figure for 1898 was calculated on the basis of 7 out of 37 porteña wives, as one was already dead by this date; and the figure for 1908 on the basis of (6 of the previous 7) + (8 additional) out of 33, as five were dead by this date. Four others appear in other volumes. And there were those such as Waldina Elejalde de Anabia and Micaela Guerrico de Albarracin, who are not listed but whose death is noted in the necrology of the register (*LO*, II, p. 135; IX, p. 198).

⁷⁰ A complete list of citations for the fifty inheritance records of the mothers and fathers of the porteña spouses may be requested from the author. There are three sets of porteño in-laws of whom we know nothing but their names and places of birth, which in one case is England (Davies) and another France (Martin), while the surname of the third (Williams) suggests English descent.

⁷¹ Roy Hora, “Landowning Bourgeoisie or Business Bourgeoisie? On the Peculiarities of the Argentine Economic Elite, 1880-1945,” *JLAS* 34:3 (August, 2002), pp. 587-623.

⁷² It is unfortunate for our study that Benito Villanueva never married. Carlos Iburguen sheds the following light on the absence of a spouse in the life of this attorney, who termed himself a hacendado in the 1895 census. “A bachelor, this sensuous mendocino conquered love with the same positive means that he applied to all the arenas in which he acted,” Carlos Iburguen, *La historia que he vivido* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1999), p. 161. We can only speculate on the match he might have made and what it might have revealed about the place of provincials in the porteño elite.

González Segura, descendant of a Basque who came to the Rio de la Plata as a civil servant in the 1780s, belonged to the branch of the Guerrico family which made a highly successful transition from commerce to large scale ranching during the era of Juan Manuel de Rosas.⁷³ Although the descendants of Anatilde and her mendocino husband claimed the couple had no assets at the time of their deaths (see note 52), of the thirty-eight families hers is the only one which figures in Hora's *Landowners of the Argentine Pampas*. The inheritance record of Manuel José Guerrico lists four *campos*, the largest of which was over 10,000 hectares.⁷⁴ The estate of Anatilde's father dwarfed all the other porteño fathers-in law. Assessed at \$2,529,338 in 1909, it was double the value of the only other estate to exceed \$1,000,000 and this just two years earlier. Anatilde is also unique among the thirty-eight porteña spouses in her repeated appearances in the diaries of Delfina Bunge, as the day-to-day social life of the Buenos Aires elite unfolds from page to page.⁷⁵

Whom did the provincials of our cohort more typically marry? Often they married into families of note but not the most noteworthy branches. Like Anatilde, the wife of José Lisandro Albarracín, was a member of the Guerrico family. But unlike Anatilde, Micaela divided with her siblings a meager estate; two urban rental properties and some mortgage certificates. Although he supervised his brother's northern-most *campo*, while the latter was in Paris, her father, Gregorio Guerrico had no rural properties of his own.⁷⁶ The cachet of the Tornquist surname was sufficient to prompt the children of Juan José Urdinarrain to carry it on in a *doble apellido*, but his wife, Carolina, was the niece, not the daughter, of the renowned industrialist, Ernesto Tornquist from whom its value arose. Although their casa quinta in San Isidro with its vines and fruit trees, is symbolic of the elite ambience within which Jorge Tornquist and Victoria Beccar raised their children, after their death, Ernesto had to advance his nieces and nephews a sum of money and finance the education of the younger boys himself. The owner of a less than successful match factory, the father of Carolina Tornquist de Urdinarrain did not make a fortune in industry, as did his brother, or build a *palacio* on Plaza San Martín.⁷⁷

⁷³ Hernando [Balmori], II, 343-85.

⁷⁴ AGT, "Manuel José Guerrico," 1260 (1909).

⁷⁵ Lucía Gálvez, *Delfina Bunge: Diarios íntimos de una época brillante* (Buenos Aires: Planeta, 2000). Hora, pp. 34, 57, 104-105.

⁷⁶ AGN, "Gregorio Guerrico" 6089 (1877), "Micaela Eguren de Guerrico," 5937 (1849). Gregorio Guerrico, father of Micaela Guerrico de Albarracín, was the brother of Manuel José Guerrico, grandfather of Anatilde Guerrico de González Segura. Manuel José accumulated large landholdings during the Rosas era, which subsequently passed to his three children, including Anatilde's father, also named Manuel José.

⁷⁷ AGT, "Jorge Tornquist & Victoria Beccar." 3068 & 11534 (1900). *NDBA*, VII, pp. 352-54 [Tornquist, Ernesto]. *DHA*, VI, pp. 639-40 [Tornquist, Ernesto].

