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Finding a Place to Read: Popular Libraries in Greater Buenos Aires before 1945

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In today’s world, it is sometimes difficult to imagine the hunger to read books that existed in a significant segment of the population of greater Buenos Aires in the first decades of the twentieth century. This was far from unique in the Atlantic world. Books provided entertainment, which was not otherwise easily available, and were seen as a way of self-improvement. This was true both for elites, who saw books as a way of improving the society by improving the skills and the character of others, but also for many individuals from poorer segments of society who saw books as part of a path towards advancement, as well as a form of entertainment. In greater Buenos Aires, the desire to read reflected high literacy rates, growing leisure time and a great belief in the possibility of personal advancement through hard work and knowledge. Knowledge could also transform the society.

Although the state created a well-regarded system of public education, it failed to provide, for reasons that remain unclear, even minimally acceptable levels of public libraries. Inhabitants of greater Buenos Aires took measures into their own hands. They created their own institutions, popular libraries (bibliotecas populares). This reflects a larger problem. Often, the state lacked the capacity or perhaps the will to provide institutions and whether this was recreational opportunities or the focus of this article, libraries, residents frequently stepped into the breach by creating associations that attempted to satisfy the perceived needs.[[1]](#endnote-1) This article will explore how the inhabitants of Buenos Aires fulfilled some of their desire to read by founding their own libraries in the years before 1945.

Although many of those who helped create bibliotecas populares had political or patriotic desires to improve society, many readers clearly pursued pleasure. The largest portion of books read was literature, but unfortunately the sources fail to indicate what type. Readership in the libraries, as we shall see, was not evenly spread among the populace. It was heavily male. More surprising was its heavily Argentine-born nature, despite the population of Buenos Aires being 49 percent foreign in 1914.[[2]](#endnote-2) The discrepancy cannot be explained by the books appearing to be almost totally in Spanish, as the second largest immigrant group was Spanish and the largest Italian, who after a few years in the country could easily have read Spanish, if they so desired. It is important to note that the sources used do not come from a representative sample of libraries but from those that were available in archives.

Background

By the beginning of the twentieth century, people in Buenos Aires had more free time and wanted to be entertained and educated. Free time increased over the next several decades as the eight hour day and the half day Saturday were legally mandated. This coincided with the growth of literacy.[[3]](#endnote-3) People frequently turned to books and reading. The obvious parallel to the growth of reading for pleasure was the growth of soccer, both as a game to be played but also as a spectator sport in the era between the 1900s and the 1930s.[[4]](#endnote-4)

Many Argentines had a strong belief in the potential for upward mobility through education and hard work.[[5]](#endnote-5) You wanted to become something. A good example is the subtitle of an autobiographical account written years later by an important politician of the 1920s who had immigrated to Argentina as a child, *La fe puesta en un ideal “llegar a ser algo”*(Faith placed in an ideal “to become something”). The writer did fulfill the dreams of many immigrant parents; he became a doctor.[[6]](#endnote-6) Libraries were therefore seen as essential and were created by neighborhood activists of all types.

Books and libraries also provided moral uplift. A commentary in the newspaper of the telephone workers’ union said: “Comrade, Don’t forget that books are one of the great wonders of the world. Reading purifies the soul; reading enlightens the mind.” In the same periodical when announcing a series of lectures, this comment was made: “Undoubtedly with these events, with the meritorious labor done by our library… the union will go forward rapidly and surely to the higher moral, intellectual and spiritual state that has been one of the wise and noble objectives that has guided the foundation of our Federation.” [[7]](#endnote-7)

While the goal of providing reading material does not vary greatly, the motives of the early leaders of popular libraries did. Some people (usually men) wanted to assuage their own and their barrio’s hunger for books. Others were barrio elites (also usually men) who wanted to “uplift” their neighbors. Clearly present as well were the political ambitions of some founders as well as distinct ideological goals.

Literacy rates in the city of Buenos Aires were high. In 1914 literacy for all those over seven years old was 82.2 percent, while for the native born population it stood at 91.6 percent. By 1936 the literacy rate had risen to 93.3 percent and for those native born to 97.6 percent.[[8]](#endnote-8) Newspapers had a wide circulation, as well as being available in libraries and cafes. The newspaper world was highly competitive with commercial, political and foreign language papers vying for readers. In 1928, three Buenos Aires papers claimed a circulation of over 180,000 and the number of readers grew during the next decade. By 1936 five papers claimed to have a regular circulation of over 200,000. During this period some Argentine publishing houses managed to expand their output with cheaper books.[[9]](#endnote-9)

However, in Buenos Aires, for those with limited incomes, regular purchase of books remained difficult. In January 1930 a price list of 30 books prepared for a popular library totaled 119.15 pesos with the books costing between 1 peso and 20, and with the prices tending towards the lower number.[[10]](#endnote-10) According to a study published in 1937, the head of an average working class household earned on average 127.26 pesos a month and family expenses were higher.[[11]](#endnote-11) Clearly they could not afford many books.

The municipality of Buenos Aires and other government branches failed to provide libraries oriented to the average reader. In 1935 there were just three public libraries in the city of Buenos Aires intended for the general reader plus six kiosks in public spaces. (Specialized libraries existed such as the national library and the library of congress). This left a gap that was filled by private initiative. We can define popular libraries to mean libraries oriented to the general public and run by non-governmental groups. The overwhelming percentage of these were run by inhabitants as civic associations. Many libraries were open to all, though most of the time only members could take books home. Membership dues were usually the chief income source. They may or may not have received some government aid but they were governed by their members. A typical governmental structure was that of the Biblioteca Popular Democracia y Progreso, though sometimes details differed. Its chief governing body was a general assembly, which under ordinary circumstances, met once a year. On a daily basis the library was governed by a 9 person board (comisión directiva) elected by the general assembly for two year terms with half the members renewed each year. [[12]](#endnote-12) Those libraries tied to political or religious organizations often had different structures but did serve the general inhabitants.

