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*“Familiar structures and the impact of early immigration.
Buenos Aires City. 1855”*

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Abstract

The general purpose of this paper is to interpret how the marked presence of “early international immigration” in Buenos Aires City around 1855 hits the composition of residential organization and influences its detected household structures. In this case, immigrants who came from European regions are occupying the place vacated by the native young men who are absent due to the war. This last conflict faces the dismemberment and military-political and economical confrontation between the denominated “State of Buenos Aires” and the rest of the provinces that integrated the so-called “Argentine Confederation” from 1852 up to 1861. The applied methodology refers to a transversal analysis of the households and families system, quantitative investigation generated by Peter Laslett and the Cambridge Group. The same one has been reviewed and adapted to fit the data of Buenos Aires City Census raised on October 17 of 1855.

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Presentation

In 1855 Buenos Aires City –federal district of Argentina Republic today, placed in Latin America-, urban and port area located on the right side of the Río de la Plata, shows the significant presence of immigrants³ within its whole town. This stock is composed by international⁴ and internal⁵ one. The first of it includes European, African and Latin America people. The second one consists of individuals who are moved from the other provinces of the “Argentine Confederation”⁶. During the nineteenth century Buenos Aires City just noticed a gradual tendency towards the increase of the flows whose proceeds from European regions⁷ and also its internal diversity. This “early immigration” refers to an international phenomenon from European continent to Buenos Aires City which was developed during the first sixty years of the nineteenth century. After this last decade begins a stage in which this experience turns into a massive one, whose major incidence to this town is detected in the ends of the nineteenth century and the beginnings of the twentieth century. The great European migrations over Buenos Aires City have often been extensively analyzed. But the role played by “early immigration” as one of its predecessor development becomes a matter of considerable interest that we’ll try to approach.

³ “Immigrants” refers to the number of individuals who have changed its place of residence for ever. Our universe on study is detected from the census raised in Buenos Aires on October of 1855 as the people that were counted in it in this moment but they were born in another place different than there.

⁴ “International” immigrants are composed by those who emigrated from the European Continent and also by those who were taken out from their place of origin –the African Continent- and moved, by force, as slaves, up to this city, located at the other end of the Atlantic Ocean. In this paper both are so-called as “overseas” immigrants but we consider both types adopt different kind of development and need be studied by not similar meaning. A modest quantity of that international immigration also moved from other places of Latin America and we call them “bordering” immigrants due to the fact that their place of origin are territories which are bordering the political limits of the Argentine Republic today.

⁵ “Internal” immigrants refer to the individuals who were born in another province of the actual Argentine Republic and they were settled down in Buenos Aires City on October of 1855.

⁶ That is to say “Confederación Argentina” in Spanish language. Between 1852 and 1861 the current provinces of Catamarca, Córdoba, Corrientes, Entre Ríos, Jujuy, La Rioja, Mendoza, Salta, San Juan, San Luis, Santa Fe, Santiago del Estero y Tucumán are using the official name “Argentine Confederation” for its international relations and Buenos Aires constitute a separate State. After 1860 both political areas conform Argentina as a national conception.

⁷ The period on study refers to a population who are living their previous stage up to the conformation and consolidation of the European National States. Due to this relevant concept we speak about regional origin instead of national one.

But these immigrants settle down on a territory which is in war. Especially from 1852 up to 1861 the history of these lands faces the political dismemberment. The denominated “State of Buenos Aires”⁸ develops a military-political and economically confrontation to the rest of the provinces that integrates the so-called “Argentine Confederation”. So, in that first place this war generates not only the absence of native⁹ young men, enlisted in the armed struggle against the provinces, but also the consequent relevance of native women.

So, in this paper, the general purpose is to understand how the marked presence of early European immigration hits the arrangement of residential organization and influences the household¹⁰ structures in Buenos Aires City –urban area- in this special secession political period.

The applied methodology refers to a transversal analysis, the quantitative investigation oriented from the perspective of historical demography by means of the application of household¹¹ and family classification system generated by Peter Laslett and the Cambridge Group for the History of the Population and the Social Structure in Laslett and Hammel (1972).

If we have selected as a central point of our analysis a transversal one, yet we know the significant line of criticism that has been directed at the inadequacies of single cross-sectional types of analysis like that. So, we have tried to modify the angle of a no dynamic approach, in attention to add a more dynamic vision. We develop a transversal analysis within two viewpoints: one of them, the family household, and the other one, the role that assume this “early immigration” on it, in a period which is preliminary to

⁸ That is to say “Estado de Buenos Aires” in Spanish language.

⁹ “Natives” refers to people whose birthplace is Buenos Aires City. In this paper, we use the name “citizens” or “porteños”, the last one in Spanish language, as a synonym of it.

¹⁰ The case in point here is to analyze the “co-resident domestic group” whose relationship to the more ample and complex concept of the family of interaction is not always clear. For this study, as it is conceived in demographic history researches, we define the concept “household” like “family of co-residence” or “co-resident domestic group” as a person or a group of people who live one with each other with parent relation and/or without it. They live in the same house and share their budget for the consumption.

¹¹ The census instructions didn’t itemize the word “household” but it defined the concept of “co-resident family”. That one was reconstructed during the developed research adapting the original and individual data of Buenos Aires City census raised on October 17 of 1855. For more information about the developed methodology for adapting the original data to the classification of Laslett and Hammel (1972) see Massé (2008).

the massive one. This systematic attempt is adopted focussing the study on the role that plays a factor as the migratory process in Buenos Aires City during the first fifty years of the nineteenth century.

The original classification of Laslett and Hammel (1972) has been reviewed and fit with the purpose of adapting it to the data of Buenos Aires City Census raised in this town on October 17 of 1855¹². This census contains full nominative information like relation to household head, sex, age, marital status, if read and write, occupation and birthplace of the entire population. Moreover, it incorporates the valuable (and not very common) variable related with the “time of residence in the city-port for the foreigners”. Despite smaller defects such as the lack of information in the declared occupation for women, subsequent checks have revealed that this documentation is of excellent quality¹³

This paper has been organized in five chapters. First, we revise the geographical, temporal, demographic and social context for the family in Buenos Aires City at mid-nineteenth century. This is the background. In it we define the problem of the research, corroborating not only the incidence of early European immigration process also the simultaneous impact of war, towards the unbalance composition of its inhabitants. Chapter 2 makes visible a first view of its general household structures and specially the prevalence of “ simple family” households. In Chapter 3 we also develop a deeper vision of household structures revising our suppositions about civil status of immigrant household heads. Then, we confirm the significance role that plays couples of European foreigners, with or without children, during the early immigration process (Chapter 4). In the end, Chapter 5, we examine how this early European immigration affects not only the household structures but the married market of this city-port as well. With the development of this paper we hope to contribute to knowledge of households and families prior the formation of the National State which is follow by the renowned period of massive immigration in Argentina.

