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## CHAPTER IV

### ARGENTINA<sup>1</sup>

By

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The migration statistics of Argentina are generally utilized in order to determine the migratory increase, which, when added to the natural increase of excess of births over deaths gives the total increase in population. But for a study of immigration, which is the present purpose, it is necessary to derive from the official statistics a figure including only those who ought logically to be classed as immigrants, that is, those who come from foreignlands with the intention of settling permanently. Therefore the tourists and those returning to Argentina after an absence abroad have been subtracted from the total number of arrivals. This is the more necessary, inasmuch as the immigration and emigration statistics are scattered through many official publications, in which the totals are raised by the inclusion of second-class passengers along the river between Buenos Aires and Montevideo.

Although it is easy to subtract these river passengers from the total and get the number of those foreigners who have entered the country as second-class or third-class passengers from across the sea (from "ports beyond," as the present law governing immigration phrases it), it is not possible to make finer classifications among them or to distinguish between those who entered with the intention of returning to the country of their origin and those who intended to remain permanently in Argentina. This is especially true if the statistics going back to 1857, when the records of migration began, are to be used. The statistics of these first years were kept by a private society, the Philanthropic Immigration Commission, which became a state organization in 1862 and ceased to function in 1869 when the Central Commission on Immigration was created by the national government. The present General Board of Immigration was created October 19, 1876.

The distinction made in the preceding paragraph between arrivals and immigrants began to be observed by the Board of

<sup>1</sup>[See *International Migrations*, Vol. I, pp. 539-547—Ed.]

Immigration in 1924. It is interesting to analyze the statistics of these last years so as to show how much the distinction influences the totals. In the statistics of 1926 the total number of foreign-born who disembarked in the ports of Argentina have been classified under the four heads given in Table 47.

The second column of this table includes all who will be considered "immigrants" in order to carry a uniform criterion through the statistics of the 70-year period to be analyzed; but in reality only 84 per cent of them were true immigrants, the remaining 16 per cent being composed of (a) those who were entering the country not for the first time (13.3 per cent); (b) those who expected to return to their own country within a year (0.9 per cent); or (c) those who were enroute for some other nation (1.8 per cent).

TABLE 47.

FOREIGN-BORN ARRIVALS IN ARGENTINA, CLASSIFIED BY INTENTION AS TO TRAVEL, DURING 1926.

Intention	First-class	Second and third-class
Those en route for other nations . . . . .	1,809	2,492
Those who declared their stay in the country would be for not more than a year . . . . .	3,163	1,131
Those who had been in the country before . . . . .	5,631	18,036
Those who intended to remain . . . . .	925	113,352
Totals . . . . .	11,528	135,011

The official statistics on immigration have often been criticised as being inexact or incomplete; a simple comparison will prove that the statement is true. Migration statistics are registered by the Board of Immigration in the Department of Agriculture, and compiled also by the General Marine Prefecture in the Marine Department. A collation of the statistics from the two sources brings out differences which in some cases are considerable; for example, in 1914 the two totals for migration by way of the sea differed by 14,435. This difference is very strange, if it is kept in mind that both offices make their compilations from identical reports received from the steamships.

The figures of the General Board of Immigration are commonly accepted, because that office is especially entrusted with the task,

and because it is in a better position than the other to become acquainted with migration. Its statistics have been adopted in the demographic studies of the General Board of National Statistics, and are those which will be analyzed here.

Besides the immigrants to Argentina from overseas, there is a smaller but important class composed of persons who originally emigrated to an adjacent country, and later came across the frontier into Argentina. This is a difficult matter to probe, because official statistics of the river movement between Argentina and neighboring countries are very deficient and it is almost impossible to base a serious study upon them. The statistical compilations on river traffic differ widely, and one cannot know which is nearer the truth. Between 1914 and 1918—the most important period for this study, because during those years the migration currents of Argentina changed enormously—the Board of Immigration in its figures of river traffic showed a balance of 117,243 in favor of Argentina, but the Marine Prefecture showed a balance of only 4,102. The General Statistical Commission in its recent demographic work adopted the figures of river movement compiled by the Board of Immigration, but it substituted for them during the years 1914–16 the data of the Marine Prefecture, feeling that the balances for these three years given by the Board were incorrect.

From these facts it appears that the official statistics of river traffic have a wide margin of error and that it is not worthwhile to examine them in detail. This conclusion is reinforced if one considers that the figures of entries and departures of the foreign-born have been swollen by those for the citizens of neighboring countries, who enter or leave Argentina but do not belong, strictly speaking, to the stream of immigrants or emigrants.