Men with rare exceptions ran popular libraries and composed most of the readers. This was not a result of far greater male literacy. Female librarians existed, such as in the popular library connected with Asociación Liga de Fomento General Mitre, which in the early 1930s was sizeable, containing 7,000 books and 2,789 pamphlets.[[13]](#endnote-13) Another library claimed that female readership increased when it had women librarians.[[14]](#endnote-14) One of the few libraries in which women played a significant public role was the Biblioteca Popular Iberoamericana, founded in 1941 with the driving force being a Señorita Dr. Liberia Rovere y Oddino. A number of other women were also important. The library was based in a school and in all probability Rovere y Oddino was an educator, as she co- authored a book of readings for first graders.[[15]](#endnote-15) This was not a unique case. Women played a sizeable role in the well-stocked library run as a biblioteca popular located in the Normal School No. 8, Julio A. Roca. Most of its funds came from the equivalent of the PTA (cooperadora). In 1933 the governing board’s secretary and two of the seven other board members were women. Twelve years later, after elections to replace the president and vice president, both women, who were retiring from their jobs, the board had a president, vice president, secretary and five of seven board members who were women. The latter included the two women who had retired. In all probability, the women were normal school teachers.[[16]](#endnote-16) Other exceptions existed. The board of the Biblioteca Popular Bernardino Rivadavia had three women among its eight members including its president and vice-president; however the sociedad de fomento (local development association) to which it was attached had no women among its directors.[[17]](#endnote-17) Also, the Hijas de María de Guadalupe ran a library for young women.[[18]](#endnote-18)

In 1941 a government agency, the Comision Protectora de Bibliotecas Populares recognized 124 libraries that met certain criteria in the city of Buenos Aires. Many more privately run libraries existed[[19]](#endnote-19) but did not meet the criteria established for recognition, or simply did not apply. The Comisión Protectora was established in 1870 at the urging of then President Domingo Sarmiento. Like many such initiatives it then lapsed and was only reconstituted in 1908. It helped libraries by giving books and or monetary subsidies. Like much else that depended on the national budget its generosity varied. The existence of the Comisón does help explain the growth of popular libraries starting in the second decade of the twentieth century but in part the explosion reflects the growth of civic associations and the expansion of the city, both in populated areas and number of inhabitants. In 1910 the Comisión recognized 13 libraries in the capital but by 1916 there were 59, though it was not a clean upward trajectory. It recognized 125 in 1932 and 131 in 1938.[[20]](#endnote-20) Subventions sometimes came from the municipal government but that appears to depend on support from city council members and tended to be sporadic or geared to a specific project. Similarly, congress sometimes voted a subsidy which again depended upon political connections. The depression did have an impact on the subventions of all types.[[21]](#endnote-21)

The creation of privately run libraries was far from unique, as similar libraries existed in other countries. However, elsewhere the pattern seemed to have been that such libraries were followed by the founding of public institutions which presumably were better funded and geographically less mal-distributed. In both Western Europe and the United States, the first libraries were created by the initiative of private individuals. In Britain in the eighteenth century so-called subscription libraries were established in which those who wanted to participate bought a share or paid a monthly fee. These were far too expensive for a worker. Roughly simultaneously, so-called circulating libraries were started as commercial enterprises in which readers could rent books at relatively low rates. Similarly, well to do people created so-called mechanics libraries so that workers could have books to read, but in many cases, at least initially, fiction and other works considered frivolous were not permitted. These were clearly top down enterprises. What we would recognize as public libraries only began to be created in the mid-nineteenth century and only became common in the twentieth. The pattern in much of Western Europe and in the United States was not that different, though the timing was. Frequently the process started somewhat later.[[22]](#endnote-22)

What differentiates Buenos Aires is that there was no major push to create public libraries but rather a continued dependence on private initiatives which had only limited access to public funding, which was never dependable. Many libraries survived with no government support. No plan existed to provide equal geographic coverage, so that readers in all neighborhoods could have access to books, nor were most popular libraries adequate in size or open to readers a significant amount of time.[[23]](#endnote-23) Although the efforts of the inhabitants did provide places to read books, they could not provide sufficient reading opportunities or equal ones. Not surprisingly, wealthier neighborhoods frequently supported larger popular libraries, although that was not always true.

One does not have to see popular libraries as the crucial center of a burgeoning civic culture with a working class hungry for knowledge or to deny the role that political ideology played in the creation of some libraries, to see that bibliotecas populares were important in the civic and social world of the first decades of the twentieth century. Libraries aided in creating hope for social advancement through knowledge and for entertainment through books. They helped create a sense of belonging to the barrio and its community. In part this sense of identification came from the many people who provided the unpaid labor that allowed the libraries to function. Members of the elected governing boards spent a great deal of time on the libraries and made all the day to day decisions and frequently served as unpaid librarians. Many residents literally belonged to a library, since while usually anyone could read a book in the library, only members could borrow books. Dues were small but they obviously excluded some people.

Libraries provided convenient locations for residents to meet and discuss, just like other social centers such as cafes. Popular libraries also held numerous social functions. For example, in 1934 the Biblioteca Popular Carlos Mauli sponsored a picnic in what was then the bucolic suburb of San Isidro.[[24]](#endnote-24) Libraries also sponsored lectures and other educational activities and held dances and showed movies to raise funds.[[25]](#endnote-25) In addition, many popular libraries provided classes of different types, many geared to the practical.

The Biblioteca Popular General Pueyrredón, located near the edge of the city, even offered free or lower cost medical care to its members. A Dr. Jaime Grimblat gave a discount to members for either home or office visits and if the member came to his office on Friday the consultation was free. In the largely working class barrio of Nueva Chicago, the Sociedad de Fomento José Enrique Rodó (the local development society), of which the Biblioteca Popular Eurindia was part, offered its members and their families free medical consultations three days a week at its headquarters and every day at the doctor’s office. Similarly a lawyer offered free consultations once a week at the development society. In providing these services libraries were acting like many other civic associations from unions to soccer clubs and even political parties. At times library publications served to notify the larger community of social events. For example, the periodical of the Biblioteca Popular General Pueyrredón reported on the marriage of Grimblat to Clara Tisminetsky at a downtown synagogue far from the library’s barrio, which was followed by a reception at the famous Confitería del Molino across the street from the building where congress meets.[[26]](#endnote-26)

In this manner, popular libraries helped cement the sense of barrio that developed in many parts of the city in the first decades of the twentieth century, as the residents spread rapidly away from the traditional core. The libraries shared this with a wide variety of civic organizations created in that period from football clubs and social clubs to neighborhood development associations. Many of the latter sponsored popular libraries, as we shall see, as did some soccer clubs, such as Huracán and Atlanta, [[27]](#endnote-27) although these were usually limited to members and were often quite small.

