

Illegitimacy in 19th Century Urban Portugal: A broad approach¹

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Introduction

This article falls within the scope of the *Urban Spaces: Demographic and Social Dynamics in Portugal, 17th-20th centuries* project, which aims to contribute towards a greater understanding of the core demographic characteristics of Portugal's urban populations. It is within this framework that the incidence of out of wedlock births assumes such great importance as a variable in the overall birth rate due to its high prevalence in the 19th century.

Excluding a handful of monographs, anthropological, sociological and even economic in approach, illegitimacy as a demographic variable has broadly been overlooked by demographic history. This remains the case particularly in terms of local or regional monographs gauging the intensity of this indicator and its relationship with other demographic and sociological variables. Given this still applies at the local level, this naturally corresponds to a wide reaching level of ignorance as to the national trends prevailing in the 19th century.

In keeping with the current state of research, we are not yet in a position to measure illegitimacy either at the national level or at the urban level prior to 1886, the date as from which the *Estatísticas Demográficas (Demographic Statistics)* are published. Furthermore, the study of illegitimacy in Portugal comes up against complex conceptual and methodological questions that have deterred researchers. The former certainly derive from the incidence of child abandonment on the *rodas de expostos* (wheels of child abandonment) and the percentage of whom were actually legitimate cannot be quantified with any due accuracy. Furthermore, in the field of social history, we need to discuss the

¹ Research undertaken within the framework of the “Urban environments: demographic and social dynamics (XVII-XX centuries)” project, reference code PTDC/HIS-HIS/099228/2008, co-financed by the program COMPETE – Operational Program for Factors of Competitiveness, funded by FEDER, and by Portugal's state financed Foundation for Science and Technology.

very concept of illegitimacy. Recent studies have demonstrated that in certain regions late access to inheritance triggered a major boom in births out of wedlock. However, the later marriage of the progenitors in various cases led to the subsequent legitimation of the already born children.

However, neither the shortcomings in the empirical data nor the complex conceptual questions around illegitimacy invalidate attempts to encapsulate births out of wedlock in the urban 19th century context. The central objective of this study is to set out a first contribution towards studying illegitimacy in the aforementioned context in Portugal. Hence, we correspondingly aim to provide a research guide to the resources available for researching this theme and the methodological questions posed by their study. Simultaneously, we put forward a survey of the known data on illegitimacy in the urban context both in terms of the few studies done thus far and especially in terms of the primary sources consulted within the framework of this research.

The article is structured into three core sections. Firstly, we detail the state of the art in the literature on this theme. We then move onto discussion of the key primary sources available in parish registers, charts of the numbers abandoned, statistics produced by district governors and, finally, the official statistics on population movements. Finally, we collate and summarise the key results stemming from piecing together the results obtained from urban parish records subject to study along with the data collected at the macro level. Based upon this analysis, we sketch a first outline – even though still very preliminary – about the levels of illegitimacy in some Portuguese cities, and particularly towards the end of the 19th century.

2. The state of the art

Perceptions of the motives underlying the levels of illegitimacy experienced in past societies are susceptible to various interpretations even while their exact numbers remain difficult to ascertain, as their identification in the different sources available is not always clear. This circumstance may aid in explaining the lower level of scientific findings on this theme, especially when compared with analysis of the abandoning of newly born infants. Indeed, the most common approach is to deal with both themes in conjunction,

especially for periods pre-dating the production of statistics on the movements of populations. Furthermore, the different data structuring and composition sometimes prevents any basis for comparison. There are, therefore, various constraints placed on the research seeking to undertake analysis on illegitimacy in Portugal and particularly when referring to study of its incidence within urban contexts. This all comes in addition to the fact that there is also a greater concentration of research on either the 18th century or still earlier periods.

Illegitimacy has above all been subject to study in monographs, with some already representing historical objects in themselves dating to a period when the problematic framework and methodologies were based on other approaches and when the issue of children under the Ancien Régime did not hold such a prominent role in Social History (Sá, 1996). One of the first works which provide data on illegitimacy was undertaken by Maria de Lurdes Akola Neto, who studied the parish of Santa Catarina, Lisbon Council, during the first quarter of the 18th century (Neto, 1959).