The Board of Immigration figures for recent years, however, seem to be compiled with greater exactness. A brief analysis of the period from 1921 to 1924 will give an idea of migration along the rivers. The total number of foreign-born (1st, 2nd and 3d class) who entered Argentina by river in the period mentioned was 268,000; of those who left it, 225,000 there remaining in favor of the Republic a difference of 43,000 persons. The analysis of nationalities shows that immigration of the natives of neighboring countries is very slight, and that, on the other hand, the balance in the river migration of the foreign-born who are not South Americans is considerable. The river movement of natives of neighboring countries is given in Table 48.

TABLE 48.

MIGRATION BY RIVER OF NATIVES OF COUNTRIES ADJACENT TO ARGENTINA, 1921-24.

(In Thousands)

Peoples	Entries	Departures	Net Increase
Uruguayans.....	119	116	3
Brazilians.....	3	1	2
Paraguayans.....	3	1	2

The principal river movement of foreigners born in other than South American countries is given in Table 49.

TABLE 49.

MIGRATION BY RIVER OF NATIVES OF NON-SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES, WITH REGARD TO ARGENTINA, 1921-24.

(In Thousands)

Peoples	Entries	Departures	Net Increase
Italians.....	33	25	8
Spainards.....	41	36	6
Germans.....	11	7	4

The migration by land across Argentina's Chilean and Bolivian frontiers is unimportant. The migration between La Quiaca<sup>1</sup> and Bolivia shows in many years a balance favorable to Argentina; but this gain is only apparent, since it is due to Indians who enter the country by train and return to their tent villages in Bolivia on foot.

The first migration statistics of Argentina were gathered in 1857. Before that year little evidence is to be had regarding the entrance of foreigners into the country, and no reliable statistics can be obtained. From the declaration of Argentine independence in 1810, immigration was the constant preoccupation of those members of the government who desired to modify radically the Spanish colonial opposition to foreigners; but during the first fifty years of constitutional organization political disturbances prevented the coming of immigrants in appreciable numbers. The decrees and laws which were promulgated in those years with

<sup>1</sup>On the railway near the Bolivian frontier.

the purpose of fostering immigration from Europe were numerous, beginning with one enacted by the governmental assembly of 1810, which had granted to the foreign born equal rights with natives. Nevertheless, all the privileges then given to the foreign born were exceeded by the provisions of the constitution adopted in 1853 and inspired by the dictum of the publicist, Alberdi: "In South America to govern is to populate." The constitution is so liberal that its foreign-born are in a better position than citizens, since they have all the advantages that the latter enjoy and are exempt from certain obligations, like military service, that weigh upon the citizens. It may be said that immigration to Argentina began with the constitution which consolidated the political organization of the Republic.

In the 70 years from 1857 to 1926 inclusive, 5,742,000 immigrants (foreigners from overseas, coming second class or third class) entered the country; subtracting from this number the 2,668,000 emigrants who left in the same period, there remains a balance of 3,074,000 immigrants into Argentina (See Table 50).

TABLE 50.  
OVERSEAS IMMIGRANTS AND EMIGRANTS, AND BALANCE, BY DECADES,  
1857-1926.  
(In Thousands)

Periods	Immigration	Emigration	Balance
1857-60.....	20	9	11
1861-70.....	160	83	77
1871-80.....	261	176	85
1881-90.....	841	203	638
1891-1900.....	648	328	320
1901-10.....	1,764	644	1,120
1911-20.....	1,205	936	269
1921-26.....	843	289	554
1857-1926.....	5,742	2,668	3,074

During the 24 years from 1857 to 1880, immigration increased slowly while the political system was being consolidated and the economic conditions of the country were improving with the extension of the railroads and the increase of territory devoted to agriculture and cattle-raising.

During the first decade the annual immigration increased from 4,951 in 1857 to 13,696 in 1866.<sup>1</sup> In this period internal conditions did not favor immigration, because of the antagonism between Buenos Aires and the other provinces; and after 1865, because of the bloody war against the tyrant Lopez of Paraguay.

In 1868 immigration was nearly double what it had been in any preceding year. This date marked the beginning of the administration of President Sarmiento, champion of popular education, under whose rule Argentina followed the straight road of progress. During the 7 years between 1868 and 1874, Argentina received 216,000 immigrants, an annual average of 30,800. To appreciate the significance of this number note that the first census, taken in September, 1869, reported a population of only 1,737,000, so that the annual immigration was nearly two per cent of the population.