The Desire to Read and the Founding of Libraries

Some popular libraries were created by those committed to ideologies that aspired to change the society and saw knowledge as crucial. Socialists, Communists, and Anarchists perceived books as representing the idea of progress and enlightenment. In 1918 the Socialist Party began a major push to create social institutions as part of their electoral strategy and by 1932 the Socialist Party had 56 libraries tied to its neighborhood headquarters.[[28]](#endnote-28) After the mid-1920s the Communist Party created its own cultural institutions, including libraries. By 1930 it had some thirty libraries in greater Buenos Aires, usually relatively small and containing mostly party literature. Its libraries did not seek recognition from the national government. Some Communists participated in “non-political” popular libraries. Anarchists also founded libraries.[[29]](#endnote-29) The Radical Party sponsored libraries as well; some very small, as did more conservative parties such as Concentración Nacional and Democráta Progresista.[[30]](#endnote-30)

Many unions had libraries. For example the Unión Obrera Municipal (the municipal workers union) had a library that was a recognized biblioteca popular that in 1931 had 2,000 books. The municipal workers’ library was only exceptional because it was recognized by the Comisión Protectora and was probably larger than most union libraries.[[31]](#endnote-31) However, the sheer number of popular libraries and the amount of people involved in running them indicate that the creation of libraries was truly a popular movement.

Like other barrio membership organizations, libraries provided aspiring politicians with a neighborhood base, a range of friends and acquaintances who could see the incipient politician as one of them. They could be seen as sharing the loyalties and values of their neighbors. They also helped a large group of people who might in return offer political support. Assisting a popular library could help develop what I have called political capital, a core of people who felt tied to the politician because of mutual relationships. Political capital might produce sufficient support to help launch a political career in an environment in which building a neighborhood base was essential for starting a political career.[[32]](#endnote-32) Politicians often played a critical role for popular libraries.

There existed in greater Buenos Aires, as in many other places, tensions between those who saw libraries as potentially transformative of the individual and the society and had a didactic view of what should be read and those who held a less utopian perspective. Ricardo González has shown how a popular library in the late 1920s became embroiled in a controversy between those who felt that libraries should just have a didactic function and those who recognized books’ entertainment possibilities.[[33]](#endnote-33) The names of libraries frequently reflected the goal of transformation as can be seen in the constant reuse of the names of Domingo Sarmiento and Juan Batista Alberdi, intellectual-politicians who set out to transform the nation, and the use of names like Democracia y Progreso, Ciencia y Labor, Renovación, José Enrique Rodó. Libraries could also be seen as institutions of social control helping to push the working classes into dominant social norms through providing appropriate reading matter.[[34]](#endnote-34)

The hunger for books can be seen on occasion. The Biblioteca Juan Bautista Alberdi was founded in May 1913 in Gerli, a section of the industrial suburb Avellaneda, just to the south of the city of Buenos Aires. Its strained situation makes clear the tremendous drive some had to create opportunities for themselves and others to read books. In 1919 the library petitioned the Comisión Protectora for books. The Biblioteca Alberdi proclaimed itself as: “A nucleus of citizens, youths in the majority, who have made it their moral and material mission to elevate the intellectual level of this town.” In response an inspector was dispatched and reported that the library contained 420 publications of all types and was sustained by a membership of 54 young workers who paid dues of 21 centavos a month that worked out to be almost 11 pesos which paid for rent and light. Unfortunately, it did not meet the criteria for aid in acquiring books. The library was clearly a labor of love, since after 6 years its size and membership remained so restricted.

After a period of inactivity, in 1933 the library reopened. According to a new inspection, it then had a collection of 924 books and 450 pamphlets and was financed by the dues of its members. The governing board staffed it. The inspector reported that during a single month, it had only 96 readers but the library performed an important service for its isolated community, totally composed of workers. The secretary of the directorship was a Cándido Gregorio, who in all probability was the man who later became an important socialist leader of a textile workers’ union and almost certainly reflects the political orientation of some of those who ran the library. The library did receive recognition from the Comisión Protectora. By 1937 it claimed 420 members and offered a range of practical classes.[[35]](#endnote-35) The continuing effort to provide a library for residents of a working class neighborhood shows a real dedication and a belief in the benefits of the book, despite meager success.

A similar attitude can be seen in the foundational act of the Biblioteca Popular Sarmiento created in Valentín Alsina in 1918 in what was then Avellaneda and is now in the partido of Lanús. It stated that its purpose was: “to tend to the education and the improvement, moral and intellectual, of its members and of the people of Valentín Alsina through the circulation of instructive books in our reading room ...”[[36]](#endnote-36)

A different scenario was presented by the Biblioteca Popular Alberdi, located in the Buenos Aires city neighborhood of Villa Crespo. Founded in 1910 at the suggestion of Joaquin Sánchez, the sub-intendente (sub-mayor) of the city, as the Biblioteca de la Parroquia de San Bernardo, its first location was in a municipal building. The first president was Julián Bourdeu, a police commissioner (comisario) who served until 1917. Bourdeu is an interesting figure. Born in France, he came to Argentina with his family at 18. He went to work as a bookkeeper for a company that had established a large shoe factory in Villa Crespo. The manager, Salvador Benedit, was an active politician in the period before the electoral reform of 1912. Benedit is considered by some to be the founder of Villa Crespo. He introduced Bourdeu to politics; Bourdeu served as a justice of the peace (juez de paz), a post that always combined judicial duties with politics, and was an elector in several elections. Bourdeu along with Benedit and others helped found a local newspaper, *El Progreso*. From the beginning of 1905 Bourdeu worked as a police commissioner, clearly as a political appointee. Comisarios always joined police work with politics. He played a role in the establishment of two local development societies (sociedades de fomento), one in Villa Crespo; the other in the neighboring barrio of Villa Talar of which he was its first president. Obviously he built a career, in part, by his involvement in local organizations.