As from the 1980s, within the scope of undergraduate or master's degrees, more data on the incidence of abandonment was produced, for example on its occurrence in Santarém, Montemor-o-Novo, Setúbal, Loulé, Oporto, Braga, and Guimarães. It should be noted that these works, distinguishing between illegitimate infants and foundlings in the tables they published, opened up access to important data on this field (Alves, 1986; Pereira, 1986; Amorim, 1987; Araújo, 1992, quoted by Sá, 1996). As regards illegitimacy, there is less known data resulting from a lower level of investment in studies adopting the reconstruction of families as their core methodology. In these terms, there are major inequalities in the level of territorial coverage as in the case of the Minho region and the Azores we may source a relatively complete portrayal in temporal terms, whilst for other regions there is an almost total lack of knowledge of trends in this field (Sá, 1996).

In recent years, there have been a rising number of works directly or indirectly approaching the context of illegitimacy, whether deploying the family reconstruction methodology or studies gathering and analysing aggregated series of events in addition to those making recourse to other types of sources, such as statistics on natural population fluctuations or the reports of civil governors. We would quote for example the study by

Teresa Rodrigues on 19th century Lisbon that shows the scale of illegitimate births based upon the Lisbon district civil governor's report of 1853 (1995: 121-128).

As regards studies within the first category, the reconstruction of families and parish methodology, this approach was primarily adopted by Norberta Amorim and by the Study Centre of Population and Society (University of Minho). There are also a significant number of monographs even though in the majority of cases our theme was not the key purpose of research, which was instead designed to analyse fecundity².

However, this is certainly not the case with the research undertaken by Amaro das Neves focusing on the reconstruction of the parishes making up Guimarães Council through parish records but also making recourse to other ecclesiastic data sources, both registration and fiscal records. This results in the building up of a data base containing around 16,000 baptism parish records and 9,000 deaths parish records (2001). Its defining objective was the study of the issue of illegitimacy "as a manifestation of non-conjugal sexuality in a rural, inland Minho community" (Neves, 2001: 15). The author concluded that the Lower Minho region represented a regime characterised by its differentiation when compared with standard behaviours across Europe under the Ancien Régime. In this region, the volume of illegitimate baptisms is very high when compared with the results of European demographic studies "in which as a rule the rate was calculated as below 10 illegitimates in every thousand children born, the average rate found for the North of Guimarães through the period made up of the last decades of the 16th century to the late 18th century exceeds the total of 150 illegitimates in every thousand children baptized" (Neves, 2001: 204). These results also enable the author to conclude in favour of evidence demonstrating that in the Minho region there were relationships outside of marriage despite the normative weight of the Catholic Church. Furthermore, this incidence of illegitimacy was still higher in villages than in urban agglomerations (Neves, 2001: 14)³.

Within the same methodological scope, there is the reconstruction of parishes through recourse to other sources (*róis de confessados* (church confessant lists), civil statistics,

² This is, for example, the case with the research projects carried out by Maria Glória Solé (2001) or by Teodoro da Fonte (2004). We would highlight the study undertaken by Norberta Amorim (1987) and the syntheses since produced by this author (1997, 1999, 2004).

³ See also the summary on illegitimacy in the Minho by the same author (Neves, 1998).

examples of population surveys, registration and judicial sources) is the study carried out by Paulo Teodoro de Matos (2007) analysing the incidence of out of wedlock births in the parish of Ribeira Seca, on the island of São Jorge (the Azores), between 1800 and 1910. Studying a set of 2,988 families enabled the verification of high levels of illegitimacy prevailing in the parish, with an average of 20% maintained throughout the 19th century⁴.