During these years immigrant agricultural colonies in the provinces of Santa Fe and Entre Rios developed, and new laws regarding the sale of public lands were promulgated; in 1873 the export of wheat began with 5 tons. Unfavorable conditions in Europe toward the end of this period—civil wars in Spain and Italy and the Franco-Prussian war—contributed to the increase. The decrease of more than one-half in the immigration of 1871, compared with that in 1870, was due to the terrible epidemic of yellow fever which ravaged the city of Buenos Aires; but this did not check the increase during the next three years.

Beginning with 1875 and lasting until 1880 there was an even greater reduction of immigration. The internal economic situation was unsteady as shown by the fact that external commerce, which from 1872 to 1875 had maintained itself above 100,000,000 gold pesos—reaching 120,832,000 in 1873—declined in the following years, remaining in the neighborhood of 85,000,000. The political situation was also disturbed by revolutions in 1874 and 1880, and the issuing of paper money in excessive amounts created a crisis in 1874 that lasted through 1875 and the early part of 1876. In addition, events in Italy caused a decrease of 75 per cent in the Italian immigration between 1873 and 1876.

The following decade, 1881-90, showed a normal increase during its early years; but from 1887 to 1889 immigration attained phenomenal proportions and then declined suddenly in 1890. During the whole of this period immigration was encouraged by

<sup>1</sup>[See Volume I, p. 359, Table I.—Ed.]

the government, which in the years 1880, 1881, and 1890, advanced passage money to immigrants. Those who entered the country with this aid numbered 12,000 in 1888; 100,000 in 1889; and 20,000 in 1890. After 1890 this system of aid was finally abandoned.

The internal economic situation of the period followed a course parallel with that of immigration. In 1880 the administration of President Roca began with auguries of peace and progress. Agriculture and cattle-raising increased greatly, and in the first four years exports of wheat developed as follows:

*Tons of wheat exported*

1881	157
1882	1,700
1883	60,800
1884	108,500

The increase in the total value of exports in these years was 30 per cent. But this prosperity kindled an excessive optimism, a spirit of speculation, and an unsound expansion in the government and in individuals. The national budget increased 110 per cent in four years; the consolidated public debt, which was 86,000,000 gold pesos in 1880, was raised to 295,000,000 in 1889; easy money led to an increase of private expenses, imports increased, outstripping exports after 1882 and creating an unfavorable balance of trade. All these circumstances caused an extraordinary boom, followed in 1890 by a crash entailing a political upheaval.

The readjustment which followed was long and costly; during the following decade one notes a restriction upon purchases, evidenced by an extraordinary decrease of imports. The year of panic which followed the crisis of 1890 affected immigration—in 1891 only 28,000 persons entered, while 72,400 departed, a net loss of 44,000 persons.<sup>1</sup>

The annual averages during the 13 years after the panic were: immigrants 67,000, emigrants 36,000, and an annual net increase from migration of 31,500.

During this period economic conditions were very unstable; and although progress continued, it was slow. Not until 1899 did international commerce regain the position at which it stood just before the crisis. The chief source of injury to business was the inconvertibility of the paper money and this was not remedied

<sup>1</sup>[See Vol. I, p. 543-6, Table V.—Ed.]



until the close of 1903 when the Caja de Conversion began to function regularly. Conditions in European countries were favorable to emigration, but Argentina was not offering great inducements and the outflow turned towards Brazil.

With 1904 an extraordinary period of migration opened and lasted until 1914. Those years were marked by great commercial activity, steady extension of railroads, agriculture, and cattle-raising. Imports grew enormously, quintupling their value between 1903 and 1913, and political tranquility contributed its influence to the growth during this period.

Two principal facts are revealed in the migration statistics of these years. First, the size of the immigrant stream—in the ten years about 2,400,000 immigrants entered the country from overseas, an annual average of 240,000, more than three times the 67,000 entering annually in the preceding period. The second fact is the size of the return current, which at the end of the period exceeded 120,000 a year. This was due to the so-called "floating immigration" or "birds of passage" composed of European laborers who went to Argentina in October, November, or December, taking advantage of the cheapness of the rates in those years. As a result of competition between the steamship companies tickets were sold at ridiculous prices. These immigrants worked in the fields during the crop season and in May and June returned to their homes with their savings. This current, which had its principal development between 1907 and 1913, has been estimated at between 50,000 and 70,000 persons. Disappearing in 1914 as a result of causes that we shall explain later, it has not yet revived.