¹² The principal source of our research is the Buenos Aires City Census raised in this urban area on October 17 of 1855. Today their original census schedules are located in the National General Archive of Argentine Republic -Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) in Spanish language-. We could recover the whole original data counted in twelve Parishes and its divisions into forty Quarters. The exception is the Quarter number 2 that was included in the area of North Cathedral Parish because it was lost.

¹³ For the subject of this census quality, see Massé, 1992. v.2. “Anexo Metodología para el tratamiento de los datos” (“Appendix Methodology for data treatment”).

1. The context of Buenos Aires City family.

Overall, it is relevant for us try to situate the family and household in Buenos Aires City, making a description of its environmental and temporal contexts and taking into account certain demographic and social factors which may be influencing their development. Our previous idea is that household and family of this city-port in mid-nineteenth century must be necessary understood within its particular situation.

Buenos Aires City is located on the right side of the Río de la Plata, in the South American Continent. From its second and definite foundation around 1580 and specially after the conformation of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata around 1776, it is the center of political, religious and civil power of that territory. At mid-nineteenth century it has a clearly urban nature. Less than 5 per cent of its male active population is involved in the primary sector of the economy (Massé, 1992: v. 1: 108. Table 12). But as well as a town area, it adds the importance acquired by its port. This entrance is not only the doorway of access for manufactured products and people -immigrants-, but also ideas and influences from European Continent.

Focusing commercial and services activities, Buenos Aires City are surrounded by a rural region characterized by imprecise limits and spread houses across the land. This metropolis exercises its control over its *hinterland* by means of political, religious, social and economic links. From an economical point of view, its port is the needed way out to the materials made in the countryside. But the town is also dependent on the rural area for the supply of basic foods and stuffs. If, during these pre-industrial times, urban and rural areas have different ways of life in terms of economical activities, one world and another have hard and unconditional ties.

According to the results counted by the Census raised on October 17 of 1855, the total population at this precise moment of only this urban area seems to be over 90.000 individuals¹⁴. In accordance with Sánchez Albornoz (1994: 119-120), Buenos Aires City assumes an intermediate size, like La Habana (Cuba), Lima (Perú), Caracas

¹⁴ According to the order signed by the governor of the city –Mr. Valentín Alsina- on July 25 of 1855 and the instructions gave to the census takers, it must to be taken “simultaneously in the whole city

(Venezuela) and Santiago de Chile (Chile). The volume of Buenos Aires population is lower to European central town -like Paris or London- or Latin American district centers -like México (México) or Río de Janeiro (Brazil)-. But it is higher to the neighbour Montevideo (Uruguay), located on the other side of the Río de la Plata, and also to the other main cities of the Argentine territory before the conformation of the Argentine Republic, with the exception of Córdoba.

In order to appreciate the omnipresent reality that migration exerts on the demographic composition of this town in the mid-nineteenth century, the census results counts about 41 per cent of immigrants settled down in Buenos Aires City in 1855. That stock illustrates a majority of regional European origins (69 per cent of the immigrants as a whole), followed by internal migrants (14 per cent of the total immigrants), bordering immigrants (12 per cent) with its great proportion conformed by people who is born in the neighbour Montevideo (Uruguay) and, in the last place, a minimal proportion of Africans people (5 per cent), older slaves (Massé, 2008: 177. Table 3.1).

Considering only the prominent group of international immigrant –the European “early immigration”-, a heterogeneous scale of its regional birthplaces also emerges among them. They are composed by a noted presence of individuals of Liguria –the majority of it proceeded from Geneva- and Piedmont regions (37 per cent of the total European immigrants). There are also those from François Pyrenees –Low Pyrenees and from the Bearn area- and besides from the Gascoigne (25 per cent). Galicia, the Basque Country, Andalucía and Catalonia are the regions more representative of the Iberian Peninsula (20 per cent). The lowest proportions are represented by English immigrants from London and Scottish land (5 per cent), Irelands (2 per cent), Prussia and Hamburger people (3 per cent), and also Lisboan and Oporto immigrant (2 per cent).

With regard to the relevant presence of those early immigrants, we have to point out that at all times Buenos Aires City was incrementing its size and demographic composition with successive and constant flows of immigrants. Established by the Spanish conquerors in a land inhabited by active indigenous people before their arrival, the immigration phenomenon has been the base of Buenos Aires City’s demographic

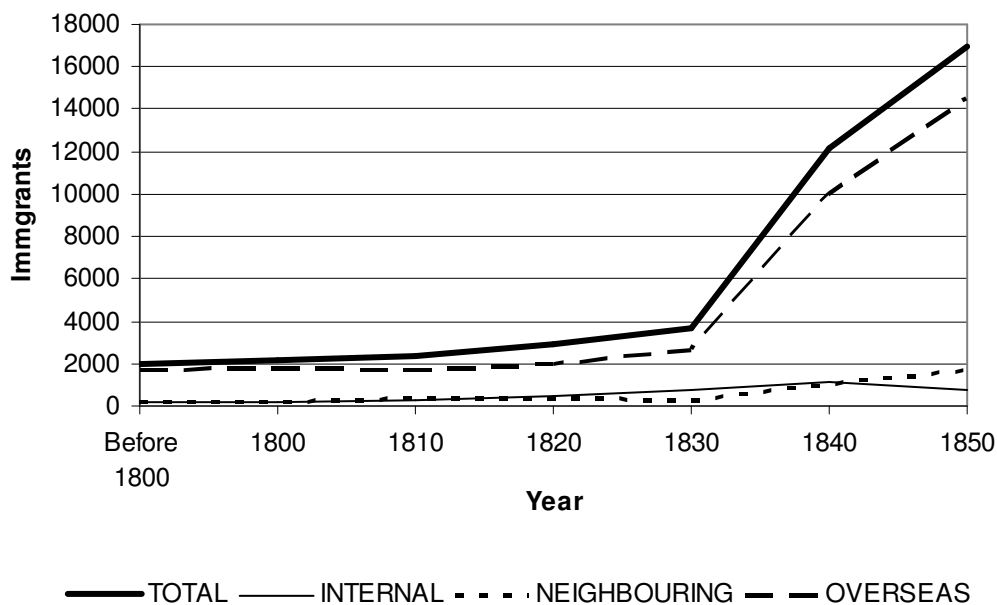
and in only one day” and the purpose of the census is to count “all the people who had passed the night before in the house”.

dynamics from her second and definite foundation around 1580 (Moreno y Mateo, 1997: 64). First, the immigration is of little magnitude and its internal composition is basically European from Iberian regions (Castilian, Andalusia and Portuguese areas), African origins (a product of slaves treat) or Latin American lands. A little volume of it is composed by internal immigrants who proceeded from other territories that are conformed the Argentine Republic today. Then, as we can see in Figure 1, towards the end of the eighteenth century and the beginnings of the nineteenth century, the migratory phenomenon begins a gradual tendency towards the increase of its volume. Despite the regular moments of political and military crisis (Civil War in 1830; Juan Manuel de Rosas confrontation with foreigners countries from 1835 up to 1852, for example), the migratory flow does not reverse its direction over the town.