Teresa Rodrigues, based upon a report sent by the civil governor in 1853, sketches the framework for illegitimacy in Lisbon. This is one of the few studies on the incidence of this issue within the urban domain in the 19th century. Given Lisbon's status as capital of the kingdom and the largest city in the country, it clearly represents an essential point of reference for knowledge on this phenomenon in Portugal and particularly within urban contexts. We would nevertheless mention that the country at this phase had relatively low rates of urbanisation and an imbalanced urban system within Lisbon standing out along with, but significantly further back, Oporto. There were very few medium-sized cities even while a reasonable percentage of Portuguese citizens did reside in centres classified as urban. Thus, the reality of Lisbon or Oporto is simply not comparable with the other agglomerations displaying urban characteristics. However, and due to this same context, it is particularly worth ascertaining the levels of illegitimacy registered in such environments. The author states that, in global terms, the eastern stretch of the city and the more lower class neighbourhoods (including the Alfama, and S. Cristovão and Socorro in Mouraria) reported the highest levels of illegitimacy. These rates dropped as the neighbourhoods grew wealthier towards the centre and in the semi-rural parishes to the North and West (Rodrigues, 1995:124-126). We should refer also that the percentage of illegitimate births was also influenced by the representativeness of slaves in the different parishes (Rodrigues, 1997: 97). Their incidence is characterised by high levels of illegitimacy and a factor also reflected in Oporto (Cedofeita parish), in the mid-19th century (Sá, 1996:40), or in Guimarães, in the 1720s and between 1810-1819 (Amorim, 1987: 231-272).

⁴ "Between 1800 and 1910, over 1,700 children were born outside marriage corresponding to an average illegitimacy percentage in the vicinity of 18%, but which in certain years exceeded 30%. The observation is thus, quite representatively, taking into consideration this is not only over a long period of duration but also the actual scale of a parish that was home to in excess of 750 residences in the last quarter of the 19th century" (Matos, 2007: 495).

Contrary to the case in rural communities, the study of illegitimacy in 19th century urban centres remains at a relatively incipient phase due to the difficulties assumed in studying urban populations, larger in dimension, more susceptible to mobility and where there is a greater concentration of institutions taking charge of abandoned infants. Indeed, this is the issue, as already raised, that has already characterised a large number of studies, therefore, jointly studying foundlings and illegitimate children. However, for some authors, and especially as from the mid-18th century, the automatic equivalence between abandoned and illegitimate becomes ever less apparent and to the extent that the numbers of abandoned legitimate children in many cases exceeds the illegitimate. This may derive from the prevailing economic conjuncture that poses particular difficulties to some sections and groups of society (Sá, 1996: 39-43). The relationship between abandonment and illegitimacy is therefore a line that necessarily needs developing. According to Teresa Rodrigues (2004: 117), it would seem that the records for the district of Lisbon are influenced by the role played by Lisbon as a point of collection for abandoned children. This is reflected in the illegitimacy records containing abandoned children, some of whom were from far distant zones.

The studies carried out on the 18th century, and especially on rural zones, show the existence of some diversity as regards the geographic distribution of the incidence of illegitimacy (Neves, 1998: 150-154; Sá, 2011: 89-90). To the south of the River Tagus, low percentages of illegitimacy, and more in line with what studies return for the general trend across Europe, prevail. In the North, we may differentiate between regions on the coast (Oporto and Aveiro), or in the Northeast (Bragança, Vila Real) that return lower percentage rates when compared with the regions of Viana do Castelo and Braga (values above 10%). For the Centre region, the data records remain extremely scarce. In the second half of the 19th century, the panorama does not greatly differ with the North/South dichotomy remaining, with higher values in the North and relatively low levels in the Centre and South but also with some diversity as regards the respective values (Rodrigues, 2004:117)

3. Sources and methods

Specialists on illegitimacy have a wide range of sources at their disposal for measuring its incidence in 19th century Portugal. From a micro-analytical perspective, the most extensive documental corpus corresponds to parish baptism records generally held by Portuguese district archives and available for the broad majority of Portuguese parishes.