As early as 1915 the library received 271 books from the Comisión Protectora and had an average of 52 daily readers consulting their 1,882 books in 2,476 volumes. Students composed 67 percent of their readers. By 1919 it had a paid librarian (the later famous author Leopoldo Marechal). It changed its name to Alberdi in 1921. Its leaders tended to be important local figures. Bourdeu’s successor was a justice of the peace. He was followed by a local industrialist, Francisco L. Bavastro who had founded a company in 1889 to manufacture wooden shoe lasts, which became the largest such firm in Buenos Aires. Bavastro served as library president for eight years in two separate intervals. In the 1930s another police commissioner became president for two years and Remigio Iriondo served between 1934 and 1940. Iriondo was a major figure in the barrio; elected to the city council in the 1920s, he helped secure from the city a sizeable subvention for the library. He also played a crucial role in a wide range of local organizations. What led conservative figures to put their energy into the library may be seen during Iriondo’s presidency when the library’s petition to congress asked for a subvention in order that the library could acquire a larger location so that its readers, mentioning students and children, would not go to the Communist libraries in the barrio. The latter would put in danger “our Argentine cultural work.”[[37]](#endnote-37) Villa Crespo, a largely working class barrio, was a center of Communist activity and the library’s leaders at least claimed to want to protect the barrio from that influence.

Other motives existed as well. In 1932 Dr. Bernardo Braylan proposed that his local development association, Asociación de Fomento de Villa Devoto, found a library. He stressed the idea of moral uplift that many felt could come came from reading: “The foundation of a library should not make us believe that we will attract many readers, as much as that would be ideal; but our duty as an active and progressive entity is to facilitate the cultural activity of the inhabitants…To found a library is to open a furrow for the germination of noble ideas, of altruistic sentiments, of patriotic initiatives, all of which could benefit our youth, tempering their character through contact with knowledge and moral optimism.” Braylan also pointed out that almost all suburban neighborhoods had popular libraries based in their development societies.[[38]](#endnote-38) Clearly Braylan was also influenced by what one could call neighborhood boosterism. The library was founded the next year, relatively quickly receiving recognition from the Sociedad Protectora, and soon had a thousand books.[[39]](#endnote-39)

The chaotic nature of the founding of libraries and the inconsistency of government support is demonstrated by the Biblioteca Popular Belgrano. It probably was founded in 1907, but as early as 1914 claims surfaced of an earlier date. It is likely that previous attempts at creating such a library had collapsed. Once again Joaquin Sánchez, the sub-intendente, seems to have had a hand in founding the library, which started with 300 books located in a municipal building. By the beginning of 1914 it had some 15,000 volumes and subscribed to 30 magazines, both local and foreign. Members paid 50 centavos per month and could take home books. The library was open from 7:30 to 10:30 every night except Sundays and holidays. It had financial support from the municipality, the national government and the local school board (concejo escolar). In 1909 a children’s section had been established by the local school board and was run for many years by an Emma Ackens de Dupuy whose salary was paid by a national government agency. The Biblioteca Popular Belgrano’s relationship with the city government after its founding was murky, though it seems to have been run by a commission of residents. According to accusations made in 1922 by a Socialist city councilor, Roberto Giusti, in 1917 the intendente (mayor) handed over the library to a committee headed by an Adolfo Calvete who had helped found the Radical Party, then the governing party. According to Giusti, the library’s operation was so disorganized that it was forced to close for a time. The Socialists wanted the city to take it over. In a request for money in the 1924, the library’s governing council admitted that its state of abandonment was public and notorious. The government took it over between 1939 and 1941.[[40]](#endnote-40)

The state’s failure to maintain libraries and the need for inhabitants to take them over can be seen in the case of the Sarmiento, located in the neighborhood of Villa Urquiza. Once again, when the library was started is unclear as different sources give very different dates. The city did play a role in its creation but later abandoned it. Local residents reconstituted the library with the name Biblioteca Popular Sarmiento in 1917, which in all official publications is given as the year of the institution’s founding. In its initial stages, Félix Fouiller, the head of the local ward committee of the Radical Party, played a crucial role, serving as president for its first six years. The library also began to offer free legal consultations. By mid-1929 the library had 320 members who could read 6,558 books and 1,432 pamphlets. Courses that year were given in English, French, bookkeeping, typing, shorthand and drafting. In some later years the variety offered was less. The library sponsored talks and held celebrations. Starting in 1926 a branch existed in the nearby barrio of Coghlan which operated in a school under the supervision of a female teacher. However, in 1930 the Sarmiento closed the branch because it did not have enough books, some 400. These were given to the school’s equivalent of the PTA. All the Sarmiento’s offices were held by men, but an auxiliary commission of women assisted with public events.

Who were the Sarmiento’s 104 average daily readers between March 20 and August 31, 1930? Argentines composed an extraordinarily large percentage, 96.5. Many were undoubtedly young, a grouping that had a higher percentage of Argentine born but still seems amazingly large. Also readership was overwhelmingly male, 81 percent. What did they read? Literature composed 54.8 percent of the books, applied science and arts 21.4 and history and geography 18.7. By August 1941 the average number of daily readers had increased to 171 and the percentage of Argentine born to 97.9, but the percentage of males had slipped to 60.5.

By August 1941 the amount of reading matter available had increased significantly to 15,782 books, 4,054 pamphlets and 10,756 periodicals. Where did the books come from? There were gifts, most notably one by the family of the famous poet Almafuerte (Pedro B. Palacios) of 1,384 of his books. The library also received support on a regular basis from the Comisión Protectora of the national government and from the municipality, but the most important source of income remained the members’ dues.[[41]](#endnote-41)

Frequently popular libraries functioned as part of development societies. One such library was the Biblioteca Popular Democracia y Progreso, founded in August 1915 as the Biblioteca Popular de Villa Leandro Alem under the auspices of the Sociedad de Fomento Democracia y Progreso. The sociedad de fomento had been established four years earlier in the largely working class barrio of Liniers, still a remote barrio with dirt streets.[[42]](#endnote-42) According to the library’s petition to the Comision Protectora for recognition, most of the inhabitants worked in the shops of the railroad Ferrocarril Oeste. The shops had opened in 1904. The library claimed that because of the isolated nature of the district, people had more time to read. An inspector soon visited and found that the library was just a room in a house lent by its owner. Some neighbors had gotten together because of the nature of the neighborhood to create a place for socializing and reading but had established no rules or regulations. In October of the same year, the library adopted statutes. They made its purpose clear: “to tend to the advancement of the intellect of the people, through the diffusion of instructive books, a reading room, etc.” Monthly dues were set at 30 centavos.