During the first half of nineteenth century, the “early immigration” whose proceeds of dissimilar European neighbourhoods also starts to be more diverse on its regional composition. The beginnings of the independent times notice a big proportion from English areas, Prussia and Hamburger territories, Lisboaan and Oporto cities. During the decade of 1840 arrives a great number of Ireland people and the whole of the European immigrants begins to turn into a regional type more Mediterranean, Cantabrian, Pyrenees and Alpine (Massé, 2008: 186-191).

But, we have to consider that immigrants who arrive in Buenos Aires City during forty years after the independent time in 1810 live in a period of constant war. Related to the armed conflict and its relevance as a structural variable and not an occasional one, we can consider that during approximately seventy years between the starting point of fallen of Antique Regime, around 1810, and the final configuration of the city of Buenos Aires as a federal district of Argentine Republic, about 1880, according to Miguez (2003:18-19). The nineteenth century was a period with only twenty years of peace, without considering the conflict with indigenous people. So, the encounter frequently pulls out of the cities native young men and makes more significant the role of alone native women.

Figure 1. Migratory tendency to Buenos Aires City¹⁵ from the end of eighteenth century up to mid-nineteenth century by migratory groups.



Source: Massé (2008: 185. Figure 3.3)

Specifically, the decade of 1850 constitutes a stage in the history of this territory that faced the dismemberment of the land because of the military-political and economical confrontation among the denominated “State of Buenos Aires” –urban and rural area as a whole- in opposition to the rest of the provinces that integrated the so-called “Argentine Confederation”, previous the conformation of the Argentine National State around 1861. So, the immigrants that arrive to the city during this specific decade disembark in a town without the presence of a great number of natives young men and a simultaneous attendance of a huge proportion of native young women settled down in it.

¹⁵ The migratory tendency that we observe in Figure 1 was estimated applying female and male relations of surviving for five years old by five-year group of ages to the immigrants counted in the Census of Buenos Aires City raised on the October 17 of 1855 and that they had arrived between this last date and 1815, using the regional mortality models of Coale and Demeny’s south family (level 6). For the cases of those immigrants who had arrived to the city between the ends of the eighteenth century up to the period of 1810-1814, it was applied relations of surviving for opened group of years and sex. The last relations of surviving were obtained from the same regional mortality models mentioned above. The mortality level that was selected -31,6 years old of life expectancy for males and 32,5 years old for females- was developed from a life expectancy of 32,37 years old for both sexes from a table of mortality to Buenos Aires in 1855 made by María S. Muller. *La mortalidad en Buenos Aires entre 1855 y 1960*. Buenos Aires, 1974.

Furthermore, an unbalance demographic composition is verified by the male ratio and median age for the whole city-port population. According to census result, this city is a female area. There are 96 men by 100 women in the whole urban district. But this relation turns into 63 for the case of the natives, besides a male ratio which of only around 45 men by 100 native women between 15 and 44 years old (Massé, 2008: 199.Table 3.3)¹⁶, and climbs up to 174 for the whole immigrants, which value ascends to 251 among the regional European foreigners. When we examine the median age for each one of these groups, this is 18.6 years old for natives but goes up to 30.4 years old for immigrants, with specially 30.0 years old among the European settlers (Massé, 2008: 177.Table 3.1). All this census results confirm that its demographic context shows a female and childless land for natives and a male world, more of them with an adult attribute, for European immigrants.

How does this unbalance demographic composition impact the household structures of the city? How do the presence of early international immigrant young men and the simultaneous absence of a huge amount of citizens' men during the nineteenth century influence the household structures in Buenos Aires City in 1855? Which is the role of the native young women in the organization of domestic groups of this city at mid-nineteenth century, not only in front of the absent natives but also the present immigrant men?

¹⁶ We confirm the hypothesis related to the absence of a great number of "porteños" due to the war against the Argentine Confederation confronting the list of military men of the State of Buenos Aires who are enlisted outside the urban area and received their salaries every month. According to this documentation of enrolled men in October 1855, there are over 4.000 individuals enlisted in the armed struggle against the "Argentine Confederation" and outside the city (Massé, 2008: 197). It is known that this quantity refers to the youngest. The larger percentage of them is natives men between 17 and 45 years old, who are absent from their urban households for at least two or three years (Garavaglia, 2007: 332). We can also consider another hypothesis relates with temporal native male absences, difficult to quantify, due to the development of specific economic activities which are more likely to move. This supposition only may be proves if we accept that the native men work on different and more moved economic activities that the immigrants does. A first answer to this question may be given by the census results. It counts more proportion of native men working in transport who had to make a trip between Buenos Aires and some of the provinces located in northern territories of the country. Sixty is the average number of days that a troop of carts delays up to Tucumán (located at 1.300 kilometres of Buenos Aires City), fifty five days to Santiago del Estero (far away 1.200 kilometres) and thirty four journeys to Córdoba (about 800 kilometres). Only to trip to the near province of Santa Fe (350 kilometres) may delay eighteen days. On the other hand, European immigrants are counted working as shoemakers or shopkeepers, economic occupations that could be made without make any journey. But all of that reasons has a supposed level of discussion.

Finally, if we analyze the social context, Buenos Aires society is conformed by Castellan right. Due to it last criterion, divided inheritance practices prevailed not only in this territory of the Iberian Peninsula as well as in different places of Latin America, an also in Buenos Aires. Reher (1990: 192) mention that beyond this practice, “upon the death of either of the two parents, all of the goods which they had contributed to the marriage are divided in equal shares among the surviving children, or, if there are no children, among the next of kin. This property division was always rigorously equal and no sex preference was ever shown. Only a small part of a person’s property (normally 20 per cent) could be disposed of freely. This was normally given either to the spouse, some more distant relative, or the Church”.