According to the stipulations in effect in many diocese *Constitutions*, registration as to whether newly born infants were of "legitimate" or "illegitimate" descent was compulsory for baptism records and also included on the death records of minors. The records also detail the "abandoned" or "the foundlings" occurring within parish boundaries and generally in the immediacy of the church or its neighbouring buildings.

One first – and potentially unavoidable – methodological question derives from the impossibility of ascertaining the parentage of abandoned infants. The literature broadly maintains that the large majority of such children were of illegitimate birth, however, it is effectively impossible to measure the level of incidence. The aforementioned perspective is furthermore reinforced by the very discourse of the Portuguese state that commonly assumed that such infants were of illegitimate birth. As an example, we may refer to the statistical reporting on the population movements of the mid-1840s, which includes the existence of a field "Illegitimate or abandoned" within the scope of which the authorities clearly assume that those abandoned are of illegitimate descent. Furthermore, this assumption is also found in the outputs of civil governors on various different occasions. For example, in his 1866 report, the governor of Viana do Castelo refers that "the 5,560 births extend to include the 488 illegitimate gathered as foundlings"⁵.

Analysis of the literature finds that there is consensus that a significant proportion of foundlings were actually of illegitimate origin. Amaro das Neves, in an important study dedicated to out of wedlock births in Guimarães, relates the rapid fall in illegitimacy to the institutionalisation of the orphanage, which would take in such births. Given this context, "we are left unable to analyse the extent of illegitimacy with any thoroughness as we do not know what is the proportion of illegitimate children existing among the foundlings" (Amaro, 2001: 164). For such reason, the author concludes that "as from the late 18th century, and throughout the prevalence of interference by the phenomenon of

⁵ National Archive (ANTT) *Relatório do Governo Civil de Viana do Castelo no anno de 1866, Ministério do Reino*, bundle 3144.

child abandonment, the study of the different demographic variables becomes fairly problematic, especially those taking into account the levels of fecundity, both legitimate and illegitimate (Amaro, 2001: 164-165).

The study of illegitimacy in the Portugal of the 19th century necessarily has to take into consideration the number of illegitimate children whether registered by parishes or by the quantitative statistics on the numbers collected through the national system of orphanage foundling wheels. In effect, in accordance with the trend across Southern Europe, foundling wheels spread rapidly across Portugal during the second half of the 18th century. Beyond the role played by the *misericórdia* (particularly in Lisbon and Oporto) state charitable institutions, municipalities played an increasing role in expanding the foundling wheel network in direct response to the growing levels of infant abandonment. This network was consolidated by the Intendant-General of the Police, Pina Manique, who issued a decree on 10.05.1783 stipulating that all towns and cities in the Kingdom were to be equipped with foundling wheels (MATOS: 1995, 9-12; SÁ, 1995: 90-92).

Through to the 1870s, when the foundling wheels are abolished and a system granting a stipend to single mothers, Portugal records very significant levels of foundlings, the great majority of illegitimate origin. The high incidence of abandoned infants was especially experienced in urban environments and invariably led to a reduction in the rates of illegitimacy in rural surroundings. Hence, measuring rates of out of wedlock births in urban contexts should take into account a strong absorption effect of children originally born elsewhere.

Surveying the numbers of abandoned infants may be carried out through the "foundling record books" or the "terms of delivery" register in effect for each foundling wheel or charity and in order to both enable the identification of the children and their route through life and to record wet nurse payments. In various cases, however, parishes hosting foundling wheels maintained only the baptism records of abandoned infants. This happened as, not knowing whether such had already been done and to avoid any doubt, foundlings were usually subject to immediate baptism. Hence, the study of illegitimacy based on these nominative sources – the baptism records and the "abandoned child terms of assent" should be carried out in conjunction in order to avoid accounting for some children twice.

