

FORMER INHABITANTS OF THE CITY OF BUENOS AIRES. XVIII AND XIX CENTURIES

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Abstract:

This paper constitutes a part of deeper research whose object of study are the former inhabitants of the city of Buenos Aires. Men and women come in spotlight when studying the basic needs of the population such as job, housing and family. With the passing of time the success or failure in the reproduction and settling (unwanted pregnancy, lack of stable income) as well as structural problems (high infant mortality rates, militarization) caused a series of adaptations in families that would lead to the acquisition of particular characteristics. Although census permit to identify population; in order to investigate the causes, changes and adaptations in the family forms in time I have used two analytical categories: amparo and desamparo. As well as a crossed genealogical model of analysis among the homes considered in the population records (1833 and 1855)

Keywords: Former inhabitants, amparo, settling, genealogical analysis.

Since there is not much research on former inhabitants of the city of Buenos Aires, this paper focuses on them, as an attempt to get a closer insight into the ancestors. Even though data are available related to native population, they did not constitute an object of study for Argentina historiography. It will not be until the nineteen nineties that a sustained development of research on family and immigration focusing on the importance of demographic problems will begin.

This paper is part of a larger investigation of the first inhabitants of Buenos Aires, those pioneer families registered between ends of eighteenth century and the first half of the

nineteenth century; period in which an articulation of factors would progressively modify the structure of the homes as well as the family life cycle of its members. In order to identify the causes, the changes and adaptations in the family forms through time, I have employed two categories of analysis: *amparo* (*protection*) and its opposite, *desamparo* (*lack of protection*). The contrast, the first associated with *settling*¹ and the latter related to *reproduction*² allowed me to consider native men and women. Shelter and lack of shelter are related to the basic needs of the population. Being sheltered or unsheltered depended on having a safe income, own a home or an extended family to fall back. Through and articulation of factors, a family or an individual could be included in either category, staying longer or less time in it. For instance, José Luis Moreno (1965) understands that by the end of the eighteenth century having a family and developing a low occupation entailed an implicit risk¹. On the other hand, even though there are many degrees of poverty, depending on temporary¹ *Settling* relates to a stable income and the access to a home of one's one, that is to say with definitive rooting.

Jobs and renting a house could have ended up, because of lack of safe income, in the loss of itⁱⁱ. Thus because of not having relatives to whom resort, families were forced to make extreme decisions. Some of those involved abandonment of children; unwanted pregnancy (above that there existed abandonment of bodies in the streets) leading to the rising of a social assistance system which in its beginnings focused on womenⁱⁱⁱ. Furthermore, as the lawsuits that I have analyzed as well as certain basic aspects of reproduction show; that progenitors given the impossibility of getting a safe income and thus a home were forced to give away their children in order to abandon the city. In the submission contracts we can see that once carried out, progenitors left commonly to ranches looking for a job.

In relation to founding children, in the periodo 1779-1838^{iv}, an average of 6% of those born alive was housed in the Casa de Expósitos³. Moreover in 1837, 29% of children born alive died before reaching their 1st birthday^v. If we add to child abandonment the infant mortality rates registered in the period , it is possible to get an idea of the importance that *desamparo* had for the former inhabitants of the city of Buenos Aires.

To this situation we should add the effects created by the raising of troops. The members of the families in Buenos Aires were entering a period marked by the the British expeditions, the

¹ *Settling* relates to a stable income and the access to a home of one's one, that is to say with definitive rooting.

² By *Reproduction* I mean not only the capacity to conceive but also the transformation of food, the making of clothes, alphabetizing children, houseworking, household heading.

³ It is not possible to calculate the number of those given to step families, even though the number would be larger than the one of the exposed children.

struggle for independence, the conflicts with the *caudillos* of the Revolution, the struggle between Unitarians y Federals; quarrels in response to the new caudillismo caused by the confrontations with Buenos Aires and finally the segregation of Buenos Aires from the of the Confederation in the decade of 1850.

These actions would cause an important decline in the number of native men thus affecting the present and future domestic organizations. Among the marriages or complete de facto marital unions (couples with children), the absence of men turned women into the household heads and workers.

Even though the desamparo and militarization had a strong impact on the reproduction, the absence of jobs that support the geographical mobility of the native population in addition to the low geographical mobility of women have allowed me to take into account factors that would contrarily collaborated with the *settling* of the population.

In the first place, the accented imbalance between the sexes turned native women into a means of rooting for the foreign population. It is not possible to doubt of the natural function that native women of any territory fulfill.

As mentioned earlier, the militarization provoked a strong decrease in the male population as the age group and sex data indicates where we can see that among the men between 15 to 54 years old the masculinity relation was of 52.4, that is to say 52 men every 100 women⁴.

(Place Table 1 here)

The men that survived were endogamous, nevertheless their low number left a number of Buenos Aires women (white, mestizo and brown) who in the face of the foreigners' uprooting became a direct means to the rooting of the population.^{vi} Hernán Otero (2001) approaches the problem by expressing “[Among] the native population men were more endogamous than women. This difference allowed native women to be the ones that related through marriage with foreign men, thus creating/establishing the *bridge* between both groups.”^{vii} Bridges connect two shores that is why we should consider the space, the rootedness. Former female inhabitants of Buenos Aires, by relating to an immigrant, linked the foreign uprooting to the Buenos Aires land thus causing the children product of these

⁴ Masculinity rate indicates the number of men among a given number of women at a given time. Population between 15 to 54 years old: 12.653 men with 24.145 women; that is to say a masculinity rate of 52.4 (52 men every 100 women).

unions to start relating to their families, their neighbors, elementary education and, through baptisms and marriages, to the godmothers and godfathers. Finally we should not forget that in addition to those women there was an important group of black women in the city that took advantage of the possibility of baptizing their children as brown, something that would end up causing the decline of this group. (As we shall see later, black population decreased as a result of a low masculinity rate which in turn was related to a high infant death rate of males as well as the racial mixing practiced by black women).

The second determining factor that accounts for the rooting, and the one we will focus on in this paper, was the amparo carried out mainly by native men. This category is related to the possibility of family development that a house of one's own and stable income provide. Facing the supposed geographical mobility specially of men who entered and left the city in the search of a job (we saw that one of the reasons for giving away the children was the impossibility of getting safe employment in the city) we find that since the late colonial period more than 50% of the active population developed chores related to commerce and crafts (if we add unskilled workers, day laborers and construction workers the percentage rises up to 70%).^{viii} Activities which are likely to have kept their members in the city^{ix}, given they differed from those activities likely to have been done in the campaign^x. In fact between 1824 and 1827 we find that native merchants and artisans of the city asked for construction permits causing the expansion of the old urban center to the west.^{xi}

Sources and methodology

The focus of the project is related to social history although historic demography occupies an important part of the argumentation. In this sense the researchers of the Classical School of the University of Cambridge particularly Peter Laslett and Richard Wall^{xii} have been precursors in the family studies in the socio-demographic field. For this school the nuclear family⁵ was one of the determining factors for the development of capitalism in England since the XVI century; by marrying and starting a home impelled by the need of support, children would have boosted the development of the English economy.