By January 1916 the library had obtained 54 pesos through sponsoring a festival, enough to rent a space, and buy the necessary furniture and forty books. By 1919 its 230 members allowed it to acquire more reading material but it also received gifts from individuals and institutions. For example, in 1917 the important newspaper *La Nación* donated over 200 books and the Ferrocarril Oeste 40 liters of kerosene a month, presumably for lighting. In 1919 for unclear reasons the library lost its independence and merged with its sponsoring sociedad de fomento, Democracia y Progreso. It soon moved to a bigger location and began receiving an annual subsidy of 500 pesos per year from the Comisión Protectora and later received an annual subsidy of 1,000 pesos, a considerable sum.

When Democracia y Progreso decided to possess its own building, it could not afford to buy a lot, and a member, Juan Guereño, purchased the land and donated it. He served as president of the sociedad de fomento for a total of eight years (this included some years after a merger with a similar organization). Guereño, a Spanish immigrant, had founded a soap company that had its factory in Liniers, which in the 1920s employed more than a hundred people and produced more than 500 metric tons of soap per month. He was also active in the Radical Party. In the early 1940s the company’s Jabon Radical sponsored the radio programs of a young actress, Eva Duarte (later of course Eva Duarte de Perón). With Guereño playing a key role, in 1936 Democracia y Progreso, to which the library belonged, merged with the Sociedad de Fomento Santiago de Liniers.

In 1940 the library had almost 7,000 books. (Most libraries belonging to development associations had fewer books). In its first 25 years, its 196,880 readers had been 30 percent female and 70 percent male while those less than 16 years old represented 40 percent of the readership. The latter were probably mostly students and not yet fully in the workforce. The readership was overwhelming Argentine, 85 percent, a striking figure given the hefty percentage of the population that was foreign born, especially in a largely working class barrio.[[43]](#endnote-43) The regulations governing the library indicate that members could take home books for 30 days and that period could be extended once, in person or by mail. Fines for late books were 2 centavos day. The library was open from 7 to 9 PM on workdays. [[44]](#endnote-44)

When the library presented a chart of the types of books read during its first twenty five years, they were diverse. The largest percentage fell in the unfortunately vague category of general works, 44 percent. History, geography and social science comprised 15.9 percent while literature was 14.1 and philology and languages 9.1. The small percentage classified as literature leads one to suppose that most of the general works were novels of some type.[[45]](#endnote-45) The other libraries examined show that literature was heavily consumed.

A much less successful popular library connected with a development society was the Eurindia of the Sociedad de Fomento Edilicio y Cultura José Enrique Rodó, located near Liniers in the barrio of Nueva Chicago, home of the municipal slaughterhouse.[[46]](#endnote-46) The library, founded in December 1931, had in 1937 only 685 books and 141 other materials. Its resources increased slightly over the next few years, reaching 1,143 books in 1940. Most of the books were given by members, publishers, authors or newspapers. Libraries frequently requested that authors send copies of their books. Emilio Ravignani, a historian and politician, received numerous such requests. Although the Eurindia was open Monday, Wednesday and Friday from 6 to 8 PM, few read books in the library. Members and their families could check out books for twenty days and renew for an additional twenty. Most books were taken home and these books were not numerous. The library did comment that when it had three female librarians, female readership increased, since they were now attended by members of the same gender. The institution blamed its failure to attract numerous readers to the presence of a public library in the barrio.[[47]](#endnote-47)

Readership and Reading

The readership tended to read fiction, probably novels, though what type, given the sources, is not knowable. The readers tended to be male and Argentine born. The latter can be partially explained by the heavy usage by students as the young were much more heavily Argentine born. There seems little doubt that many students used popular libraries to do their homework, reading books that they did not possess. Certainly when petitioning congress for help, libraries frequently stressed their service to students.[[48]](#endnote-48)

The Biblioteca Popular de Villa Pueyrredón was an independent library with a close connection to the Sociedad de Fomento Pueyrredón Norte. Anyone could read books in the library and as was customary, members could take books home. Adults paid dues of 50 centavos a month, while children paid 30. The reading room was open from 6 PM to 8 PM on work days. In the mid-1930s, the library had a salaried female librarian but its executive council, which met twice a month, was all male. At the beginning of 1935, it had 3,090 books. During the second half of 1934 it had 626 readers of whom two thirds were male and 79 percent Argentine born. These readers took 479 books home and consulted an additional 519 at the library. Although the readership seems small, the library received 100 pesos worth of books from the Comisión Protectora because of its high readership. It got to choose half the books and the Comisión the other. Among the books requested were classics by Victor Hugo, Honoré Balzac and Walter Scott as well as more modern novels. The readership seemed inclined to read novels, since 57.5 percent of the books consulted were works in general and there was no category for fiction. History, geography and social science represented 11.6 percent of the books consulted, while applied and pure science was 10.8 percent. The library also offered classes in shorthand and drawing. As we have seen, the library offered its members discounted medical service which was free on Fridays.[[49]](#endnote-49)

The nature of what was being read in the first decades of the twentieth century can be seen in the Biblioteca Obrera, which was located in the headquarters of the Socialist Party but was recognized as a biblioteca popular by the Comisión Protectora. Founded in 1897, the library had 5,368 books by the start of 1911. Of these 32.4% were literature, 19.1 social science, 14.6 applied and pure science and 10.4 history and geography The political nature (socialist) of the sponsoring organization explains the large number of books classified as social science, since presumably the writings of Karl Marx and many other would have been so labelled. The library grew rapidly; by mid-1919 it had 11,187 volumes. What was being read? Like most libraries the largest subject was literature. During 1918, of the 7,878 works consulted, 53.2 percent were literature, 11.3 social sciences and 17.3 percent applied and pure sciences. The figure for literature was somewhat lower then it was for other periods from 1915 to the middle of 1919, but the basic pattern remained essentially the same.[[50]](#endnote-50) So despite the socialists’ ideological preferences for more substantial reading, the readers preferred literature. The users of the library of the telephone workers’ union, which had an Anarcho-Syndicalist orientation, displayed similar tendencies. It was not a recognized popular library but in three periods in the early 1930s, its users read between 53 to 78 percent novels, poetry and plays.[[51]](#endnote-51)