The nominative sources existing are certainly more reliable for studying illegitimacy even though the extent of surviving documentation frequently proves disappointing and insufficient for generating an overall perspective on illegitimacy in national terms. Therefore, a broader perspective should take into consideration other types of official information, such as the records detailing the movements of foundlings and other population statistics. In the first case, we consider the foundling maps that the *misericórdia* charities and municipalities had to produce to account for the budgetary allocations attributed to run the orphanage. Despite oscillations in the information structuring the reporting, they tended to include the following:

Existing	Entrants	Deaths	Delivered			Expenditure
			Parents	Others	Royal Magistrate	

The statistical charts on foundling movements may be found in both the *misericórdia* and municipal archival records as well as the National Archive's Ministry of the Kingdom section. In effect, the bureaucratisation of the state within the framework of the Liberalism period and the systematic official discussion and debate around foundlings and orphanages ensured the authorities required the *misericórdia* and municipal authorities report abundant levels of information.

The Ministry of the Kingdom archive contains a varied range of administration related information on the foundlings housed at diverse Portuguese institutions. Among the documentary sub-groups held by the archive are, and for example, the "Diverse businesses of the Kingdom's *misericórdias*"⁶, with an abundance of information for the 1820s.

With the definitive advent of Liberalism in 1834 and the subsequent founding of administrative districts in 1835, the Portuguese state began demanding district governors organise records and general statistical reporting on their district. Council administrators were attributed responsibility for annually despatching details on the state of their populations and their respective fluctuations (births, weddings and deaths) (Silveira:

⁶ National Archive (ANTT), *Ministério do Reino*, bundle 431.

2001, vol. I, 64; Matos: 2004, 28-29). Among the various state decrees and diplomas published, we would highlight the circular dated 20.10.1835 stipulating all civil governors should annually deliver monthly charts of population changes and specifying legitimate and illegitimate births, deaths and marriages, among other demographic information requested⁷. Despite the majority of such information having been produced and surviving over the intervening period of time, civil governors rarely discriminated between legitimate and illegitimate births, which once again hinders any systematic survey of this variable.⁸

For the study of births out of wedlock (both the incidence of illegitimate births as well as the broader foundling group) reference to the *Relatórios dos Governadores Civis* (Civil Governors Reports) published as from the late 1830s is fundamental. These reports, which steadily improve in depth and breadth over the subsequent decades, incorporate statistical annexes detailing the fluctuations in numbers of foundlings and the general population in addition to a chapter given over to analysis of the information submitted within the scope of which governors make various comments as regards the levels and administration of foundlings⁹.

Our knowledge on population movements, especially through to the 1880s, lacks sequential and comparable data, and hence parish records remain the leading source of information on the prevailing characteristics of birth, marriage, mortality and migratory movement rates. Hence, the 1875 publication of the *Anuário Estatístico do Reino de Portugal* (Statistical Annuary of the Kingdom of Portugal) represents an important step forward as regards our knowledge on population movements. This first volume gathers data on the different sectors of Portuguese society (education, welfare institutions, trade, mines...) as well as on the population in general. However, the second volume only came to be published in 1886, based upon 1884 data and followed by editions in 1885, 1896, 1892, 1900, 1903, 1904-05. The information provided on population movements varies

⁷ *Diário de Governo*, no. 248 (21.10.1835), pp. 1019-1020.

⁸ Analysis of the statistical population data held by the National Archive reports illegitimate birth calculations tending to peak in the districts of Angra do Heroísmo (the Azores), Funchal (Madeira) and Lisbon after 1850.

⁹ Among the various printed reports and manuscripts (preserved by the National Archive, *Ministério do Reino*), there are some notable collections including the *Relatórios sobre o Estado da Administração Pública nos Districtos Administrativos do Continente e Ilhas Adjacentes em 1858*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional.

over the course of this period, especially in terms of the territorial units serving to structure the data provided and both broken down by councils, only some individualised councils, or by districts.