The sources consulted by the Cambridge Group have basically been the parish archives; Their study has reflected the relatively the low number of household member and its maintenance through 300 years (until the first decade of the XX century) in spite of the significant changes that family life suffered during the agricultural and industrial revolutions.

⁵ The authors refer to the household composed of husband, wife and two children.

This school's main thesis has sought to demystify the image of the traditional household consisting of a high number of members that included many generations. Even though research carried out by Laslett's group has become a classic and a mandatory viewpoint in social analysis that include topics related to families, it is necessary to consider that it has not been the same of their conclusions given the possibilities of development of the families depend upon the diverse geographical and historical contexts.

The forms of domestic organization of Buenos Aires households do not coincide with this school's tenets. The constitution of a nuclear home in an independent household, that is to say marrying and living in relatively stable conditions, was more of a goal to achieve in a lifetime rather than the starting point at the moment of the union for the popular sectors in the city of Buenos Aires; this probably associated with a lower development of the local economy.

Our analysis provides evidence for it and its consequence: a high percentage of secondary homes and of female household heads. Research on popular sectors show similar findings which account for the difficulty that represented the setting up of an independent home at the moment of making the decision of living as a couple and the postponing of such an achievement for more advanced stages in their life-cycle.

Howard Chudacoff (1978)^{xiii} describes the co-residential pattern for the newly married in an American community of the XIX century, finding that the domestic life-cycle stage kept until the couple entered the expansive stage.

The demographic analysis of the period in question presents certain drawbacks with the parish archives of the city of Buenos Aires. In 1955 many churches saw their repositories irreparably damaged and those belonging to the Archbishopric of Buenos Aires were completely lost. However, I identified the homes of the first settlers through population records. In this sense, César García Belsunce (1976)^{xiv} understands that "it is impossible to carry out a mid-term or long-term vertical study in the first half of the nineteenth century... The only key data published in the Statistics Record of the province of Buenos Aires comprehends only a period from 1822 to 1825... census records have provided more possibilities of study..."

In relation to the samples, the hardest work done on census and voter rolls (1855 census and original voter roll 1833) has been the reprocessing of the total original sheets and identity cards. The analysis of the original records of the Municipal Census of 1855^{xv} has allowed me to individualize the diverse household heads^{xvi} in that year as well as the tracks of

the past, i.e. the forms of organization and reproduction that the homes of those inhabitants born in the city by the end of the XVIII took.

The categories for register are the followings: relation of the household head to the censed home (owner/tenant); street, name and last name, marital status, gender, age, job or occupation and origin of all present. In that sense, the origin of the inhabitant – birthplace- appears in the household survey, the commissioners added this data at the end of each booklet. By adding and comparing this data, I have found that the population of the city of Buenos Aires presented by the middle of the XIX century the highest percentage of native residents before the advent of the great immigration (it developed from the end of the XIX century to the beginning of the XX century) Along with a low percentage of provincial people established in the city, this being related to the supposed mobility of Buenos Aires society.^{xvii}

Working on the original survey sheets of the 1855 census, I considered the homes delimited by the house and made a random selection until reaching a total of 1351 families with porteño heads that involved 5717 inhabitants (around 100 families – 500 inhabitants- for each of the parish church in which the census was divided into) that appear alone; with their partner, parents, children, grandchildren, relatives, politicians and added people.

Continuing with the search of these inhabitants I used the 1833 census.^{xviii} Although male population was registered together with minors, the original sheets – delimited by household- allowed me to individualize the head of household; their age, birth place, marital status, occupation, skin color and above all the residence time in the house (crucial factor for the investigation)

Over the total existing sheets I made a new selection of population^{xix}. They are 1819 families with male porteño heads which along with ascendants, descendants, collaterals and other relatives, reach the number of 5273 inhabitants, who like those considered in the sheets of the 1855 census started being born and were baptized in the city of Buenos Aires during 1800 and before.

Furthermore, attempting to reconstruct the family life cycle of the inhabitants of Buenos Aires in 22 years I cross-checked data with the 3170 family files product of both samples whose result has been truly auspicious.

The model consists of a comparative analysis of the time it comprises: the head of the household's occupation; female head of household with presence of grown up children and secondary homes (where one can note the rooting and female work; the male rooting and the stability of homes when expanding); the occupied home-ownership as well as the residence

time of the latter. Information that added to the bigger number of women (low mobility) suggests a certain geographic stability among the inhabitants of Buenos Aires. The genealogical crossing has allowed me to individualize a universe of 144 families – 950 inhabitants- identified in both population records.

Microhistorical analysis. 1833-1855.

By working with census-based sources we must firstly identify the head of the household. For Cambridge school, household leadership refers to the person in charge of the expenditure originated by the domestic group. This was not elective, the man in the house usually developed this function, but the woman could become the head in case she had been abandoned, had separated, had been widowed or in case she had an unemployed husband. Also, the loss of parents turned older brothers just as uncles or aunts etc. into heads of the household. In order to support a house it was indispensable to count with a stable income. By having their own house possibilities of consumption or family savings were enhanced. Another possibility was that of sharing a house with many families or with friends, collaborating together with the expenses. Couples that lived without children formed a nuclear family, without one of the parents: incomplete; those who kept their children in the home formed a complete family. It was common to rent rooms in private homes thus forming an unstructured or single-occupancy home. Finally, there existed extended families (house shared by either one or many families related to the head of the household) living in houses that in occasions functioned as boarding houses. Moreover there existed inhabitants who, by renting a house, managed to develop an ascending activity in the market thus storing excess for the building of a house. For those families that rented, their future depended on the job stability of their members or on relying in the help provided by their mother's or father's family. Otherwise in the case of losing the job and the consequent impossibility of sustaining the home, children run the risk of being separated from their parents, when the pregnancies were not wanted.

Finally, a high percentage of inhabitants registered under the category of “born in the home place” stands out in the original sheets of the 1833 census. Inhabitants of Buenos Aires who, having been born in the censed house, appear as heads of the household, reflecting that by means of inheritance the acquisition of a home could reach intergenerational continuity.

We mentioned that commerce and crafts had stood out during the late colonial period. In the beginnings of the XIX century their importance remained, as noted in Aliata's study

(1993)^{xx} on the expansion of the urban area. Basing his analysis on the solicitations for delineation he finds that between the years 1805 and 1822, 134 new completely built up blocks were built, later between 1824 and 1827, 921 new construction permits were applied for. Among these 15% were applied for by foreigners^{xxi} “the remaining 85% belonged to inhabitants who were born in the city and whose main activity had been crafts and commerce”,^{xxii} supporting the notion that Buenos Aires inhabitants found in this kind of activities the way to sustain and generate excess destined to getting their own house.