2. The prominence of “simple family” households¹⁷.

Before starting the analysis of household structures revising their characteristic according with certain attributes of their heads, like sex, birthplace, civil status and time of residence in the city –for the foreigner-, it is necessary to point out our purpose. It consist on distinguish special qualities and circumstances for each household heads, assuming a crucial characteristic of authority and principal economic support for all of members included in each domestic units,

In a population census this concept of “household head”¹⁸ is developed whit the purpose of making easier the work of enumeration of all household members. We presume that in Latin America the great proportion of census are made according to the methodology of counting all members of the household which spend the night before in it. So, we assume that census takers only have to count all persons who are present in the house during the date of the census. Considering this order gave to the census takers, generally during a “fact census” interview, when are presents both members of a nuclear conjugal unit, it is usual that the man was counted as “household head”, in a first place in the census schedule, and the woman was distinct as his “spouse”, in a second position. So, especially the conjugal family unit always is distinct as an attribute of men household heads and it is their characteristics that describe the quality of the

¹⁷ Institutional houses are not included in this analysis.

household as a whole. On the other hand, in a population census the women are counted as household head usually in special cases that make us suppose that she is in danger. One of the causes, mentioned above, may be the permanent or temporary absence of men. In this last case it is common that women were reckoned as head staying with her child(ren) –without the presence of a man-, or remaining alone in her house –“solitary”-, or also living with other relatives in her household too –“extended family”- household.

Within this general context, mentioned in previous chapter, in mid-nineteenth century Buenos Aires City household structures show the relative significance of immigrant men and a coincident relevance of native women, both of them as household heads.

Instead of female demographic composition, this urban domestic units and specifically household heads look like a male world. As we can see in Table 1, 70 per cent of total households have a man as its leader. That value is bigger than the proportion which women heads show. But, according to Massé (2008), it is necessary for us to point out that 30 per cent of women heads give an instantaneous portray whose significance vary between two situations. By one hand, it is higher than knew attributes for occidental European households with proportion vary in the order of 10 or 15 per cent of women heads among its total households and it is lower than remarkable characteristics of Latin America society where its percentage climbs generally up 50 per cent or more female household heads.

Furthermore, in 1855 the extended presence of international immigrants inside Buenos Aires City households is a remarkable fact. According to census results¹⁹, around 74 per cent of total households contain at least one person of foreign origin. Moreover, approximately half of the co-resident domestic units have a foreign person as household

¹⁸ Our investigation consider as “household head” the person counted in the first place in his house and who was relieved on October of 1855 by the census taker as “head of the family”. For more information about the rules given to census taker , see Massé (2008).

¹⁹ As we mentioned above, the data of Quarter number 2 is lost.

head and immigrant head men are the main group among the whole domestic units. Their proportion climbs to 44 per cent among the total urban households (Table 1).

Table 1. Household structures by sex and birthplace of its heads. Buenos Aires City (1855)

Type of households	Class Total	Heads %	Men Heads			Women Heads		
			Total	Natives	Immigrants	Total	Natives	Immigrants
		100,0	70,0	26,0	44,0	30,0	24,0	6,0
Solitaries		9,0	7,3	6,7	7,9	12,7	12,4	13,6
	Widow/Widower		0,9	0,9	0,9	8,1	7,8	8,6
	Single		6,5	5,8	7,0	4,7	4,6	5,1
No family		15,3	15,1	12,1	17,1	15,6	16,2	13,9
	Co-resident siblings		1,8	1,8	1,9	2,6	3,0	1,3
	Co-resident relatives of other kinds		1,4	1,7	1,2	6,4	7,0	4,7
	Persons not evidently related		12,0	8,6	14,0	6,7	6,2	7,8
Simple family households		57,2	60,1	59,8	59,8	50,5	49,5	53,9
	Married couples alone		15,0	13,6	15,3	5,4	4,2	8,5
	Married couples with child(ren)		41,2	42,5	40,5	10,5	10,0	11,9
	Widow/Widowers with child(ren)		3,9	3,7	4,0	34,5	35,2	33,5
Extended family households		15,9	15,1	19,0	13,1	17,7	18,8	15,8
	Extended upwards		2,7	3,6	2,2	1,7	1,7	2,2
	Extended downwards		4,4	5,2	4,0	8,9	9,1	8,6
	Extended laterally		4,8	5,7	4,4	3,9	4,4	2,9
	Combinations		3,2	4,4	2,6	3,2	3,6	2,2
Multiple family households		0,6						
Indeterminate		2,0						
Total		100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
		(15420)*	(10791)**	(3970)	(6782)	(4626)**	(3617)	(969)

* Total heads included individuals with indeterminate data in sex and birthplace variables.

** Total men and women heads included individuals with indeterminate data in birthplace variable.

Source: Massé (2008:228 and 232. Tables 4.3 and 4.5)

Native men only lead a little more than a quarter of Buenos Aires City households, whereas more or less than a quarter of households are headed by native women (Table 1), which we assume they are occupying an important and no disdain role as females leaders in the arrangement of domestic units.

Analyzing the arrangements to organize their domestic life, we can consider that, a town where a partitioned system of inheritance prevails, especially in the case of native head; the pre-eminence of simple family household is expected. As can be seen in Table 1, this probability is confirmed in same way. The distribution of dissimilar types of family households shows us that about 74 per cent of total households are organized by groups which have some nuclear arrangement. The prominent proportion is made up of “simply family” household. There are around 57 per cent of all units which members have this last type of agreement. But, this conjugal world is a place leaded by men heads, with no difference between native or immigrant birthplace.

Among household headed by men, Table 1 show us that the type “simple family household” becomes visible the significant proportion that acquire, in a first place, the type “married couples with children” and, in a second place, “married couples alone”. Similar distribution for natives or immigrant make us reflection about the idea that the conjugal family, with or without child(ren), appears to be attributes not only for “porteños” but also for foreigners.

Among household headed by women, “simply family household” show a higher proportion of “widow/widowers with child(ren) –according with the name which was given by Laslett-. Once again, permanent or temporary absence of men in their urban domestic unit generates this normal picture in the story of mid-nineteenth century Latin America conjugal life (Cacopardo y Moreno, 1997: 19). But, the small difference between the percentages of this last class between native and immigrant women makes us reflection about the idea that this characteristic is a general attribute not only for “porteñas” but also for immigrant women.