In 1885, another publication on population movements is issued, *Movimento da população – estado civil e emigração (Population movements – civil status and emigration)*, with volumes published for 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891-93, 1894-96, 1901 and 1901-1910, with our focus here only on the respective period of analysis. Here, the data are based upon parish records and, as regards the information published through to 1890, structured by council and including information on births (legitimate, illegitimate, by month, gender), weddings (civil status, months), deaths (months, causes, gender, age and for Lisbon and Oporto mortality by disease, gender and age) and emigration (place of residence, gender and destination). In 1891-93, the format changes and only providing event averages by district with this approach retained in 1894-96. The 1901 volume only collects data on emigration due to the fact the organism responsible for collecting the data changed (from the General Directorate of Statistics and the National Properties to the Inspection of Sanitation Services), and remaining a separate volume throughout the following years. Between 1901 and 1910, births, marriages and deaths are broken down by districts, which further hinders any comparison with the aforementioned data sources.

4. Discussion of data

Micro-demography

This consideration of urban illegitimacy in Portugal throughout the 19th century serves as an approach complementing the macro-demographic indicators and results from the initial study of a total of 35,624 parish baptism records and a total of 19,302 parish weddings records located in the North of Portugal and the archipelago of the Azores.

- Guimarães (Oliveira, São Paio and São Sebastião): 10,947 baptisms and 5,742 weddings.
- Maia (São Miguel de Barreiros): 674 baptisms and 354 weddings.
- Fafe (Santa Eulália): 3,358 baptisms and 1,761 weddings.

- The Azores (Angra, Conceição-Horta, Matriz-Horta, Lajes-Pico, São Roque-Pico and Madalena): 20,644 baptisms and 10,828 weddings.

There is a broad consensus that the levels of illegitimacy were low during the Europe's Ancien Demographic Régime, with rates oscillating between 1 per cent and 4 per cent (Shorter 1975; Flandrin 1977; Flinn 1989), with well known exceptions such as Northern Scotland and Germany, for example (Flinn 1989).

For the century under observation, we may assume that significant social transformations took place coinciding with a sharp increase in the rate of illegitimacy and which generally extended from the mid-18th century to the mid-19th century.

Various explanations seem to underlie the surge in the number of children born out of wedlock and including, for example, the greater secularisation of society, the inclusion of these transformations within the framework of the demographic transition and the rising trend towards a decrease in the number of weddings and legitimate children and, an aspect that we focus on here, the swift growth of cities driving a hitherto unparalleled rise in the weighting of the urban population as regards the total national population.

Studies on other European contexts report differences in levels of rural and urban illegitimacy: regions where illegitimacy in rural regions is low would seem to display a tendency for high levels in urban environments while in regions where rural illegitimacy is high, the trend favours low levels in the urban surroundings (Knodel and Hochstadt, 1980).

We should take into account the landmark position taken by Laslett (1980a) and Laslett and Oosterveen (1973) on the existence of a "sub-society with a propensity towards procreating bastards" and reflected in a group of women who repeatedly bear children out of wedlock. Nevertheless, to fully understand bonds of affiliation in urban behaviours one needs to accept the crucial importance of women arriving in from rural communities primarily in such cases to perform roles associated with domestic service, serving as maids and similar. These women, settled in cities and, displaced from their families, are very often the bearers of out of wedlock pregnancies (cf. Livi-Bacci, 1971: 73).

Urban environments do seem to return a very strict relationship between migration and illegitimacy and, on a broader scale, migration and fertility rates given that such migrants

not only have the greatest number of average children but also tend to marry at a later age (Maia, 2003: 181-270). Such a scenario is not radically different to that characterising rural environments if we incorporate how migrants in urban environments, as happens to day-labourers, for example, in rural environments, by definition represent an economically more disadvantaged group. Hence, we face here a scenario far more closely resembling that O'Neill (1984) portrayed for peasants.

The city, by its very framework of reference, is not in itself sufficient in terms of its labour force and hence impacts in demographic terms. As spaces for opportunities, profound relationships are established with third party and distinct economic means of production which, in turn, are physical in scope but, we would say, above all, human in nature. Those arriving from other places retain important bonds with their places of origin and the people who remain there and especially family members even while varying in number and whom often depended on the city-dweller for part of the sustenance they obtained. Thus, relationships between people in different spaces are nurtured and hence we may perceive how those settling in cities tend not to marry as they are not only not in a financial position to do so but also because those they hold ties which tend to absorb a percentage of the earnings of their labour.