The rooting (or definitive settling) depends on the shelter. That is to say, it relates to the housing situation (owner, tenant, mother’s or father’s house) the occupation and the family. Having their own home was a determining factor for many reasons; it enabled permanent residence in a neighborhood; then renting expenses could be saved, other families could be housed, activities related to commerce could be developed, rooms could be rented, etc. Also, paid work was an outstanding factor, in fact anyone who wanted to settle in the city should at first find a job given it was the only means for sustaining oneself. Finally, counting with a family group was advantageous, being born in a complete family (by the time 21% of the homes were incomplete)^{xxiii} permitted getting to know the place, the neighbors, relating to other families. It could also help with getting a stable job as well as with the possibility of acquiring land and finding a partner.

However, among those who did not have their own homes, but sought for a permanent job and, we could say, also sought to start a family, it was common the sharing of the house: The sources show that cohabitation with the family –in case of having one- was the common case. Then we can see that some people shared their house with friends, work-mates or with their partners. By 1830, population of Buenos Aires started settling in the territories to the west of the city, people who are able to track back in the original sheets of the 1833 Census given their census questionnaire asked about the citizen’s residence time in the building. The analysis found that 51% of the total people declared having been born in the censed building, group that I have labeled as being of permanent residence, opposed to the remaining 49% of non-permanent residence whose members lived in the houses for periods oscillating the 3.6 to 7.6 years. There were quarts where the number of permanent dwellers exceeded the 51% (Place Table 2 here). They are: N°12 (with 91 %), N° 18 (73 %) (San Nicolás, de la Piedad and San Miguel parishes), N° 22 (with 96.5 %, Concepción y Monserrat) and N° 27 (81%, de la Piedad).

On the other hand, when analyzing the 49% of the “non-permanent” inhabitants, two groups appeared (Place Table 3 here). The first group rented the house for short periods of

time keeping a high mobility (average:3.6 months) and sharing the building with friends, relatives, many at times with people who practiced the same or different trade being the most common day laborers, little tradesmen, shoemakers, construction workers. Group of inhabitants who, due to the temporary nature of their jobs, could live below the subsistence level for periods of time.

The second group, consisting of those who had moved five to eight years ago appears as having settled to the west of the city. Mostly in the parishes of San Nicolás, San Miguel, Socorro, Piedad and Pilar, nearby the so called “permanents”. These inhabitants coincide by origin and activity with those who requested construction permits between the years 1824-1827^{xxiv}, buildings that in 1833 form a strip from east to west delimited by the streets: Catedral to the east, Belgrano (Montserrat) to the south, Callao to the west and Córdoba to the north. A sector to the west that continuing with the strip will go beyond the Entre Ríos-Callao corridor and another one to the south that will reach the Concepción neighborhood.^{xxv} We shall now see the behavior of homes in Buenos Aires through time. I have crossed data from 3170 family files. (1.819 household leaderships considered in 1833 and 1351 in 1855 result in 10.990 natives).

As regards the methodology, it is necessary to point out that due to the missing data of the 1833 census it has not been possible to totally cross the populations. Consequently, I digitalized data of those inhabitants considered in 1855 in order to start research and reconstruction of the families case by case with the files comprising the 1833 census. This research started with the citizen's last name (and the likely variations of it in the records) then the name.^{xxvi} These having been confirmed, I continued with the home's address; their origin, age (presumably not precise), marital status (this help identify the household members), occupation (which could have varied or been specialized, though it was commonly related) the housing situation (“permanent”, “non-permanent” en 1833; owner or tenant in 1855) and finally the ascendants, descendants and collaterals as well as any individual living in the place with no apparent ties of kinship.^{xxvii} The result threw a universe of 144 families identified in 1833 as well as in 1855 that include 950 inhabitants of Buenos Aires. The analysis' objective consisted in separating and comparing the family forms in the 144 identified homes looking for evidence of three aspects related to the amparo or desamparo. In the first place, establishing the number and average age of the children in each household in both years. Secondly, analyzing, after a 22 year period, if those stayed or moved out from the family house and lastly checking the situation as regards the house of the 144 homes in 1833 as well as in 1855.

In this sense, it is necessary to remember that the original sheets of the 1833 census indicate not only the citizen's origin but also their residence time in the house. This individual declaration which can raise doubts, gains accuracy and veracity thanks to the genealogical data crossing. By means of the latter, we can observe that some inhabitants shared the same domicile in 1833 (under the category: born at home) as well as in 1855 (under the category: owner) which at the same time, depending on their age, indicates how long they lived in the censused house. For example, Jacinto Cabral^{xxviii} who was 54 by 1833, lived since his birth in the censused house (there is the possibility that his parents had occupied it before). He appears in 1855 in the same domicile at the age of 75, as a consequence the occupation of the place dates back to 1779. Finally, the inhabitants taken into account carried out different types of labors living across the whole urban area. Through analysis I have been able to observe that many kept their original occupation, others improved and a minority worsened their situation, specially their housing situation. Now we shall see the number and average children's age per home identified in 1833 and 1855 (single-person homes not considered). As can be observed (Place Table 4 here), the amount of children per house increased. Homes without children (nuclear families) which in 1833 comprised 54% of the families, in 1855 decrease to 9%. Even though homes enlarged, a very important fact to support our argument stands out, by 1855 the children of these families had reached adulthood^{xxix} but only 3% of them had left the mother's or father's house. Also, the extension of the homes in 1855 allows the identification of the development of family forms, the changes in the type of structure (Place Table 5 here).

We can observe the growing number of complete nuclear homes and extended families accompanied by a reduction in the number of nuclear and without structure families, and also the presence of incomplete homes which will continue through the XIX century. Concerning unstructured homes – which evidence a marked decrease between one period and the other- it is necessary to point out that the homes in 1833 include those inhabitants registered as married without children. This accounts for the attempt to reflect data empirically (unstructured are those homes without head, composed of friends, people living alone –in any marital status- elderly people etc.). Later, by 1855 I have clearly identified them given this census registers women, when having children or living with other relatives these homes were added to the corresponding types of structure. Finally it can be observed the housing situation of the identified families in 1833 and 1855 (Place Table 6 here).

By 1833 the population of Buenos Aires was divided into a 51% of “permanent” inhabitants and a 49% of “non-permanent”. In 1855, Table 6 reflects the increased amount of

“permanent” (under the category of owner) as a result of the 28% included in the “didn’t move” category being added to the 15% of those who passed from “permanent” to “permanent” together with a 21% that went from “no permanent” to “permanent”, inhabitants who encompass a 64% of the analyzed samples. Regarding the “non-permanent”, those who couldn’t be owners kept displaying an accented mobility, as 25% went from “no permanent” to “no permanent” (changing their place of residence) and 11% worsened their situation going from “permanent” in 1833 to “no permanent” in 1855.