It is true that those who filled out an 1895 census form in the city of Buenos Aires did not represent the entire provincial presence in the Federal Capital. The federal form of government prompted a circulation of powerful provincial political figures between the provinces and the national capital, but most, like Joaquín Linares to Salta in the Usandiveras novel *La Esposa*, returned to their home province and base of power, following completion of their term of office.⁷⁸ While in Buenos Aires, however, there would have been multiple opportunities for provincials and porteños to interact socially, and well they may have, at the theater, the race track, the park and in even more intimate settings. But what is interesting is that there is little residue from this interaction, in the form of provincial wives within the families of the porteño elite. In census district 15, among 267 male heads-of-household born in the city or province of Buenos Aires, only seventeen (6 percent) had wives from the provinces.⁷⁹ Among these Lola Urquiza is the exception. The daughter, legitimate no less, of Justo José, Dolores had married the *estanciero*, Samuel Sáenz Valiente, a member of one of the great landholding families of Argentina.⁸⁰

CONCLUSION

We have looked to the encounter of the *provincianos* with the world of porteño high society in order to assess the disjuncture noted between political and socio-economic elites during a critical period of nation-building. We have confirmed that in large measure these literate provincials were tied to the federal government and dependent upon the access of the provinces to its resources. We have discovered that they subscribed to standards of civilization established by the porteño elite, having observed in detail the signs which they left of this in the furnishings of their households, the style of their dwellings, the persistence of their residence in the Barrio Norte and above all else in their place of burial. And we have identified a high incidence of marriages to porteñas capable of circulating with ease among people of category.

During times characterized by the fluidity of rapid growth, amidst a heterogeneous population and in an environment that was anything but uni-

⁷⁸ Zulema Usandiveras de Torino, *La Esposa* (Salta, Argentina: Victor Manuel Henne, 1996). Calculations, made using a database created by Thomas Edsall, indicate that only 12 percent of the provincials who had served in the Chamber of Deputies and 8 percent of the provincials who had served in the Senate between 1880 and 1895 filed a separate household census form in one of the downtown districts of the federal capital in 1895. These statistics are indicative rather than absolute because the database does not contain date of death. If it were possible to remove those who died before the 1895 census was taken, the percentages would be higher to some unknown degree.

⁷⁹ These seventeen were 28 percent of a total of sixty such cases in the census tracts of the central area of the federal capital.

⁸⁰ AGN, Población, 566, block 57.

form, the *provincianos* have demonstrated a relative singleness of 'purpose.' Based on rates of inclusion in the social registers, households with servants, residence in 'modern' dwellings and their concentration in the high professions, we have concluded that they were a more select population than that of literate male heads-of-household of the district in general. But we have also learned that their connections to the federal government and receptivity to the principles of porteño high society do not indicate that they were able to conform fully to its standards nor gain full acceptance in its inner precincts. The very emphasis of district 15 in the pattern of provincial residence may be a reflection of this. Although clearly on the north side of Plaza de Mayo, where both the present and the future of the porteño 'aristocracy' lay, and hospitable to the *palacios* of *estancieros*, this was not the most distinguished of the northern districts. Districts 1 and 13 carry that honor.

Benito Villanueva's full integration into the porteño elite, an integration signaled by the fact that he served in the Congress, not only as a senator from his home province of Mendoza, but in another term as senator from the federal capital, was a solitary accomplishment. Although buried in La Recoleta in fifty-seven out of seventy-one cases, with this one exception, the *provincianos* of district 15 were not among those at the highest reaches of the Argentine elite. Out of fifty *sucesiones* only six contain descriptions of residences commensurate with the lifestyle the Barrio Norte symbolized. Not only did few provincial households have large domestic staffs in comparison to porteño households, but as a corollary of this, few provincial households had French servants. Their spouses, with one exception, were not invited to participate in the Sociedad de Beneficencia. Their representation in the Jockey Club was disproportionately low.

In our findings there is little to mitigate the disjuncture between socio-economic and political elites noted by Halperin and Hora. The penetration of the porteño elite by literate provincials was limited, not by their provincial origin, as the inclusion of Cárcano and Villanueva demonstrates, but by their lack of landed wealth on the fertile Argentine pampa. Few among them were able to translate political resources into *estancias* of significant size. In addition the scarce presence of literate provincials within the literate population of Buenos Aires restricted the degree to which the provinces were likely to contribute in the construction of a 'national' elite within this city at the epicenter of the country.