As we might have expected to find a relevance of conjugal arrangement among natives and an immigrant process that include lonely young and almost universally single job-seeking migrants, those last results make us thinking about the idea that the conjugal family, with or without child(ren), appears to be attributes not only for people who was born in Buenos Aires City but also for those individuals who is not natural of this city-port. In this last case, it may be due to the immigration process making by singles immigrant men that finally married him in the suitable town? Or may be that the trip to Buenos Aires City was made by a proportion of couples just married?

Whereas, as we can see in Table 1, the presence of kin who turn into increase to live as a part of otherwise “simply family” households conforming an “extended family” household climbs close to 16 per cent of total Buenos Aires households. It is necessary to explain that in this urban area among the so-called “complex family” (“extended family” and “multiple family” households as a whole), “multiple family” households show a minimal percentage (0,6 per cent). A little more significant proportion among women heads, this world is a place where we can see a little major prevalence for natives one (Table 1). So, “extended family”, i.e. the presence of co-resident kin in the households, also proves the existence of family ties which transcended household location in Buenos Aires City.

According to Table 1, in Buenos Aires’s “extended family” household, descendant extension is the typical form of complexity, especially among women household heads. Whereas, lateral extension is a little more common among men heads and grandson / granddaughter form the most numerous groups of co-resident kin, followed by siblings and parents –the majority of them widows-. As we have mentioned, in this case we assume the important role that mortality is playing over that reality. A quantity of expected year of life at birth of 30.6 years old for both sexes (Muller, 1974) confirms it. Sons and daughters-in-law are only present in small number of cases, lower quantity of nieces and nephews and very few cousins, uncles or aunts are presents in those Buenos Aires households.

Furthermore, the city-port also illustrates the importance that adopts other types of domestic organization where individuals without parental links decide to live together -“non family households” (15, 3 per cent) - and also the relevance of persons who live alone -“solitaries” (9, 0 per cent)-. These results confirm the general urban attributes point out by (Reher, 1990) associated with the relevance that adopts generally in towns these types of households with regard to the rural areas.

According to Reher (1990) “non family” households are groups of often unrelated people sharing accommodation for the sake of convenience and closely dependent on the abundance of an available housing and the importance of temporary residence. In Buenos Aires City the relevance of this type of households are more intense within immigrant men heads and native women heads. The first group shows a higher concentration into the class “persons not evidently related” and we can perceive the impact of immigration flows over these household structures. Yet, especially within the second group –native women heads-, the more important proportion of “co-resident relatives of other kinds” in relation with immigrants group, also proposes the existence of family ties, more relevant among natives than immigrants, which transcended household location in Buenos Aires City. But, the existence of links in the urban area for foreigner women makes us speculate about the existence of a long duration immigration process which generates the possibility of build ties across the urban place.

Besides, the more relative significance of the “solitaries” in Buenos Aires City, the higher proportion it is composed by single men immigrants and widow women –natives and also immigrants-. If the first result suggests the prevalence of a recently “early immigration”, the second one, would confirm the simultaneous relevance of mortality impact, especially over females, not only for natives but also for immigrants. In this last group of foreigners women we suppose the existence of an important stock produced by the settlers of a former immigrant flow from African Continent –the slaves-. It is known that in Buenos Aires City slaves’ commerce introduce more females than males of that origin, generally for occupying places in household domestic service. In 1855 this group is an elderly cohort (old slaves) without replacement due to the new freedom politics around the world.

Furthermore, we can think about the time of residence in the city-port for international immigrant heads²⁰ as a factor of strong influence over Buenos Aires household structures. As we can see in Table 2, the “recently immigrant” heads (both sexes) which arrived and settle down in Buenos Aires City between 1850 and 1855 show less proportion of “simple family households” and more percentage of “non family” households and “solitaries” than among immigrant heads who have more time of residence in this district. These both last types of arrangement give us an idea about recent early immigrants arriving at the city and adapting to this new urban area, living together with others or alone. “Non family” households and “solitaries” are one of the first habitats for the newly arrived immigrants. According to Massé (2008), the higher proportions of them are located in the center area of the city-port, where widow owners rent them several rooms of their houses for surviving.

But, what happen with the recent immigrant heads that arrive at the city-port between 1850 and 1855 and were counted as heads of “simply family” household? Assuming that more than a half of these specific immigrant heads are leading nuclear families and also a little percentage of them are heads of “extended family” households, we must suppose that this “early immigration” phenomenon include an important group of families instead of a priority individual one. We’ll return to this idea in the next chapters.

If we analyze the period from 1850-1855 up to approximately the decade of 1830, we observe that more years of residence in the city for foreigner heads, more important the proportion of “simple family households” and less percentage of “non family” and “solitaries” appears. So, we can see this immigrant years of settle down in the city like slides film according the decades pass.

²⁰ In this case we known that several factors like mortality or returned immigration affect the volume of immigrants counted in 1855 by the urban census. But we also expect that its results, specifically those which concerning the time of residence in the city for the foreigners, suggest and seems to give a different glance over the impact of migratory process in the town.

Table 2. Household structures. Buenos Aires City. 1855.

<i>Types of households</i>	<i>Total heads</i>	<i>Native heads (both sexes)</i>	<i>Immigrant heads (both sexes)</i>				
			<i>Total</i>	<i>Date of arriving</i>			
				<i>Before 1830</i>	<i>1830-1839</i>	<i>1840-1849</i>	<i>1850-1855</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>Solitaires</i>	9,0	9,6	8,4	8,9	5,9	6,5	11,9
<i>No family</i>	15,3	14,1	16,3	8,6	12,9	18,0	22,5
<i>Simple family households</i>	57,2	54,9	60,3	61,5	64,2	60,9	56,6
<i>Extended family households</i>	15,9	19,0	13,2	20,6	16,3	13,7	8,5
<i>Multiple family households</i>	0,6	0,5	0,4	0,3	0,7	1,0	0,6
<i>Indeterminate</i>	2,0	1,9	1,4	-	-	-	-
<i>Total</i>	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
	^(15420)	^(6253)	^(7670)	(1253)	(836)	(2849)	(2085)
			100,0	17,8	11,9	40,6	29,7

Source: (Massé, 2008: 238. Table 4.4.)

Finally, the households structure leaded by immigrants arrived before 1830 show a lower percentage of “simply family” households and a higher proportion of individuals who live in the households linked with other relatives composing “extended family” household or agree to live by themselves -“solitaries”-. In both last cases, the incidence of mortality phenomenon may be an important fact that perhaps was one of the factors that generate the dissolution of nuclear family and produce that immigrant heads adopt to live associated with other relatives, giving an idea about the existence of family ties in Buenos Aires City not only for citizens but also for “former immigrants”.