As a result of this extraordinary movement the ten years 1904-13 showed a net migrational increase of 1,484,000 persons—an annual average of 148,000 and in 1913 an increase of 145,000.<sup>1</sup> To appreciate fully the relative significance of this number it is necessary to remember that the total population of Argentina at the beginning of this period was 4,976,000; that by the end of 1913 it had reached 7,482,000; and that it had an annual natural increase of between 103,000 in 1904, and 157,000 in 1913. Consequently, in almost every year of the decade the migrational increase of the population was greater than the natural increase.

This great immigration was more than the country could assimilate and led to a crisis during the first four months of 1914. The composition of the population was clearly shown by the census

<sup>1</sup>[Compare Volume I, p. 539, Table I, with p. 542, Table IV.—Ed.]

taken about the middle of 1914. Of the 7,885,000 inhabitants, 2,358,000 or about three-tenths were of foreign birth, a proportion twice as large as that in the United States in 1910 when it reached its maximum. In the group of males over 20 years of age the foreign-born were 52 per cent and in the federal capital, for each native Argentinian over 20 years of age, there were almost three foreign-born of like age; 72 per cent of the business heads and 75 per cent of the owners of business houses were of foreign birth.

These conditions and others toward the end of 1913 had created increasing unemployment and were the determining factors in the change of the migratory currents noted early in 1914. During the first months arrivals decreased and the diminution became more marked in May, June, and July just before the declaration of the World War. At that time, immigration was only 7,000-9,000 persons a month, or about half the volume in corresponding months of former years. Departures increased enormously, becoming 20,000-28,000 persons monthly in April and May. These monthly figures prove that the war was not the cause of the extraordinary emigration in 1914. The declaration of war caused a sudden drop in the departures: from 26,000 in July, emigration fell to 9,000 in August, 1914. Immigration remained stationary and did not show its normal increase toward the end of the year. For the whole of 1914, the country had a net loss of 63,000. These conditions continued and as the war restricted immigration, the steady losses during the 6 years 1914-19 resulted in a decrease of 214,175.<sup>1</sup>

The figures show that the whole migratory movement was almost paralyzed during 1917 and 1918, and in the latter year the total movement in and out was only 38,000, about one-twelfth of what it was just before the war.

After the war ended, the stream of immigration revived, but was made difficult at first by the economic situation of the country unbalanced by the world crisis, by the high cost of steamship fares and by the diversion of immigrants to new regions (*e. g.* Italian immigration to France). The supplementary statistics for 1925 and 1926 may be added as Table 51.<sup>2</sup>

In 1923 the stream of immigration regained its pre-war level, since the net increase in that year was substantially equal to the average annual increase during the period of extraordinary immigration, 1904-13, and if the number of arrivals and departures was

<sup>1</sup>[See Volume I, p. 543 ff.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup>[See also Volume I, p. 543 ff.—Ed.]

TABLE 51.

## ARGENTINE MIGRATION AND NET IMMIGRATION, 1925 AND 1926.

	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net Immigration
1925 .....	125,366	49,841	75,525
1926 .....	135,011	55,769	79,242

much less than in the earlier years, it was because they were not swollen by "birds of passage" who cannot travel at the present time because of the high cost of ocean journeys.

In 1924 and 1925 immigration diminished a little, because of the depression in Argentine agriculture, but thereafter the economic situation improved greatly and the figures for immigration in 1926 and 1927 show an appreciable increase in arrivals and net increase over those of preceding years.

The averages for the period 1920-26 are: immigration 132,837; emigration 49,477; net migratory increase 83,345, an annual increase of 9 per 1,000 of population which is approximately half of the natural increase during the same period.

Most of the immigrants who have entered the country during the last seventy years are Latins, natives of south Europe; Italians and Spaniards constitute a little less than 80 per cent of the total; the immigrants from all non-Latin countries scarcely amount to 15 per cent. The fact that Anglo-Saxon emigrants do not come in numbers should not be attributed to climatic conditions, for Argentina is situated almost entirely within the Temperate Zone; and because it extends through 33 degrees of latitude it has a wide range of climate. The Anglo-Saxon emigrants of the last seventy years preferred to go to the United States or to Canada, because they found in these countries an atmosphere, language and religion similiar to their own. The situation in Argentina has been modified in recent years by an increase in the immigration of non-Latin foreigners who now constitute more than a fourth of the total. The nationality of immigrants into Argentina during the 70 years 1857-1926 is shown in Table 52.