To sum up, it is evident the increase in the number of inhabitants in Buenos Aires whom I have labeled as “permanent” or owners as well as the amount of nearby moves among those who kept renting a house. (The analysis of the distances of those who moved between one period and the other throws an estimate of 3.8 blocks from the previous domicile). From a “permanent” or “non-permanent” home; sharing the house with ascendants, descendants, collaterals and in-laws, with friends or work-mates; others lived alone, with a partner and children or as guests, servants or slaves.

It is also possible to think that women who were on their own in the city formed couples in order to solve their housing problems, for which the union represented a good solution. Finally, there is the surprising presence— after 22 years- of older children in their mother’s or father’s house. Moreover among the studied families it stood out the presence of secondary homes, collateral relatives as well as people related to the head of the household. This evidence by 1855 suggests that having one’s own house was a long-term project for the young.

Now, many of the differences in the housing situation were found to be related to the work of the household head. Whether in 1778 and later from 1805 to 1827 crafts and commerce were the most common activities. We shall see the occupations that most of the old inhabitants had (Place Table 7 here).

If we compare this data with the data provided by José Luis Moreno (1965:156-157) on the 1778 census, we find that the number of craftsmen and merchants increased (from 50% to 53%). Unskilled workers, day laborers and construction workers went from 5% in 1778 to 19% in 1833. Military, religious, administrative and judicial hierarchies rose from 1.38% in 1778 to 7% in 1833. When we compare both periods, the greater number of merchants and craftsmen is clear. It can also be noted that activities carried out by “non-permanent” inhabitants were still on demand along with a stronger presence of the state sector.

In 1855 (Place Table 8 here) the activities of the inhabitants by 1855 started to diversify and above all female labor increased. Although the lack of men forced women to find employment, moreover, room leasing evidences the Buenos Aires people's access to dwelling units as well as the system of inheritance. Women who lived off rent, seamstresses, laundresses and maids represent more than 40% of the sample.

Among Buenos Aires men the occupations were still related to commerce and crafts. But now these activities appear together with state employment and rents, followed by unskilled workers and day laborers, farm laborers and landowners which altogether represent a 40%.

The decrease in percentages of those dedicated to commerce and crafts, which had been the most demanded activities by the end of the XVIII century, may have possibly been a consequence of the lack of men in the city as well as of the development of the state sector. Lastly by the middle of the century the city presented 9% of inhabitants who lacked an occupation, consisting of beggars, disabled, ill and elderly people. 1.5% worked as bakers or grocer; another 3% comprised those who carried out other tasks such as: guards/porters, spinners, cavalry caretakers, cooks, shoe-lace makers, dyers and dry cleaners, hatters, sawyers, musicians and clockmakers (4 in the total sample). 1.5% represented professionals, doctors, accountants, lawyers and teachers. 1.2% included the members of the ecclesiastical and judicial hierarchies.

To sum up, it is evident that those who dedicated to commerce and crafts; state employees or those who had a profession had greater access to a home of their own; family heritage also stood out (as reflected by permanence periods of the neighbors as well as the percentage of single tenant women by 1855). On the contrary, those who depended on temporary employments or low-wage Jobs continued to rent; homes that were headed mostly by unskilled workers, day laborers and construction workers. This might account for the "mobility" of this sector. These inhabitants shared the homes with work mates, with families, renting rooms in family houses, renting houses with many other families, and finally living in places far from the city. Lastly within the population studied there were colored people, Miguel Rosal^{xxx} resorting to 406 notarial protocols of the city of Buenos Aires (1841,1850 and 1860) found that in 39% of the acquisitions of houses and land there was a person of color as owner, leading him to conclude that these people became "afroporteños" by acquiring a property, thus supporting our hypothesis on the population's rooting.

Therefore, men were the protagonists in the important process of the native families' settling once they had stable employment which granted them access to their own home.

Female and male household heads formed large homes among which the presence of adult offspring (with an average age of 28.5 years old) as well as of their partners and children, (secondary homes), parents – in law and other people. Moreover women who were born in the city were a means of integration and rooting, keeping at the same time the birth rate among Buenos Aires' men^{xxxii} (Place Table 9 here).

As regards the numerous group of colored women, by privileging the *pase de línea de color*^{xxxiii} remaining men of all groups and subgroups became potential candidates for baptizing their children in the city. However, a sector of the population was bound, some longer than others, to suffering a hard economic situation. Among “non-permanent” inhabitants 25% moved with certain frequency and 11% went from being owner to tenant between 1833 and 1855. Although many of the inhabitants rented resorting to diverse strategies, they remained in the city due to a growing workforce demand (especially temporal) accompanied by price control over basic foods. Nonetheless there were inhabitants who rather than inheriting the family house, were born in deprived houses; to which could arrive old people, orphans, also temporary workers and unskilled workers. It is also possible to think that minor merchants, artisans and sellers saw their income affected by periods. While being tenants they could have fallen into a situation of social distress, instances when pregnant women as well as minors were the most affected. In fact by 1837, 2787 infants had been born in Buenos Aires, but 29% of them had perished before the year old^{xxxiii}; in turn, 6% of the 2787 children born alive in 1837 were liable to the *Torno*^{xxxiv} That is to say that out of the 2787 children born alive in 1837 approximately 808 perished before the year old and about 167 were housed in the Casa de Expósitos. The parents of these 975 children might have suffered adverse structural or economic situations. If over the estimated population by 1837 (59 thousand people) we separate the active population^{xxxv} there would remain 31.270 childbearing inhabitants. Therefore if we add to the 975 children their parents we reach a number of 2.925 inhabitants, that is 9.3^{xxxvi} over the childbearing population. In the Table N°9 we find that the age at the time of the burial of native inhabitants below and over 16 years old.

Infant death rate^{xxxvii} (children under a year old) is one of the best indicators of the health status and socioeconomic conditions of a given population. Endogenous factors (causes previous or concomitant of the birth) must be distinguished from exogenous factors (subsequent causes to the birth: poor nutrition and hygiene).^{xxxviii} Day and month old infants' figures approach those calculated by Marta Goldberg by 1837 and the numbers reached in the Casa de Niños Expósitos. Calculations made between 1779 and 1838^{xxxix} have demonstrated

that premature death affected 40% of foundlings. Figures that reflect crudely the issues resulting from being unsheltered, in the studied period there was also ignorance of the transmission of diseases; the asepsis of births; tetanus, child malnutrition; unwanted pregnancies, all of these affected conception, gestation, labor and early childhood.^{xi} (Table 10 here) Between the year old and 16, death rate figures decrease providing evidence that after 16 possibilities of survival increased. However, after 16 years old, militarization affected men.^{xii}

Conclusions

In this paper I have used a model of analysis which provides census data with dynamic resulting in an empirical picture of the communities in population expansion or of recent funding. Once native homes have been identified by means of census data, the categories of amparo and desamparo by being related to the basic needs of individuals, reflect the changes and adaptations in the domestic groups as well as individual actions of men and women through time. As regards the crossed genealogical study, its outcomes have been really encouraging. It has allowed me to identify not only the settling and the permanence of the inhabitants but also the family patterns in time, their changes and adaptations, their geographic stability.