Regarding the general household structures in Buenos Aires City (1855), the interest goes on their comparison in relation with comparable data from other South American societies, like Montevideo (1858-1859)²¹ and the so-called “Argentina Interior” (1869)²². Not only these two lands, also Buenos Aires City, where domination by Spanish conquerors and their legal institutions were fixed by Castellan right. They have no differences among them in the inheritance practices prevailed. So, if there is any differentiation between the diversity of their household structures, it must be given by another factors linking with each context and no due to the latter one. Table 3 proposes suggestive reflections around this matter. As can be seen in it, the predominance of the “simply family households” is higher in Montevideo than in Buenos Aires City, and both values are much more elevated than in Argentina ‘Interior’. In this last area, this type of domestic group is not the biggest. “Extended family” households are the prominent in this last area.

²¹ The data here selected was extracted from Pollero (2002) and Massé and Pollero (2006). I agree to Raquel Pollero the possibility of having access to her original Thesis. Its source was a representative sample of the Census that was raised in the urban area of Montevideo in 1858-1859 (Sections 1st, 2nd and 3rd of the Old City and Section 5th of the New City).

²² The data here selected was extracted from Cacopardo and Moreno (1997). The authors had choice a chance and representative sample of 626 families (4.055 persons) whose heads of household were argentine people among a group of provinces of the Argentine Republic with a scarce presence of immigrants in each one. In addition to this last idea, the percentages of immigrants by province selected are 0,1% (Santiago del Estero), 0,5% (Catamarca), 0,8% (Córdoba), 3,3% (Salta) and 6,8% (Corrientes).

According to Massé y Pollero (2007) the portrayed of Montevideo shows us an image that may be associated to the household structures that was verified by Laslett and the Cambridge Group for occidental European cities which show an important presence of nuclear families²³, and a simultaneous lower proportion of extended one. The fact that 17 per cent of Montevideo total households were heading by women also can be assimilated in some sense to occidental European household structures which in general have only up to 10 or 15 per cent of female heads.

Montevideo (1858-1859), district area of the Banda Oriental²⁴ located on the other side of the Río de la Plata, near Buenos Aires City, is a town which also holds to the European migratory experience like Buenos Aires City. At mid-nineteenth century both local districts are cosmopolitan and port cities. We have to point out that Montevideo is the prominent place for landing before arrive in Buenos Aires City. So, the higher quantity of immigrants settles down in Montevideo during a previous decade than they do in Buenos Aires City. Furthermore, unlike that previous similar immigrant context, during 1858-1859 Montevideo's inhabitants are going through a period of peace after eight years of war (High War²⁵) that this city stayed besieged. So, in the main district of Banda Oriental, a context of significance presence of "early immigration" and simultaneous period of peace would provide this predominance. There, foreigner men heads ascends up to 64 per cent in its total households.

²³ We use "nuclear family" as a synonym of "simple family" household used by Laslett (1972).

²⁴ Banda Oriental is today the Oriental Republic of Uruguay.

²⁵ That is to say "Guerra Grande" in Spanish language.

**Table 3. General household structures.
Montevideo (1858-1859) - Buenos Aires City (1855) –Argentina `Interior` (1869)**

	The context		
	About 49% per cent of immigrants	About 41% per cent of immigrants	About only 1% per cent of immigrants
	Peace	War	War
	17% women heads	30% women heads	50% women heads
	Total heads		
Type of households	Montevideo (1858-1859)	Buenos Aires City (1855)	Argentine `Interior` (1869)
	%	%	%
Solitaires	5,6	9,0	3,2
No family	14,8	15,3	7,7
Simple family households	61,9	57,2	34,8
Extended family households	11,7	15,9	47,9
Multiple family households	2,1	0,6	
Indeterminate	3,9	2,0	----
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0
	(2616)	(15420)	(626)

Source: Massé (2008: 230. Table 4.4)

On the other hand, Argentina `Interior` (1869), is a region composed by several provinces of the recent created nation of Argentine Republic. This area is located far away from the city-port of Buenos Aires and even it not begun to feel the effect of the European immigration. Their population also still coexists with the death rattles of the War of the Triple Alliance [1864 - 1870] which confront Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay with the Republic of Paraguay. According to Cacopardo and Moreno (1997: 19-20), due to this war and the consequent male absences, the percentage of women heads of

households climbs to 52 per cent and more beyond this area²⁶. In this last case, this proportion can be understood closer to the reality of Latin America societies and more distant from the occidental European household structures described by Laslett and the Cambridge Group. In Argentina 'Interior' (1869) that native men are still in the war and immigrant men are not even arrived at those provinces is a factor of more significance. Women are actually alone. So, not only the dissolution of households due to the mortality or temporary absence of men make women the principal protagonists among the co-resident domestic groups, also the abandon of children in other households, generate that relatives turn into increase to live as a part of other "simply family" households (Cacopardo y Moreno, 1997: 19), preferring to reside in "extended family" households.

Table 3 also show an analogous relative weight of "no family" households, only at one side or another of both port-cities of Río de la Plata relating Argentina 'Interior'. "No family" households refer to a group of people, generally early arrived immigrants in the town, whose look for a temporary arrangement. That is the reality for the two cities-ports but not is certainty the presence for the other area located far away and where the immigration process is not started up to now.

Also a higher proportion of "solitaries" in Buenos Aires City with reference to the other two areas and its mentioned composition by single men immigrants and widow women –natives and also immigrants-, confirm not only the prevalence of an "early immigration" more recently than in Montevideo, but also the higher relevance of mortality impact, especially over females -natives and immigrants-.

²⁶ Cacopardo and Moreno (1997: 19) mentions the case of Corrientes province where the proportion of female heads goes up to 72 per cent of total households.

3. A deeper vision by means of civil status of household heads.

Whereas one of the more generally accepted idea regarding migration about which it tends to be a movement of young male people, entered the town alone in more proportion than women, in Buenos Aires City the immigrant reality gives us a different image to isolation. According to the examination made up to now, a picture with proportions of singles not as high as might have been expected comes on and a more percentage of immigrant men as heads of “simply family” household and married men or widower attract our attention and modify our perception of that mid-nineteenth society. Theoretical and empirical research over international immigration phenomenon in this city, like those produce by Devoto (1988;1989) and Otero (1992; 1998), for example, suggest that propensity to migrate is much more the product of information and familial network. So, the impact of that event invades and dyes the different dimensions of our household analysis.