Conclusions

The residents of Buenos Aires displayed a tremendous desire to read and in many cases they needed to take measures into their own hands to do so. They created a large number of popular libraries that partially filled the vacuum left by the state. This reflected a larger trend in the institutional history of greater Buenos Aires. From recreation to the provision of local amenities, governmental structures responded slowly and the inhabitants acted on their own. They built a series of institutions that provided many things that the state did not, from football clubs with their multitudinous opportunities for recreation to sociedades de fomento, which not only lobbied for local neighborhood improvements, but sometimes did some improvements on their own. One principal exception to this institutional weakness was the public school system that brought almost universal literacy to Buenos Aires and, in a nation with a heavy proportion of immigrants, also inculcated Argentine nationalism.

The success of the school system helped create a strong desire to read. Books became an important source of entertainment, as more leisure time became available for the average person. Books were too expensive for most people to have large personal collections; the only potential source was libraries, and the state did not provide anywhere near a sufficient number. The demand for books was intensified by a belief in the possibility of upward mobility, if not for yourself, at least for your children. The ability to advance either on a personal level or as a barrio or even a society seemed to depend on education, whether through formal channels or through self-education. Libraries played a critical role, providing a place to educate oneself or to do school assignments.

The hefty percentages of the readership in popular libraries that were native-born Argentine seem to indicate a few things: they were young (the younger cohorts tended to be born in Argentina) and that many were in school (and needed to do their homework) or still hoped to advance themselves through reading. They tried to better themselves through knowledge. This would help explain the heavily masculine nature of the readership, as there still existed large limitations on female employment, reducing the practical impact of self-education for women. Another explanation for the heavily male readership common in libraries may be that females felt uncomfortable in male dominated spaces. The hours that libraries were open may have also played a role, since they paralleled the time that women would be preparing dinners and doing other chores at home. However, once books were checked out, we cannot know who read them. Language barriers may also have been a partial explanation for the overwhelmingly Argentine-born readership. However, it is time to move beyond the stereotypes of immigrants as those with tremendous desire for self-improvement and begin to look at the Argentine-born for the hunger for self-advancement.

Although the establishment of popular libraries indicates a tremendous ability to build institutions that fulfilled residents’ perceived needs, they left large gaps. Not all neighborhoods had libraries; many were inadequate in size and almost all had limited hours. The ability of a barrio to have a substantial library depended to some extent on wealth. Areas in which incomes tended to be higher could have libraries that charged higher dues and could expect additional monetary or in-kind support. The lack of obvious sources of financial support could be partially overcome by strong leadership. Some working class areas had substantial libraries. Government aid was always spotty. The very nature of this private system was geared towards those with higher incomes or to those with family members willing to make sacrifices. Only dues payers could take out books and those unable to afford the dues had to read books in the library during the few hours they were open. So what Buenos Aires had was a decidedly uneven system of libraries, mal-distributed across the city. Granted even a system of public libraries would have been somewhat unequal in its placement of libraries but all would have had the same opportunity to use them.

The failure to provide adequate libraries reflects a larger problem. Although Argentina in the first decades of the twentieth century was a prosperous country that was growing rapidly in size, the state lacked the capacity to build the institutions to sustain that growth over the long run. Although the institutional state has strengthened and then weakened in subsequent decades, the lack of a strong state capacity can be seen in the condition of its libraries in the early part of the twentieth century.

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1. See Horowitz, “Soccer Clubs,” and “Football Clubs and Neighbourhoods”. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. Comisión Nacional del Censo, *Tercer censo*,2:109. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. This parallels the situation in Europe, See for example Lyons, “New Readers,” 313-4. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. For a discussion of football during this period, see Horowitz, “Football Clubs and Neighbourhoods.” [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. The existence of large scale upward mobility has been a matter of some debate. However, whether it existed or not seems much less relevant for the argument here than the belief that it did. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. Bard, *Estampas*. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. *Federación*, Feb. 1931, Oct. 1930. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. Bunge, *Una nueva Argentina*, 418*.* [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. American Society of Editors, *International Yearbook 1929,* 290; Cane, *The Fourth Enemy*, 33-47; Sarlo, *Una modernidad periférica*, 19-20; Cedro, “El negocio de la edición”. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. Biblioteca Popular del Municipio B. Rivadavia, “Presupuesto para la compra de libros, elaborado por la Liberia Perlado,” 1 Jan. 1930, [www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo\_historico](http://www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo_historico). The libraries from this website are in the capital unless otherwise indicated. All information from this website was available as of 17 Aug. 2015. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. Departamento Nacional del Trabajo, División de Estadística, *Condiciones de vida*, 28. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. Biblioteca Popular Democracia y Progreso, “Estatutos de la Biblioteca,” 1915, [www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo\_historico/](http://www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo_historico/). [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. Asociación Liga de Fomento Villa General Mitre Biblioteca Popular Mitre, *Memoria,* 10. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. *Acción Comunal*, *Órgano de la Sociedad de Fomento Edilicio y Cultura José Enrique Rodó,* Oct. 1938, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. Archivo Intermedio. Fondo Inspección General de Justicia. Registro de Asociaciones Civiles. Caja 95, 360485, Biblioteca Popular Iberoamericana; Rovere y Oddino and Cocchi, Aspiración. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. Biblioteca Popular Juana Manso, “Informe de inspección de Biblioteca realizado por la Comisión Protectora,” 26 Aug. 1933 and “Conformación de la comisión de la Biblioteca,” 7 June 1945, [www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo\_historico](http://www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo_historico). For another example see Biblioteca Popular General Pueyrredón (Wilde--Avellaneda-Provincia de Buenos Aires). Women teachers played a key role in its founding. “Nota de las autoridades de la Biblioteca a la Comisión Protectora. Detalles de su funcionamiento,” 1 July1922, [www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo\_historico](http://www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo_historico). [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. Rivadavia órgano informativo mensual de la Asociación de Fomento Juan Batista Alberdi y Biblioteca B. Rivadavia, Mar. 1939, 24. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. Asociación y Biblioteca Popular Hijas de María de Guadalupe to Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, 27 Sept. 1928, <http://apym.hcdn.gob.ar/pdf/expedientes/1415-p-191927.pdf> [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. Miranda, *Las bibliotecas públicas*, 31; Comisión Protectora de Bibliotecas Populares, *Nómina de las bibliotecas 1941*, 5-10. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. Fiorucci, “La Cultura,” 544-45; Comisión Protectora de Bibliotecas Populares, *Memoria*, esp. 3-16, 28-33**,** 40;Nigro y otros, Subvenciones a bibliotecas populares, Cámara de Diputados, 22 Sept. 1932, <http://apym.hcdn.gob.ar/pdf/expedientes/600-d-1932.pdf>; Comisión Protectora de Bibliotecas Populares, Nómina de bibliotecas populares 1938, 3-8. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. # See for example, Concejo Deliberante de la Municipalidad de Buenos Aires, *Actas*, 23 May 1930, 657-58, 20 June 1930, 1014, 31 May 1932, 1636-37; Cámara de Diputados, *Diario de sesiones*, 1937, vol 2:2 Anexo L, 225-27, 30 July 1941, vol. 2, 698; Biblioteca Popular Ciencia y labor de Villa General Mitre a Cámara de Diputados, 30 Oct. 1933, <http://apym.hcdn.gob.ar/pdf/expedientes/1432-p-1933.pdf>.