History of the population of Buenos Aires city does not have any antecedents, although some works carried out by social historians can be found, the city was generally believed to have kept a scarce and mobile population since colonial times. During Spanish dominance, small groups of Spanish, Basque, Portuguese, Scottish and British people shared their lives with travelers, adventurers, merchants who entered and left the city. Former inhabitants have been portrayed as white traders accompanied by a growing number of African slaves and people originally from the provinces who alternated jobs as day laborers and unskilled workers in the city and in the first haciendas.

After the fall of Juan Manuel de Rosas' government, ruling elites attempted to substitute, mix and whiten the local population. Although later many of its members would recognize the great mistake, the notion that before the mass influx of immigrants the city was almost uninhabited remained. In turn, since 1990 studies on Argentinian population would refer to the immigration process as a flood and would focus on the communities of immigrants, relativizing the importance of local inhabitants and of space. That is why the history of former inhabitants of the city of Buenos Aires aims at shedding light on the porteños' forefathers, a population that would resist the "immigrant flood" keeping their

particularities, providing others and being, of course, culturally influenced but on their birth land, their home and their children's.

Table 1. Total population by sex and origin and by age group. City of Buenos Aires. Municipal Census 1855.

Age group	Total		Natives		Foreigners	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
0- 4	4.792	4.795	4.498	4.491	294	304
5- 9	4.500	4.434	3.800	3.845	700	589
10-14	4.321	4.169	3.102	3.449	1.219	720
15-19	4.193	5.295	2.093	4.240	2.100	1.055
20-24	5.165	5.035	2.117	3.665	3.048	1.370
25-29	5.327	5.075	1.804	3.665	3.523	1.410
30-34	4.812	4.169	1.515	2.982	3.297	1.187
35-39	3.441	2.742	1.251	2.012	2.190	730
40-44	2.860	2.744	986	2.084	1.874	660
45-49	1.970	1.883	818	1.437	1.152	446
50-54	1.777	1.934	626	1.365	1.151	569
55-59	1.000	870	458	647	542	223
60-64	1.091	1.406	481	970	610	436
65-69	394	419	168	287	226	132
70-74	507	521	168	359	339	162
75-79	207	185	72	144	135	41
80-84	161	261	48	180	113	81
85 y más	116	138	48	108	68	30
Total	46.634	46.075	24.053	35.930	22.581	10.145

Source: RECCHINI de LATTES, Z., (1971), Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, *La Población de Buenos Aires, componentes demográficos del crecimiento entre 1855 y 1960*. Editorial del Instituto.

Table 2. Inhabitants with “permanent” residence among the native population taken into account. Quarters with the higher presence 1833

QUARTER	PERCENTAGE
N°12	91%
N°18	78%
N°22	96.5%
N°27	81.%

Compiled by author. Source: Register of 1833 . Original Sheets, Sala X. 31-11-3. Archivo General de la Nación. Sample: 1819 families; 5.273 natives inhabitants.

Table 3. Non-permanent residence dwellers among the registered native population of the city. Quarters and average time in months and years, 1833

QUARTER	MONTHS	YEARS
N° 19	3.6	7.6
N° 28	3.5	7.7
N° 31	4.1	7.8

Compiled by author. Source: Register of 1833. Original Sheets, Sala X. 31-11-3. Archivo General de la Nación. Sample: 1819 families; 5.273 natives inhabitants.

Table 4. Children and average age by registered household, 1833-1855

1833 Census. Children per household	1855 Census. Children per household
Sample: 144 homes- 132 kids and youngsters	Sample: 144 homes: 441 Kids and youngsters
Children p/ home: 2.0	3.4
Average age: 8 años	19.4 años
Homes without children: 54%	9%
Moved:	3%

Compiled by author. Source: Original sheets 1833 census, original index sheets 1855 Census. Quarters 1833: 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30 y 31 (21 of the original 31) and 12 parishes in which the 1855 census was divided. Archivo General de la Nación. Sample: 144 homes in 1833 and in 1855. 950 natives inhabitants.

Table 5. Structure of registered families, 1833-1855

Types	WO Structure	Nuclear	Complete N.	Extense	Incomplete	Total
1833	86	14	30	8	6	144
1855	34	2	64	32	12	144
Variation:	-60,4%	-86%	+53%	+75%	+100%	

(Families: **WO Structure:** without structure. **Complete N.:** complete nuclear).
 Compiled by author. Source: Original sheets 1833 census, original index sheets 1855 Census. Archivo General de la Nación. Sample: 144 homes in 1833 and in 1855. 950 natives inhabitants.

Table 6. Housing situation of inhabitants "permanent" and "not permanent" identified in the censuses of 1833 and 1855

From: Not Permanent en 1833 to Not Permanent en 1855	From: Permanent en 1833 to No Permanent en 1855	From: No Permanent en 1833 to Permanent en 1855	From: Permanent en 1833 to Permanent en 1855	Didn't move	Total
36	16	30	22	40	144
25%	11%	21%	15%	28%	100%

Compiled by author. Source: Original sheets 1833 census y original sheets Municipal Census of 1855. Archivo General de la Nación. Sample: 144 homes in 1833 and in 1855. 950 natives inhabitants. From Not Permanent to Not Permanent indicates that the person stayed in the same situation in 1833 as well as in 1855. From Permanent a Not Permanent indicates

that when a citizen who was owner in 1833 appears as tenant in 1855. From Not Permanent to Permanent indicates that the person went from tenant in 1833 to owner in 1855. Finally from Permanent to Permanent means that although the person moved between 1833 and 1855 it was as owner.

Table 7. Occupations of the Buenos Aires population. 1833 Census

Craftsmen and merchants:	53%
Unskilled workers, day laborers and construction workers:	19%
Dependent and subordinate sectors:	9%
Military, religious, administrative and judicial hierachies:	7%
Independent professions:	1.75%
Others:	10.25 %
Total:	100%

Compiled by author. Source: Register of 1833. Original Sheets, Sala X. 31-11-3. Archivo General de la Nación. Sample: 1819 families; 5.273 natives inhabitants.

Table 8. Occupations of the Buenos Aires population. 1855 Municipal Census

Off rent; 16% (74% women-26% men)
Merchants: 15%
Seamstresses: 11%
Servants: 8% (70% women-30% men)
Beggars: 7%
Saleswomen: 7% (candles, cigars, clothes, food)
Laundresses/women who ironed: 7%
Craftsmen: 6%
Government employees: 5%
Unskilled workers, day laborers and construction workers: 4%
Farm laborer: 4%
Landowners: 3%
Bakers: 2%
Masons: 2%
Independent professions: 1.75%
Other: 1.25%
Total: 100%

Compiled by author. Source: Municipal Census of the city of Buenos Aires, 1855, original sheets, XII volumes by parish. N°. 1391 to 1401 plus number 1402. Archivo General de la Nación. Sample: 1351 families; 5717 natives inhabitants.