According to Table 4, the fact that surrounding 80 per cent of European men or native women heads are married or widowers verify, one more time, the relevance of “simple family” households in this city-port. In a second point of view, it makes us thinking about the necessary association between the attribute “head” and the make-up of nuclear family, in one case and another. But, among European men heads the highest proportion are married (70,5 per cent) and within native women heads more than a half of them are widows (55,5 per cent). So, at this point, in 1855 in the city-port the marriage seems to be the general condition for European men heads and the widowed looks to be for native females.

But, the percentage of single European men or native women heads, not only counted among “non family” household or “solitaries” but also leading “simply family” or “extended family” households make us thinking about that married condition is not the unique rule for making a family in Buenos Aires City at mid-nineteenth century, even among the European immigrants.

Table 4. Household structures total European men heads and native women heads by civil status of its heads. Buenos Aires City (1855)

Type of households	Class	European Men Heads				Native Women Heads			
		Total	Single	Married	Widower	Total	Single	Married	Widow
Solitaries	Widow/Widowers	100,0	0,0	0,0	100,0	100,0			100,0
	Singles	100,0	76,6	23,4		100,0	66,7	32,6	0,7
No family	Co-resident siblings	100,0	78,8	13,9	7,3	100,0	60,4	8,8	30,8
	Co-resident relatives of other links	100,0	64,8	11,0	24,2	100,0	36,3	9,9	53,8
	Persons not evidently related	100,0	80,6	16,4	3,0	100,0	45,4	28,6	25,9
Simple family households	Married couples alone	100,0	5,0	94,1	0,9	100,0	10,1	74,4	15,5
	Married couples with child(ren)	100,0	2,7	96,4	0,9	100,0	7,7	63,7	28,7
	Widow/Widowers with child(ren)	100,0	18,8	25,5	55,7	100,0	7,0	26,2	66,8
Extended family households	Extended upwards	100,0	6,7	88,7	4,7	100,0	9,8	37,3	52,9
	Extended downwards	100,0	2,4	84,6	13,0	100,0	6,5	15,3	78,2
	Extended laterally	100,0	8,6	83,2	8,3	100,0	13,4	31,3	55,2
	Combinations	100,0	7,4	83,0	9,6	100,0	11,8	25,5	62,7
Multiple family households	*	(48)	(2)	(45)	(1)	(14)			
Indeterminate		100,0	25,9	44,4	29,6	100,0	30,5	18,3	51,2
Total		100,0 (6979)**	22,4	70,5	7,1	100,0 (3028)**	16,5	28,0	55,5

* Due to the limited quantity of valid cases the data is presented in absolutes.

** Refers only to sum of valid codes of civil status (single; married; widow/widower)

By a different point of view, the presence of more than a quarter of married men or women heads who live alone in “solitaries” or even lead “no family” households make question us about that notable matter. Related to native women, we can think that married women who were counted in “solitaries” or “no family” households were really females whose husband were absent due to the war or because of economic activities. May be that they were abandon females too, according with Latin America reality during that period (Cacopardo y Moreno, 1997). But what happen about European men heads? Who are these declared married men but that they were counted living alone or with other persons with no parent relations? This result may be a census mistake? Or may be the end filament of a reel?

4. Voyaging together

The supposition that the immigrants have made the trip together, according with a migration of family type, is confirmed in Table 5. We have selected to show the census results for Italian people but we have to point out that these values show identical proportions for Spanish and French immigrants counted in Buenos Aires City in 1855.

We observe in Table 5 that less than a half percentage of Italian men head arrived to the city, i. e. make the voyage, doing the trip being accompanying by their wives and also by their children. The other half arrived previously their wives do. In this last case, the men start the trip. They are the pioneers. In Table 6 we can see that their wives and children arrive to Buenos Aires City after them, during a period of time less of five years. We can think about migrations of European origin of familiar type but in which the married man emigrates in first term, with the objective to prove luck in the New Continent, and soon adds to him his spouse (with or without children). Five years after the arriving are the quantity of time during which brothers and sisters, mother and father of the pioneer also make the trip. Nephews and nieces are crossing the Atlantic Ocean ten years after their uncle. This results and also the detected exact name of local birthplace for both members of the couples, make us to think about categorical cases of “familiar grouping” instead of “endogamy unions” in Buenos Aires City.

Table 5. Moment of arrival for members of household beyond the arrival date of Italian male household heads by parent relations. Buenos Aires City. 1855.

Parental relation	Italian men household heads					
			Total	Members of households that arrive		
				Before	Close the head	After
				%	%	%
Wife	'(1263)	100.0	100.0	10,5	45,4	44,0
Sons and daughters	'(1099)	100.0	100.0	6,8	46,1	47,0
Relatives	'(420)	100.0	100.0	11,7	20,2	68,1
.....upwards	'(88)	100.0	100.0	14,8	23,9	61,4
.....downwards	'(226)	100.0	100.0	9,3	22,1	68,6
.....laterally	'(84)	100.0	100.0	13,1	9,5	77,4
No relatives	'(1470)	100.0	100.0	12,3	6,8	80,9
.....apprentices, dependent, etc.	'(1275)	100.0	100.0	11,7	6,4	81,9
.....domestic service	'(195)	100.0	100.0	16,4	9,2	74,4

Source: Massé (2008: 340. Table 6.6)

The hypothesis that these pairs of foreigners, not only those who arrive at the same time but also those who group together in Buenos Aires City in less of five years, make the voyage just married may be proved analyzing the exactly same local birthplaces for the man and his woman. It is possible to alert respect that as we deepen the analysis, the universes are more restricted, due to the increase that is detected in the amount of answers to the specific question “*In which place it was born?*” for the foreigner. Nevertheless, we consider that the obtained results are beside the suggestive point and contribute to throw light on the forms and the stages that “early immigration” assumes towards the city of Buenos Aires.

The hypotheses are the same one that also it were investigated by historians of European immigration towards Argentina, but in this precisely occasion the census results confirm them for Buenos Aires City in mid-nineteenth century. Although we reiterate that we confirm tendencies but not nothing more, is extremely suggestive to observe that, according to Massé (2008), in the ample majority - approximately the three fourth part of the Italian pairs, and also the Spanish and French couples, that were registered with identical moment from arrival to the city or with a difference up to four years, exactly agrees the locality, town or commune of birth between both spouses. Although with an inferior order of magnitude that tends to assimilate itself to a more qualitative analysis, this same result also is insinuated for the totality of Irish, Portuguese, and most of English and German couples.

Table 6. Period of years between arrival dates of the pioneer in Buenos Aires City related with the arrival dates of other members of its household. Buenos Aires City. 1855. Example: Italian men head.