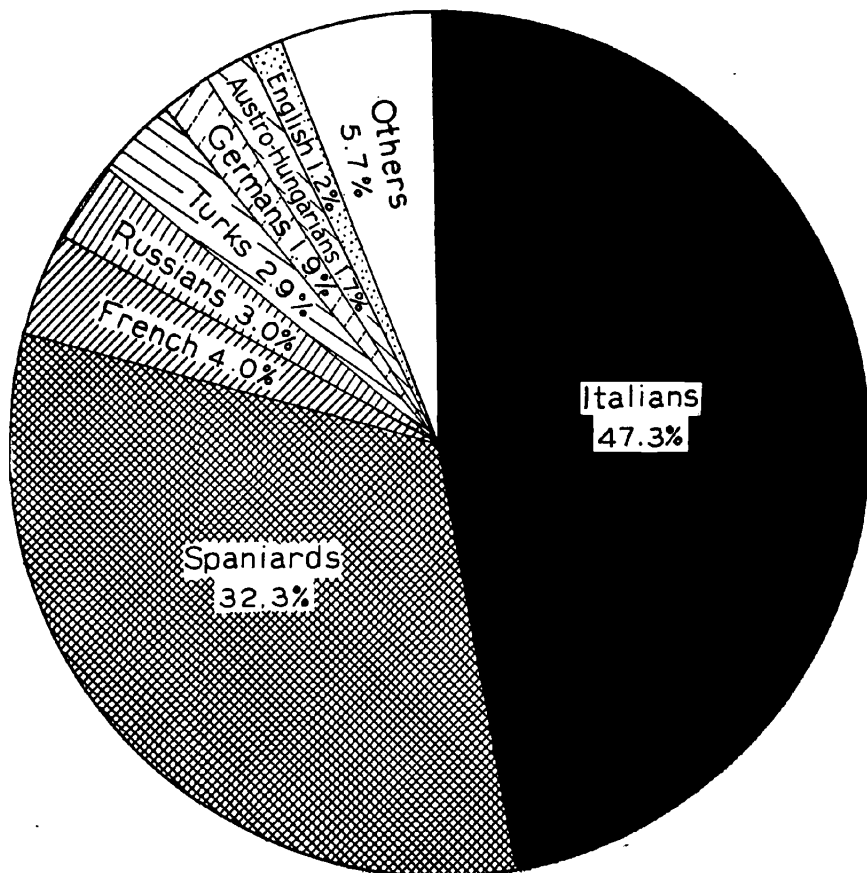
The earliest immigration was from Italy; 70 per cent of the immigrants before 1870 were Italians; later this proportion decreased to 60 per cent, and today it is about 40 per cent. These

TABLE 52.

OVERSEAS IMMIGRANTS BY NATIONALITY, NUMBER IN THOUSANDS AND PER CENT, 1857-1926.

Peoples	Number	Per Cent	Peoples	Number	Per Cent
Italians.....	2,718	47.4	Pollacks.....	48	0.8
Spaniards.....	1,853	32.3	Portuguese.....	43	0.7
French.....	229	4.0	Swiss.....	38	0.7
Russians.....	172	3.0	Belgians.....	25	0.4
Ottomans, Turks.....	169	2.9	Danes.....	14	0.2
Germans.....	111	1.9	Yugoslavs.....	15	0.3
Austro-Hungarians...	94	1.7	Czechoslovaks.....	12	0.2
British.....	66	1.2	Other Peoples.....	134	2.3
			Total.....	5,741	100.0

Diagram 8. Immigration into Argentina, Classified by Nationalities, 1857-1926.



national proportions are presented graphically in the diagram of Diagram 8.<sup>1</sup>

The emigration or repatriation of Italians has amounted to 50 per cent of the total emigration. It increased rapidly in the difficult periods through which the country has passed periodically; in the crisis of 1890 there was an exodus of Italians, and in 1891 only 16,000 entered and 58,000 left. This movement stands in contrast to that of the natives of other lands, for in the same year the total migration decrease was about 44,000, only a little more than that of the Italians alone. Likewise, during the war period from 1914 to 1919, the excess of Italians who left over those who arrived was 97,000.

Spanish immigration, unlike Italian, increased its proportion as the years passed. At the beginning it was only 15 per cent of the total and later, just before the war, it reached 49 per cent. In recent years it has diminished, probably because of the events in Spain; at present it constitutes only 25 per cent of the total.

The large balances of Spanish and Italian immigration in the last 70 years have brought about profound modifications in the population of Argentina; according to the census of 1914, the country contained 930,000 Italians and 830,000 Spaniards, the two together forming 23.5 per cent of the total population.