Table 9. Children between 0 and 4 years old born in the city of Buenos Aires. Years: 1855, 1869, 1895.

Year	Men	Woman
1855	4.498	4.491
1869	9.270	9.470
1895	42.476	41.723

Source: Recchini de Lattes Zulma. 1971. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, *La Población de Buenos Aires, componentes demográficos del crecimiento entre 1855 y 1960*. Editorial del Instituto. Census: 1855, 1869 and 1895.

Table 10. Burials of Buenos Aires inhabitants by age in percentages. Cementerio General del Norte. 1833

Burials	Men	Women
Cases:	220 (67%)	104 (33%)
Days and months old:	37%	39%
Between 1 and 16 years old:	8%	16%
Older than 16	55%	45%
Totals:	100%	100%

Compiled by author. Source: 1833 Census. Native population. Archivo General de la Nación. Sample: 324 records on burials in Cementerio General del Norte.

Notes

ⁱ Although since colonial times the city presented a high number of the active population, income – Moreno distinguishes between higher and lower occupations- modified the composition of families. He expresses “the tendency indicates a decrease in the average number of people per family unit as we go from the higher to the lower occupations”. This results from a differential relation in the amount of offspring” He finds that by the end of the XVIII century, the average number of offspring goes from 3.8 in higher groups to 2.4 in lower groups. The causes he infers from this are important to the current research. He finds that birth rate was very high in all sectors. However, in those homes where the economic situation was more favorable “the child was more likely to survive and develop than in low economic level homes”. José Luis Moreno. 1965. “La estructura social y demográfica en la ciudad de Buenos Aires en el año 1778”. En: *Investigaciones Históricas*, n°8, Rosario, p. 151.

ⁱⁱ Feijoó understands that house renting linked to employment can represent extreme danger... “the vulnerability that a strictly employment issue entails, such as the loss of a job, also implies the the losing of the house which then faces families with two complex issues which can rarely be dealt with simultaneously”. Feijoó María del Carmen. 1984. *Buscando un techo*. Buenos Aires, Estudios CEDES, Reprografías, J.M.A.S.A., p.21.

ⁱⁱⁱ In 1755 the Hermandad de la Santa Caridad was building – at n° 800 of the current Bartolomé Mitre street – a boarding house for abandoned and orphaned girls, called “El Colegio de Huérfanas” (Nuestra Señora de los Remedios) in whose backyards functioned the “Cementerio de pobres y ajusticiados”. In 1768 the poor condition of abandoned girls resulted in the building of the “Hospital de Mujeres” (hospital for women) in neighboring lands (current Rivadavia Hospital); in the end there were attempts to prevent child abandonment in the streets by means of the creation of a house for public and hidden births called “Casa de Partos Públicos y Ocultos” (first free maternity ward, where poor pregnant women could attend). However, child abandonment didn’t cease to exist. Then the Casa de Niños Expósitos was created, whose main function was the “direct reception of children of both sexes since they are born till the age of 2”. It was founded on August 7th 1779 in the current Perú and Alsina streets, and it occupied a building which had belonged to the exiled Jesuits and which functioned at the time as war arsenal. Sala X, 7-9-5, División Colonia, Sección Gobierno, Niños Expósitos, 496, 1771-1809, Archivo General de la Nación

(National archives), onwards called: AGN. On June 9th 1780 the first girl arrived, christened under the name of Feliciana Manuela (it provides the date in which currently the Casa Cuna celebrates the beginning of its activities), black, three months old, abandoned and with poor health; she had all the characteristics of a neglected homeless child (she died months later).

^{iv} Urquijo, C. A., *Identificación de los Niños Expósitos*, Revista Infancia, Año I, N° 1, 1937.

^v Goldberg Marta. 1976. “La población negra y mulata en la ciudad de Buenos Aires, 1810-1840”. En: *Desarrollo Económico*, vol. 16, N°61, Buenos Aires, abril-junio.

^{vi} The study on marriage patterns indicates that native men were endogamous in a 99%, then native women started bonding with foreigners given the lack of men. I have analyzed 1497 marriages belonging to the Iglesia de Nuestra Inmaculada Concepción of Buenos Aires, where Hermandad de la Santa Caridad began working, and to the Cathedral of Buenos Aires, located in the Alto de San Pedro. The result indicated that the native women’s marriages that took place in both parishes from 1796 to 1811 were 90.3%. Sources: Vasquez Mansilla Roberto.1988. *Matrimonios de la Iglesia de Nuestra Inmaculada Concepción de Buenos Aires, 1737-1865*. Fuentes Históricas y Genealógicas Argentinas, Buenos Aires. And Jauregui Rueda Carlos. 1989. *Matrimonios de la Catedral de Buenos Aires, 1747-1823*. Buenos Aires, Fuentes Genealógicas Argentinas. En: Redi Cristian. Unpublished. “Las mujeres de la ciudad de Buenos Aires. Asistencia, educación y pautas matrimoniales, 1776-1855”.

^{vii} Otero Hernán. 2001. “Endogamia e integración de inmigrantes en la Argentina moderna. Balance y perspectivas desde un enfoque regional”. En: Seminario sobre Población y Sociedad en América Latina (SEPOSAL 2000). Gredes, Salta, p. 347.

^{viii} José Luis Moreno by studying the white male population’s work, found that the categories that encompassed craftsmen and merchants were over 50% of the total; followed by unskilled workers, day laborers and construction workers with 20% and dependent and subordinate sectors with 5%. He also notes that –in line with our approach- the sector under the category of “mobile”, gathered 7.73% of minor property owners and independent farm workers and a 1.75% of the farm workers’ sector. Those categories corresponding to Major merchants reached a 1.23%, high military, religious, administrative and judicial hierarchies reached 1.38%; Great landowners were about the 0.10%, finally independent professions represented 1.41% of the population. Moreno José Luis. 1965. “La estructura social y demográfica en la ciudad de Buenos Aires en el año 1778”. En: *de Investigaciones Históricas*, n° 8, Rosario. It

is necessary to bear in mind that among all of these there was a growing number of African slaves who, in spite of having worked at first in the houses, started to carry out other tasks such as those of: soldiers, unskilled workers, day laborers and artisans. Slaves' ability to save the money they earned gave them access to their own property. Rosal Miguel. 1994. "Negros y Pardos en Buenos Aires, 1811-1860". En: *Boletín del Instituto de historia Argentina y Americana "Dr. Emilio Ravignani"*, Tomo LI, N°1, Buenos Aires.

^{ix} According to Halperín Donghi the occupations of those who belonged to these categories gathered together mainly workers related to construction and mending of things. *Jornalero* is the temporary worker (unskilled workers, construction workers, carpenters, etc.). Unskilled workers did the following tasks: repairing, litter bearing, ditch digging, paving . etc. Halperín Donghi Tulio. 1982. *Guerra y Finanzas en los Orígenes del Estado argentino (1791-1850)*. Buenos Aires, Editorial de Belgrano.