Italian men household head								
Members of household arrive before				Parental relation	Members of household arrive after			
Total	10 ys +	5 to 9 ys	1 to 4 ys		1 to 4 ys	5 to 9 ys	10 ys +	Total
100	21,1	24,8	54,1	Wife	48,7	30,9	20,4	100
100	12	4	84	Sons and daughters	51,3	30	18,7	100
100	14,3	18,4	67,3	Relatives	40,9	30,8	28,3	100
100	38,4	15,4	46,2	.....upwards	40,7	33,4	25,9	100
100	9,5	14,3	76,2	.....downwards	51,6	27,8	20,6	100
100		27,3	72,7	.....laterally	12,3	35,4	52,3	100
100	11,6	14,4	74	No relatives	34,2	27	38,8	100
100	8,7	15,5	75,8	.....apprentices, dependent, etc.	34,1	28,2	37,7	100
100	25	9,4	65,6	.....domestic service	35,2	18,6	46,2	100
100	15	18,5	66,5	Total	42,8	28,4	28,8	100

The fact that a good proportion of immigrants appear in Buenos Aires City as married couples, suggests significant levels of migration of entire families to this city-port. The idea on young adult age groups as well as the participation of families in early migration movements are not surprising and have been documented in numerous studies of this historical city. What is considerably more remarkable is the fact that female and old adult age migration is clearly related with the mobility of their husbands and relatives. We can suppose that when the migrants are entire families, some of them, naturally, are more permanent migrants than when they are individual migrants.

4. The married market.

Up to now we have examined the impact that the family migration process, couples of foreigners, with or without children, who arrive to Buenos Aires City, produces over the household structures. In this chapter we'll analyze the other part of them, the singles. The quantity of young immigrants with that civil status, whose are arriving to Buenos Aires City during the decade of 1850, makes us to think also about their impact over the matrimonial market. An estimated mean age of 23 years old for European immigrants (both sexes) when they are arriving to Buenos Aires City (Massé, 2008: 194. Table 3.2)²⁷ corroborates partially this idea.

First, we assume that in Buenos Aires City the absence of so many native young boys, the more proportion of them singles and in a marital age, affects marriages. Native young men are absent and single native young women are waiting for a couple. So, we presume that the structural war would have generated a deficit of potential grooms and directly would have affected the marriage market of native people. At the same time, we suppose that in Buenos Aires City, the notable quantities of single immigrants men who proceed of European regions would have to occupy the marital niches vacated by the natives who have left due to the war.

In Buenos Aires City all these aspects are confirmed when we observe in Table 7 the male ratio by group of age. Between 20 and 39 years old the male prominence is unquestionable. We can suppose a better position for young women than for young men. Females have more "options" to select a couple in a market where there are a lot of young men, especially foreigners. Males are suffering an unequal level for selecting their future spouse. Nevertheless, the more presence of these young men was the opposite side of their capacities for marriage with native young women. These one are expecting the ideal economical man who married them. So there are a lot of females that are only waiting for them. If a household formation is related with the economic possibility to available a house, as we can see in Table 8, the

²⁷The indicator "average age of the immigrant at the moment of arrival at Buenos Aires City" is an estimation that was constructed by processing original data of the census. Its value was obtained according with the enter value rounded up that was obtained by deducting the "age of the immigrant" less the "time of residence in the city", both declared by each foreigner and marked by the census taker in the census schedules.

early immigrants recently arrived in Buenos Aires City like Italians have less possibilities of being “owners” than natives. This difference could be related to the fact that the City of Buenos Aires is an urban center and it reflects the economic difficulties for getting a proper house. So, the recent immigrants could be the “ideal” men for native women? Among possible answer to last one, a 17 per cent of females celibates at 50 years old and their simultaneous high mean age at married (around 25 years old) make us to think about the incidence of another factors, not only the age, that are affecting this sensible type of social market.

Table 7. Male ratio of people with 15 years old and more, total and single, widow/widower by five group of years old. Buenos Aires City. 1855.

Group of age	Total	Single and Widow/Widower
15-19	72	79
20-24	89	139
25-29	101	164
30-34	108	144
35-39	114	126
40-44	94	72
45-49	106	61
50-54	82	44
55-59	104	43
60-64	75	34
65-69	109	52
70-74	90	48
75-79	116	64
80-84	76	26
85-89	90	63
90-94	89	36
95-99	69	31
Total	94	98

Source: Massé (2008: 289)

Table 8. Percentage of “owners”²⁸ by group of age and selected birthplace Buenos Aires City. 1855.

Group of age	Natives	Italian immigrants
15-19	2,3	0,3
20-24	3,0	1,9
25-29	7,4	4,3
30-34	10,1	7,0
35-39	14,1	10,0
40-44	19,1	11,0
45-49	23,7	15,5
50-54	25,3	13,9
55-59	24,6	23,6
60 +	26,6	15,8

Source: Massé (2008: 298)

²⁸ Percentage of men of each group of age which answer in parental relation include the word “owner”. So, it is consider that these results may be analyzed with certain precaution. But, it is supposed that they are distributed by chance and they give an idea of tendencies.

Conclusions

We have been able to identify the key role played by migration for urban population growth, family life, and urban society in times of war. In Buenos Aires City the role played by immigration, and especially by family immigration, becomes a matter of considerable importance in the mid-nineteenth century. The census results makes visible the significant settle down of these pairs of foreigners, with or without children, who arrived at the city and established in the urban area when mediating the nineteenth century.

We may be able to get closer to a more adequate understanding of the larger and more complex reality of the immigrant family.

The migration introduced a variable of relevance at the time of trying to interpret the demographic behaviours and the ones related to those of the domestic groups. It contributed to outline the scene in which the formative stage of the urban family of the Río de la Plata scope developed that finally finds shape towards the mid-nineteenth century. Migration determines much of the social make-up of urban area and was an integral part of the change processes affecting not only the society as a whole but the migrants themselves.

With the development of this work we hope to contribute to acknowledge the impact that the process of “early immigration” has on the household structures and families and also on the married market in a certain space -Buenos Aires City- and time -decade of 1850-, before the conformation of the National State, the emergence of economical and agro-export expansion and the glory period of massive international immigration in Buenos Aires City (Argentina).

But there is also a factor that is conditioning a part of this observed structure: the war. Household and family in Buenos Aires City in the mid-nineteenth century can be understood within the context of the generalized international immigration and simultaneous confrontation between natives which took place in the town in this precise period. Its reality had little to do with the stem family / nuclear family debate in which inheritance and economics played a major role in determining family structures.

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