French immigration has not been important, about one twenty-fourth of the total. Very slight at first, it increased slowly until its maximum in the period from 1888 to 1890; during these 3 years the French immigrants numbered 61,000, or 14 per cent of the total. Later this immigration decreased greatly and in recent years it has remained very small, 1,000 to 2,500 arriving each year, and about as many leaving.

Before the war there was a considerable immigration of Russians and Turks. The Turks were mainly Syrians from the Lebanon. According to the census of 1914 there were 64,000 Ottomans and 94,000 Russians in Argentina. Syrian immigration lately has been reduced, and Russian has almost ceased, the latter being replaced by immigration from Poland which of late has acquired considerable importance, rising into third place after that of Italy and Spain. From 1921 to the end of November 1927, about 83,000 Poles entered Argentina.

<sup>1</sup>[Diagrams 8, 9, and 10 are copied by permission from the authors' article "Setenta años de inmigración" (1928).—Ed.]

German immigration has been important from 1920 to the present time; in the last eight years over 50,000 Germans have arrived.

The recent increases in the immigration of natives of non-Latin countries (Poles, Germans, Yugoslavs, Czechoslovaks, Lithuanians), if continued, will modify the ethnic composition of the population. Before the war, non-Latin immigration was only 13 per cent of the total; since the war this percentage has increased rapidly. It was 19 per cent in 1922, rose to 25.2 per cent in 1923 and reached 30 per cent in 1926. The provisional figures for 1927 indicate that it will be still higher in that year.

As to the sex of the immigrants, the annual proportion has been about 71 per cent males and 29 per cent females. The proportion of males was lower during the earlier decades and at present is a little higher, as Table 53 shows.

TABLE 53

OVERSEAS IMMIGRANTS, BY SEX: NUMBER AND PER CENT, FOR  
DECADES, 1857-1926.  
(Number in Thousands)

Periods	Number			Per cent	
	Total	Males	Females	Male	Female
1857-60	20	16	4	80.5	19.5
1861-70	160	122	37	76.4	23.6
1871-80	261	184	77	70.4	29.6
1881-90	841	585	255	69.6	30.4
1891-1900	648	458	190	70.6	29.4
1901-10	1,764	1,281	482	72.6	27.4
1911-20	1,205	842	363	69.9	30.1
1921-26	843	589	254	70.2	29.8
Totals	5,742	4,077	1,665	71.0	29.0

The number of women, who almost always come with their families, fluctuates less than that of men. In the years of restricted immigration, therefore, the percentage of women is higher.

Of the 5,742,000 immigrants who entered between 1857 and 1926, Table 54 shows that 3,744,000 were single, 1,896,000 were married and 102,000 were widowers or widows.

TABLE 54

OVERSEAS IMMIGRANTS BY MARITAL CONDITION: NUMBER BY  
DECADES, 1857-1926.  
(In Thousands)

Periods	Single	Married	Widowed
1857-60.....	14	6	0.086
1861-70.....	111	46	3
1871-80.....	183	74	4
1881-90.....	563	263	15
1891-1900.....	426	210	13
1901-10.....	1,207	531	26
1911-20.....	754	429	22
1921-26.....	487	337	13
Total .....	3,744	1,896	96.086

The proportion of married in the total which during the period 1901-1910 was 30 per cent, and during the following decade was 35 per cent—has now risen beyond 40 per cent (see Diagram 9). The proportion of immigrants who take advantage of the immigration law and are lodged in the Hotel for Immigrants and maintained at the cost of the state has decreased since the war, as Table 55 shows.