^x Where minor and medium property owners and tenants prevailed as well as specialized farm workers and hired slaves. Commerce and crafts gathered 21% in 1744 and 7.9% in 1815. Moreno José Luis. 1979. *La estructura social y ocupacional de la campaña de Buenos Aires: un análisis comparativo a través de los padrones de 1744 y 1815*. En: Garavaglia Juan Carlos y Moreno José Luis (comps). *Población, sociedad, familia y migraciones en el espacio rioplatense. Siglos XVIII y XIX*, Buenos Aires, Cántaro, Table N°1.

^{xi} Aliata Fernando. 1993. "Edilicia Privada y Crecimiento Urbano en el Buenos Aires Posrevolucionario, 1824-1827". En: *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana "Dr. Emilio Ravignani"*, Tercera Serie, núm. 7. Buenos Aires.

^{xii} Laslett Peter, and Wall Richard. 1972. *Household and Family in past Time*. Cambridge University Press.

^{xiii} Chudacoff, Howard.1978. "Newlyweds and Family Extension: the first stage of the family cycle in Providence, Rhode Island, 1864-1865 and 1879-1880". En: T.K. areven y M. A. Vinovskis (eds.) *Family and Population in Ninteenth Century America*, rinceton, Princeton University Press.

^{xiv} García Belsunce, César.1976. *Buenos Aires y su Gente*, Buenos Aires. Compañía Impresora Argentina, t.1. p. 141

^{xv} Municipal Census of the city of Buenos Aires, 1855, original sheets, XII volumes by parish. N°. 1391 to 1401 plus number 1402 which contains population settled in quarters, hospitalized population, refugees and on guard population. Archivo General de la Nación. Although by the time of the consultation, (2007) it was complete – quarter N° 2 being absent-

the years of consultation have resulted in serious damage in the files sheets especially in upper and bottom right sector. Other booklets have suffered the effects of humidity, especially those written with ink, many of them are now illegible. Finally, those written in pencil are in the same conditions.

^{xvi} “Instructions written by the person in charge of the statistics board that must be monitored by the statistical district chiefs, or census committees.” 2^o- ... the commissioner will enter the house, and will ask the name of the household head (sic.), and will write it down; next he will ask the names of the other family members of both sexes that live in the house, sleep in it or of those who have spent the night in it before, and he will write them down in each line. This having been written down, the commissioner will ask the name of the other people who live and sleep in the same house as tenants, and of those who form a separate family then will write this down. 3^o- After all the dwellers’ names have been noted, each of them will be asked: what is the owner of the house?. Then in the 3rd column the commissioner will note down what they are, namely masters, sons, servants, apprentices, tenants, wives, daughters, sisters, maids, guests, etc. Before the master or head of household, it will be added own or tenant, accordingly”. Instructions for interviewers. Municipal Census, 1855, Archivo General de la Nación.

^{xvii} At the end of the census sheets booklets of 1855, interviewers added data about the population of the city of Buenos Aires: *Porteños* (those who had been born in any of the 13 parishes in which the census was divided) and *Argentines* (those who hadn’t been born in the jurisdiction of any of the thirteen parishes). Along with them, all nationalities were registered. Added data reflect the following percentages: 59% *Porteños*; 5.7% *Argentines*; and 35.3% foreigners. In his study, Z. De Lattes groups divides the population into *Natives* and *Foreigners*, a total of 92.709 inhabitants, consisting of 65% of *Natives* (59.983) and 35% of *Foreigners* (32.726) (See Table N^o2). In 1869 the city a population of 187.126 people, 51% of them were porteño, later, in 1895 the total population rose to 663.684 while 48% of them were porteño. Source: Recchini de Lattes, Zulema. 1971. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, *La Población de Buenos Aires, componentes demográficos del crecimiento entre 1855 y 1960*. Editorial del Instituto.

^{xviii} Register of 1833 called *Padrón de la ciudad de Buenos Aires*, Police. Original sheetss, Sala X, 31-11-3, Appears in the N^o9 catalogue of the Archivo General de la Nación as: “Padrón de la ciudad de Buenos Aires. Data categories: Name, origin, nationality, age, marital status, profession, owner or tenant”. Divided into eleven civil parishes, from the 31

original quarter numbers 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17 and 26 are missing. It also contains baptism records (belonging to the Sagrario del Sur, Nuestra Señora de la Piedad, San Pedro Telmo and la Concepción parishes). A group of unions carried out in Parroquia de Nuestra Inmaculada Concepción and burial records of the General del Norte Cemetery.

^{xix} At the time of the research this register presented some missing data, reason why those inhabitants living in the following quarters were taken into account: 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30 y 31.

^{xx} Aliata Fernando. 1993. “Edilicia Privada y Crecimiento Urbano en el Buenos Aires Posrevolucionario, 1824-1827”. En: *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana “Dr. Emilio Ravignani”*, Tercera Serie, núm. 7. Buenos Aires.

^{xxi} 26 british, 25 french, italian, german and others and finally 39 owners belonging to the main local families. Aliata. 1993: 69.

^{xxii} Aliata. 1993: 71-80.

^{xxiii} Deep research on native families’ homes by the middle of the XIX century can be found in: Redi, Cristian. 2008. “Las Familias nativas de la ciudad de Buenos Aires antes de la Gran Inmigración”. En: Revista *Temas de Historia Argentina y Americana* perteneciente al Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad Católica Argentina (UCA), N°13.

^{xxiv} Aliata, Fernando. 1993. “Edilicia Privada y Crecimiento Urbano en el Buenos Aires Posrevolucionario, 1824-1827”. En: *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana “Dr. Emilio Ravignani”*, Tercera Serie, núm. 7. Buenos Aires.

^{xxv} As foreigners are concerned, they would settle in places near their compatriots. The quarter with the majority of foreign population by 1833 was N°3 (Catedral to the north) with a 36%; followed by quarter N° 12 (San Nicolás, San Miguel and Catedral to the north) with 26% and N°31 (Pilar) with 19%. On the other hand, district N°3, 19 and 20 gathered the bigger number of native black people (in close relation to their masters). Instead, those who keep their foreign origin settled in other areas of the city. For instance, 7.5% of native black people lived in quarter N°20 (Montserrat) and together with them 8% which kept their african origin and did unskilled work and crafts and in this same quarter there were 10% of inhabitants registered as brown.

^{xxvi} Although in this type of study it is allowed to work with the first letters of the inhabitants’ surnames, I have chosen to consider those who completely matched with the collected data.

This explains universe of identified families and the attempt of carrying out a qualitative analysis which could be enlarged but it would lose accuracy.

^{xxvii} By means of working with original sheets and census sheets – along with various maps for locating addresses- I have been able to study the block and nearby zones of each neighborhood where each home was located. Although situations varied, the ones that stood out where: Inhabitants who dwelled the same place for long periods, others that moved nearby. In occasions, there were neighboring families in 1833 which in 1855 lived in the exact same conditions but in a different neighborhood. Other families remained in the same house with a new occupant with the same surname of the household head. Work mates shared houses, got married and often stayed in the building where they lived in 1833, others moved out. High-income inhabitants' houses showed an increase in their number between one period and the other, these inhabitants in spite of their condition housed secondary homes. Finally, the dweller's activity stood out, in a period in which shops were generally located in the family home, such as groceries stores, shoemaking workshops, barbershops, etc.