    [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. Harris, *History of Libraries,* 150-57, 184-85; Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 190-96. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. The number of books available in various libraries will be discussed below, as will the hours that they were open to the reading public. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. *Vélez Sarsfield Social*, 30 Nov. 1933. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. For examples see, Biblioteca Popular Belisario Roldán de Versalles, “Lecturas comentados de fragmentos escritos por Mujeres Célebres,” 1934 and “Afiche de la Rosa de los Vientos,” 1934, Biblioteca Popular General Benito Nazar, ‘Invitación a cine y baile a realizar en la sede de la Biblioteca,” 10 Oct. 1943, [www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo\_historico/](http://www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo_historico/). [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. *Pueyrredón. Revista mensual. Órgano informativo de la Asociación de Fomento de Villa Pueyrredón Norte y Biblioteca Popular General Pueyrredón,* Oct. 1934, 6-7, Jan. 1936, 6; *Acción Comunal*, Feb. 1937, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. Club Atlético Atlanta, ‘Historia del club’, [www.atlantapasion.com.ar/historia.php](http://www.atlantapasion.com.ar/historia.php), 17/8/15; Newton, *Historia del Club*, 159. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. Dora Barrancos, *Educación, cultura y trabajadores 1890-1930)*(Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1991), 96;Gutiérrez and Luis Alberto Romero, “Sociedades barriales,” 71. [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. Camarero*, A la conquista*, 218-33; Vicente Francomano and Antonio López, “Biblioteca Popular José Ingenieros, Apuntes para su historia,” <http://www.nodo50.org/bpji/?page_id=18>, 22/9/2015. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. Library of the Instituto Ravignani, Colección Emilio Ravignani, Arv. 32, no. 22 and no. 114; *Pueyrredón,* Aug. 1935, 3; *La Prensa*, 22 May 1917, 12 Aug. 1919, 20 July 1922. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. Horowitz, “Occupational Community,” 74-5; *La Vanguardia*, 21 Nov. 1931; Comisión Protectora de Bibliotecas Populares, *Nómina de bibliotecas populares 1933,* np*.* [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. Horowitz, Argentina’s *Radical Party* and Horowitz, “Soccer Clubs”. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. González, “Lo propio,”118-25. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. Lyons, “New Readers,” 332. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. Biblioteca Popular Juan Bautista Alberdi (Avellaneda), “Nota del Secretario General de la Biblioteca al Ministro de Instrucción Pública,” 21 Dec. 1919 [; ”Informe](http://www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo_historico/;%20) de la inspección de la Biblioteca,” 8 Apr. 1920; “Las autoridades de la Biblioteca comunican el reinició de la actividad de la institución,” 13 June 1933; “Informe de inspección de la Biblioteca a cargo de la Comisión Protectora,” 27 Oct. 1933 , www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo\_historico/. Di Tella, *Perón y los sindicatos*, 278-87; Comisión Protectora de Bibliotecas Populares, *Nómina de bibliotecas 1933*, np and *Nómina de las bibliotecas 1938*, 12; Biblioteca Popular Juan Bautista Alberdi de Gerli to Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, 25 June 1937, <http://apym.hcdn.gob.ar/pdf/expedientes/> 414-p-1937.pdf. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. Rolero, “Sociedad de Fomento.” [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. Biblioteca Popular Alberdi, *Bodas de Oro*; *El Progreso*, 19 June 1943 <http://biblio-alberdi.blogspot.com/2009/03/hablan-de-nosotros-2.html>, 7/19/15; Francavilla, *Historia de Villa Crespo*, 42-5, 52, 54, 58-9, 69; Marcelo J. Bourdeu, “Notas sobre un vecino de Villa Crespo y de Buenos Aires, Julián Bourdeu”  *Barriada, [www.barriada.coreUnVecino.aspxm.ar/MarceloBourdeu/NotasSob](http://www.barriada.com.ar/MarceloBourdeu/NotasSobreUnVecino.aspx), 6/10/15;* Julián Bourdeu, <http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/julian_bourdeu>, 6/10/15; Comisión Protectora de Bibliotecas Populares, *Memoria*, 45; “Bio-cronología Leopoldo Marechal,” [www.marechal.org.ar/Biocronolg.pdf](http://www.marechal.org.ar/Biocronolg.pdf), 7/15/15; Brock, *Boots and Shoes,* 83; Del Pino, *El barrio de Villa Crespo*, 76-7; La Universidad Popular Florentino Ameghino, *La Universidad Popular*, 6, 9, 15; ‘Barrio Villa Crespo-habitantes notables” [http://www.lugaresgeograficos.com.ar/verCiudad.php?id=3427458&idtexto=1006#.U8WmILE4dI0](http://www.lugaresgeograficos.com.ar/verCiudad.php?id=3427458&idtexto=1006" \l ".U8WmILE4dI0), 7/1/14; Biblioteca Popular dela Parroquia de San Bernardo to Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, 26 Aug. 1916, <http://apym.hcdn.gob.ar/pdf/expedientes/525-p-1916.pdf>; Biblioteca Popular Alberdi to Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, 1 Sept. 1936, <http://apym.hcdn.gob.ar/pdf/expedientes/487-p-1936.pdf> [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. *Boletín de la Asociación de Fomento de Villa Devoto*, Aug. 1932. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. “Edificios públicos e históricos: Asociación de Fomento… ‘El Castillito’,” 24 Nov. 2008, <http://devoto-edificios.blogspot.com/2008/11/asociacin-de-fomentoel-castillito.html>, 22/7/2015; Comisión Protectora de Bibliotecas Populares, *Nómina de las bibliotecas* *1938*, 5. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. *Fray Mocho,* 13 Feb*.* 1914*;* Córdoba, *El barrio de Belgrano*, 114-27; Concejo Deliberante de la Municipalidad de Buenos Aires, *Actas*, 22 June 1922, 1368-69; Landenburger and Conte, eds., *La Unión Cívica*, 50; Comisión administrativa de la Biblioteca Popular de Belgrano to Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, 17 Sept. 1924, <http://apym.hcdn.gob.ar/pdf/expedientes/>; Miranda, *Las bibliotecas públicas*, 40. [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. Asociación Biblioteca Popular Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Memoria y balance período 1929-1930* (Buenos Aires, 1930), *Memoria y balance período 1935-1936* (Buenos Aires, 1936), *Memoria y balance período 1936-1937* (Buenos Aires, 1937), *Memoria y balance período 1940-1941 (Buenos Aires, 1941); Sarmiento (Boletín de la Asociación Biblioteca Popular Domingo Faustino Sarmiento),* Aug. / Sept. 1934, 3-10 and Aug./ Sept. 1942, 3-10; Arata, *Villa Urquiza*, 193-98; Biblioteca Popular Domingo Faustino Sarmiento to Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, 25 Aug. 1927, <http://apym.hcdn.gob.ar/pdf/expedientes/>529-p-1927.pdf. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. In the first years of the sociedad de fomento its nomenclature is confusing. It went by both Sociedad de Fomento Villa Leandro Alem and Sociedad de Fomento Democracia y Progreso de Villa Leandro Alem. Alem is sometimes spelled Alen. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
43. *Liniers: Boletín de la Asociación de Fomento Santiago de Liniers y Biblioteca Popular Democracia y Progreso*, Oct. 1940: 2-15; Biblioteca Popular Democracia y Progreso, “Solicitud de reconocimiento por parte de la Biblioteca,” 10 Aug. 1915, “Inspección de la Biblioteca,” 17 Aug. 1915, “Estatutos de la Biblioteca,” 1915, [www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo\_historico/](http://www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo_historico/); Boragno, ‘Los talleres ferroviarios,” 55-9;“Juan Guereño,” <http://cremenes.wordpress.com/hijos-ilustres/juan-guereno/>, 29/6/14; Navarro, *Evita*, 48; Gutiérrez and Romero, “La construcción de la ciudanía,”171. [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
44. Biblioteca Popular Democracia y Progreso, “Reglamento de la Biblioteca,” C.1915, [www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo\_historico](http://www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo_historico)/. The website dates this document as 1915 but the name of the sociedad de fomento indicates that it dates from the 1936 merger or after, as does the address. [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
45. *Liniers,* Oct. 1940, 9. [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
46. The sociedad de fomento insisted on Nueva Chicago as the correct name for the barrio instead of Mataderos, a term that was coming into use and is now official. *Acción Comunal*, July 1937, 7-8. [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
47. *Acción Comunal,* Apr. 1937, 9, May 1938, 35, Oct. 1938, 4-5, Mar./Apr. 1939, 4, May 1940, 5; Library of the Instituto Ravignani, Colección Emilio Ravignani. Arv. 31, no. 31, Arv. 32, 31, Arv. No. 40, no. 43 and 46. [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
48. Asociación Biblioteca Popular José E. Rodó to Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, 12 sept. 1938, [http://apym.hcdn.gob.ar/pdf/expedientes/1842\_1\_2-p-1938.pdf](http://apym.hcdn.gob.ar/pdf/expedientes/1842_1_2-9-1938.pdf); Biblioteca popular Domingo Faustino Sarmiento to Cámara de Diputados de la Nación, 25 Aug. 1927, <http://apym.hcdn.gob.ar/pdf/expedientes/529-p-1927.pdf>. In the 1970s and 1980s every afternoon the library of the Unión Ferroviaria was filled with students doing homework with books that they could not buy. [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
49. *Pueyrredón*, Sept. 1934-Jan. 1935, Jan. 1936, 6. [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
50. Biblioteca Obrera, “Informe de inspección de la Biblioteca Obrera, realizado por la Comisión Protectora,” 1 Jan. 1911, “Estadística correspondiente al año 1918,” “Estadística correspondiente al primer trimestre de 1915,” “Estadística correspondiente al cuarto trimestre de 1915,” “Estadística correspondiente al segundo trimestre de 1916,” “Estadística correspondiente al tercer trimestre de 1916,” “Estadística correspondiente al primer trimestre de 1917,” “Estadística correspondiente al segundo trimestre de 1917,” “Estadística correspondiente al cuarto trimestre de 1917,” “Estadística correspondiente al primer trimestre de 1919,” “Estadística correspondiente al segundo trimestre de 1919,” [www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo\_historico](http://www.conabip.gob.ar/archivo_historico)/. [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
51. *Federación*, July 1931, Jan. 1932, May 1933. [↑](#endnote-ref-51)