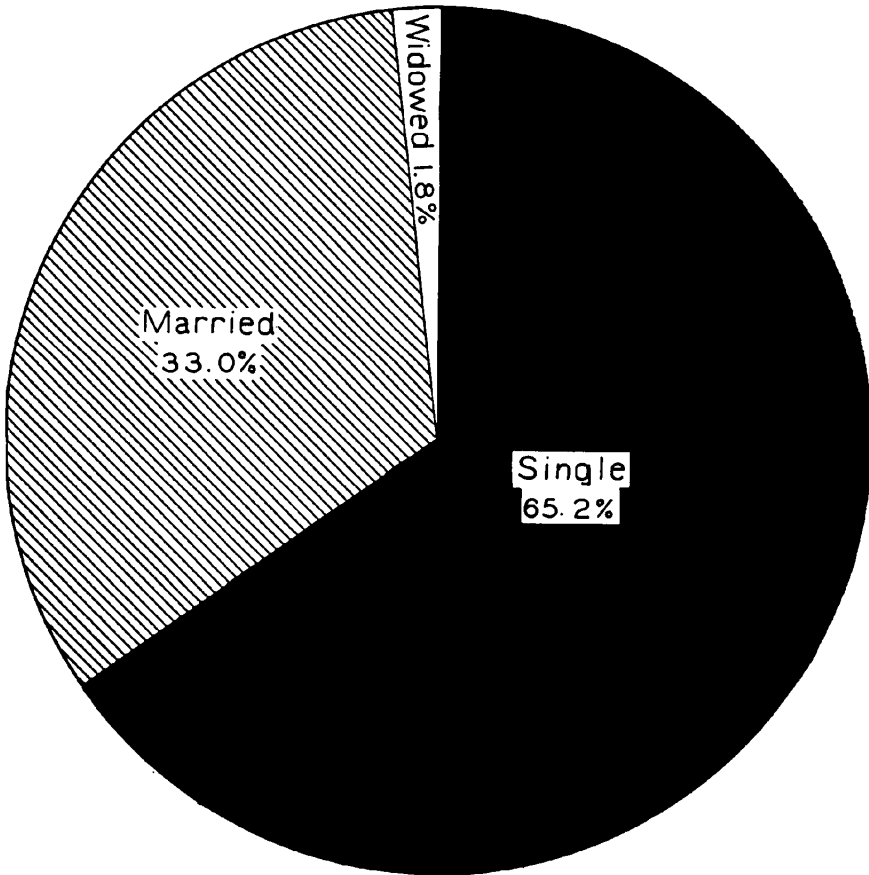
TABLE 55

IMMIGRANTS MAINTAINED BY THE STATE, NUMBER AND PER CENT OF  
ALL IMMIGRANTS, BY DECADES, 1857-1926.  
(Number in Thousands)

Period	Number	Per Cent
1857-60.....	0.6	3.0
1861-70.....	25	15.9
1871-80.....	85	32.7
1881-90.....	419	49.8
1891-1900.....	279	43.0
1901-10.....	831	47.1
1921-26.....	324	38.4
Total .....	1,969	100.0

The majority of immigrants to Argentina are adults; the proportion of children and aged people is very small. Hence the im-

Diagram 9. Immigrants into Argentina, Classified by Marital Condition, 1857-1926.



migrants help to raise the birthrate, and with their aid the natural increase or excess of births over deaths in Argentina is probably the largest among the important countries in the world. Up to 1924 of the total immigrants who had entered, 84.2 per cent were between the ages of 13 and 60, children under 13 constituted 14.7 per cent, and persons over 60 made up only 1 per cent. The proportion of adults was still greater in the last period 1921-24 when it was 88.6 per cent.<sup>1</sup>

The education of the immigrants leaves much to be desired, chiefly because the great majority are from Italy and Spain where primary education has not yet become general. The proportion of

<sup>1</sup>[These percentages are based on figures given in Volume I, p. 540, Table II.—Ed.]



illiterate immigrants varies between 23 and 25 per cent. In 1926 a slight improvement was perceptible; the illiterates were only 20.6 per cent of the total, and if we subtract children under 14 years of age, the illiteracy among the adults is reduced to 18.1.

The returns concerning the occupations of immigrants are inadequate, as they must be under the conditions, but deserve some attention.<sup>1</sup> Available figures are given in Table 56.

TABLE 56  
OVERSEAS IMMIGRANTS BY OCCUPATIONS, NUMBER AND PER CENT,  
1857-1926.

(Numbers in Thousands)