^{xxviii} **1833:** Talcahuano 3: Jacinto Cabral, 54, married, born in Buenos Aires, construction worker, White, residence time in the building: born there. 2 children, José and Feliciana, 5 and 3 years old respectively, both born and raised in the house. **1855:** Talcahuano 3: owner, Jacinto Cabral, 75, born in the city of Buenos Aires, construction worker. Lives with wife, Eugenia Riso, 49, born in the city of Buenos Aires, “mother”. Three children: José, Feliciana and Maria, ages: 28, 25 and respectively, the three born in the city of Buenos Aires. Sources: Register of 1833. Original Sheets, Sala X, 31-11-3. Municipal Census of the city of Buenos Aires, 1855, original sheets, XII volumes by parish. N° 1391 to 1401 plus number 1402. Archivo General de la Nación.

^{xxix} Even though the average age is high, it includes only the children who were born during the 22 years which the study consists of. If we consider those youngsters over the age of 15 who in 1833 lived with their parents the average age rises to 28,5 by 1855.

^{xxx} Rosal Miguel. 1994. “Negros y Pardos en Buenos Aires, 1811-1860”. En: *Boletín del Instituto de historia Argentina y Americana “Dr. Emilio Ravignani”*, Tomo LI, N°1, Buenos Aires, p.192.

^{xxxi} Native men represented the 41% of the population in the city in 1855, fourteen years later they reached the 43.5%, later in 1895 they would be 48%. Finally, the total native population which in 1855 reaches the 59% of the population in the city; in 1869 will decrease to 50.7%, in 1895 to 48%; this drop largely accounted for the arrival of immigrants with their children.

^{xxxii} Mellafañe expresses: “The *pase de línea de color* was a natural phenomenon as the slave started to lose his negroid characteristics resulting from successive racial mixing. The general preference was to be considered euromestizo in order to approach the White social status. In this change, apart from the skin whitening resulting from the crossbreeding and the aculturation process which affected even the dressing and speaking, an economic element intervened too”. Mellafañe, Rolando. *La Esclavitud en Hispanoamérica*, Buenos Aires, EUDEBA. p. 91.

^{xxxiii} Goldberg Marta. 1976. “La población negra y mulata en la ciudad de Buenos Aires, 1810-1840”. En: *Desarrollo Económico*, vol. 16, N°61, Buenos Aires, abril-junio. p. 27, table N°7.

^{xxxiv} For the same period and source Pablo Croce expresses: “It is estimated that 6% of newborns was bound to being abandoned in the city of Buenos Aires”. Croce Pablo. 2007. *Historia de la Casa Cuna de Buenos Aires, epopeya de cuatro siglos*. Buenos Aires, Fundación Casa Cuna, p.58. The *Torno* was a means of introducing the child in the Casa de Expósitos without being seen (expósito comes from the latin ex–positum, which means literally to be left outside). It consisted of a rotating piece of furniture composed by a vertical wooden piece whose top and bottom borders were attached to plates, all of this covered a hole made in the external Wall; in front of the Torno of the Casa de Expósitos it read: “my mother and my father disposed me, divine charity shelters me here”. When someone left a baby there and rang the bell, someone inside rotated the Torno and the child entered preserving their identity.

^{xxxv} HENRY Luis. 1983. *Manual de demografía Histórica*, Crítica, Barcelona.

^{xxxvi} It is possible to compare this indicator with cities of the old continent. Case studies carried out in cities of England, France and Spain in the beginning of Modern Age present similar. The poor sector which has been called “structural” (*pobres de solemnidad*, that is extremely poor) consisted of widows, old people, chronic ill people, or disabled people, their condition entitled them to receive alms; they reached 4 to 8% of the population of Salisbury, Norwich, Odonese, Lyon, Toledo, Valencia, Florence, Rome, together with other cities from North and Middle Italy from the XV to the XVIII century. The circumstantially poor, who generally depended on low wages or occasional employment reached 20% in the same cities. Finally, along with these there was a third group consisting of artisans, minor sellers as well as minor government officials which could fall repeatedly below the subsistence level who, when added to the urban poor, “pushed” the poverty rates to a” 50/60% of the total family

units in times of crisis”. The author, Pedro Fraile, concludes in Europe between 4% to 8% suffered structural conditions (similar to our result), figures to which could be added a 20% of the urban circumstantially poor which in times of crisis could double in number. To present case studies he consulted the following works: Gutton, J.P. 1971. *La Société et les pauvres, L'exemple de la généralité de Lyon, 1534-1789*. Lyon; Gutton, J.P. 1974. *La société et les pauvres en Europe, XVI et XVII siècles*. Paris, P.U.F.; Pullan, B.S. 1978. “Poveri. Mendicanti, e vagabondi sicli XIV-XVIII”. *Storia d'Italia, Anali I, Dal Feudalismo al capitalismo*, Torino y finally Martz, L. 1983. *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain*. Cambridge, Cambridge U.P. Fraile Pedro. 2005. *El vigilante de la Atalaya, la génesis de los espacios de control en los albores del capitalismo*. Lleida, Editorial Milenio, pp. 22-23.

^{xxxvii} “Infant mortality rate is defined as the newborns’ probability of dying during their first year of life.” *Revista de Divulgación Científica y Tecnológica de la Asociación Ciencia Hoy*, Volume 1 - Nº 2- February/March 1989.

^{xxxviii} Cardozo Ciro y Pérez Brignoli Héctor. 1997. *Los métodos de la Historia*. Introducción a los problemas, métodos y técnicas de la Historia demográfica, económica y social, Grijalbo, México.

^{xxxix} Urquijo Carlos. 1937. “Identificación de los Niños Expósitos”, *Revista Infancia*, Año I, Nº 1.

^{xl} Elizalde Pedro y La Rocca Julio. 1942. “Profilaxis del abandono de la primera infancia en la ciudad de Buenos Aires. En: *Revista Infancia*, año IV. Elizalde Pedro. 1942. “El menor bajo tutela del estado”. En: IX Jornadas Multidisciplinarias del Hospital de Pediatría Dr. Pedro de Elizalde. Elizalde Pedro. 1940. *Archivos Argentinos de Pediatría*, Vol. XIII, “Historia de la Casa Cuna”. Croce Pablo. 2007. *Historia de la Casa Cuna de Buenos Aires, epopeya de cuatro siglos*. Buenos Aires, Fundación Casa Cuna. p.152.

^{xli} Women’s burials started to decrease. However, we must take into account those men who participated in the fronts who might have been buried in those places. We must remember that by 1855 one out of 2 men between 16 and 54 years old had disappeared.