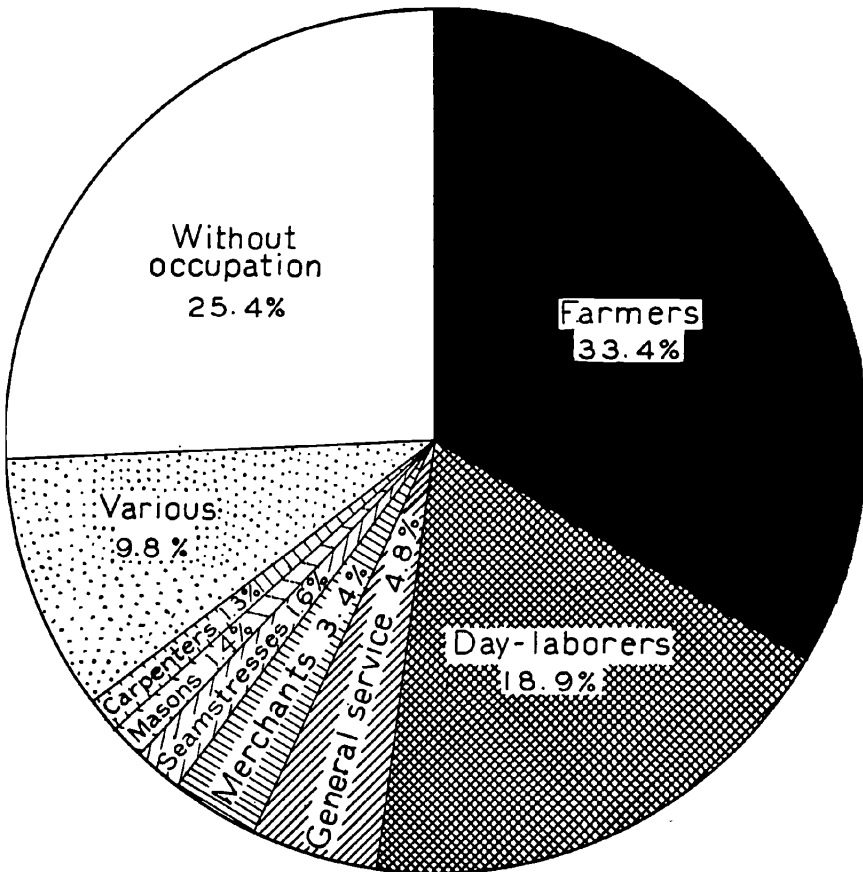
Trade	Number	Per Cent	Trade	Number	Per Cent
Farmers.....	1,912	33.4	Cobblers.....	44	0.8
Day-laborers.....	1,084	18.9	Tailors.....	39	0.7
General Service.....	276	4.8	Mechanics.....	36	0.6
Merchants.....	197	3.4	Blacksmiths.....	31	0.5
Seamstresses, Weavers	93	1.6	Other Professions or		
Masons.....	81	1.4	Trades.....	363	6.3
Carpenters, Cabinet-					
makers.....	69	1.2	With profession or		
Sailors.....	48	0.8	trade.....	4,273	74.5
			Without definite trade	1,469	25.5
			Total.....	5,742	100.0

The immigrants reported "without definite trade" were most of them women, many of them married and arriving with their families or having been sent for by husbands who had come out earlier. This class also includes children of school age and elderly people. The distribution of immigrants among the occupation-classes is also presented graphically in Diagram 10.

Many of the immigrants returned as "farmers" do not take up that occupation but remain in the cities. According to the national census of 1914, 68 per cent of the foreign born resided in urban centers, whereas half the population of Argentina was rural. The census of business heads shows that 71 per cent of these were foreign-born and that 62 per cent of those in business were likewise foreign-born. On the other hand, of those mentioned in the census as cattle-breeders, plantation overseers, shepherds, farm

<sup>1</sup>[See also Volume I, p. 541-2, Tables III and IIIa.—Ed.]

Diagram 10. Immigrants into Argentina, Classified by Occupations, 1857-1926.



laborers, agricultural day-laborers and the like, only 21 per cent were foreign-born.

The immigration of farmers has suffered a notable diminution during recent years. From 1881 to 1890 they formed 55 per cent of the total; but 43 per cent in 1891-1900, 32 per cent in 1901-10, and 18 per cent in 1911-20. During recent years a reaction has appeared; in 1925 farmers constituted 32 per cent of the total, and in 1926 they were 35.1 per cent. These increases are due chiefly to the recent rise in the Polish immigration.

The geographical distribution of immigrants in Argentina has been very uneven. They tend to take root in the littoral zone, and particularly in the city of Buenos Aires. This has produced a

lack of economic balance between the two great topographic provinces of Argentina: the littoral zone of 385,000 square miles with more than 8,000,000 inhabitants, and the richer soils of the interior and southern districts, embracing 770,000 square miles with only 2,000,000 inhabitants. Only 10 per cent of the immigrants have gone to the interior and southern districts; a third of them have settled in Buenos Aires, and the rest in the coastal provinces near the capital.

Immigrants clearly prefer remaining in the cities to going into the country. According to the census of 1914, of the 2,358,000 foreign born there were 1,611,000, or more than two-thirds, in the cities and only 747,000 in the country. The foreign born remaining largely in the cities, engage by preference in commerce and business; and it may be said with some truth that as a rule the natives devote themselves to producing and the foreign born to trading in the products.