What figures 1 and 2 show, and seeming to corroborate the trend for different behaviours taking place between rural and urban environments. It is in the latter circumstance that illegitimacy takes on more expressive levels than those encountered in rural environments for the period under question in accordance with the two examples presented for comparison (cf. Brettell, 1991: 234 in reference to the trend expressed in rural line 1 and Solé 2001: 189 in reference to the trend expressed in rural line 2).

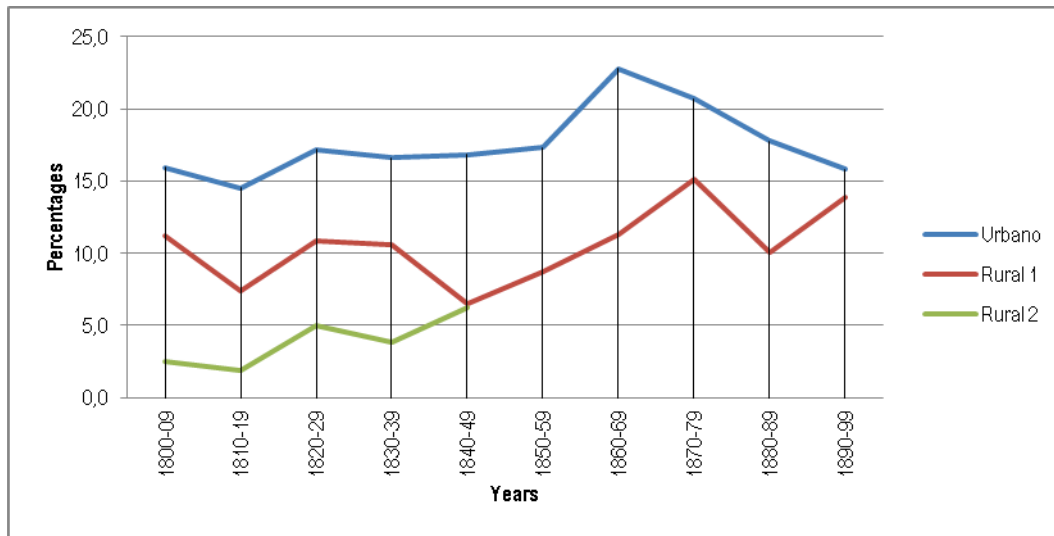


Fig. 1. Percentile evolution in illegitimate births in urban and rural settings in the 19th century – by decade

The scale of the number of births taking place out of wedlock only occasionally falls below 15 per cent prior to 1820 and attains almost 25 per cent in the mid-1860s. These values are considerable when indexed to the role played by fecundity in the sustained rise in the Portuguese population throughout the course of the 19th century.

We should however highlight that regional variations in illegitimacy related phenomena may prove significant and as demonstrated by the results built up over the years. While it is true, for example, that the levels in urban environments are broadly comparable with those in rural surroundings (cf. Amorim, 1987; Brettell, 1991), this does not remain the case when, taking another example, considering the incidence of illegitimacy in a community bordering the city of Oporto (Maia, 1996: 75-85). Indeed, in such cases, there clearly seems to be an inherent interrelationship between illegitimacy and the abandoning of infants. Focusing on the city of Oporto as our case study, we find that the percentage of illegitimate births began to approximate those found in other urban surroundings before the number of foundlings began to decline between 1840-1849. Thus far, the level of illegitimacy had never reached the 8 per cent mark as happened between 1850-1859 and certainly not the 15 per cent registered in the following decade. This final figure is most certainly associated with the closure of Oporto's Casa da Roda orphanage in 1864 and thus revealing that hitherto many of the illegitimate children of this parish had been abandoned in the city's institutionalised orphanage structures.

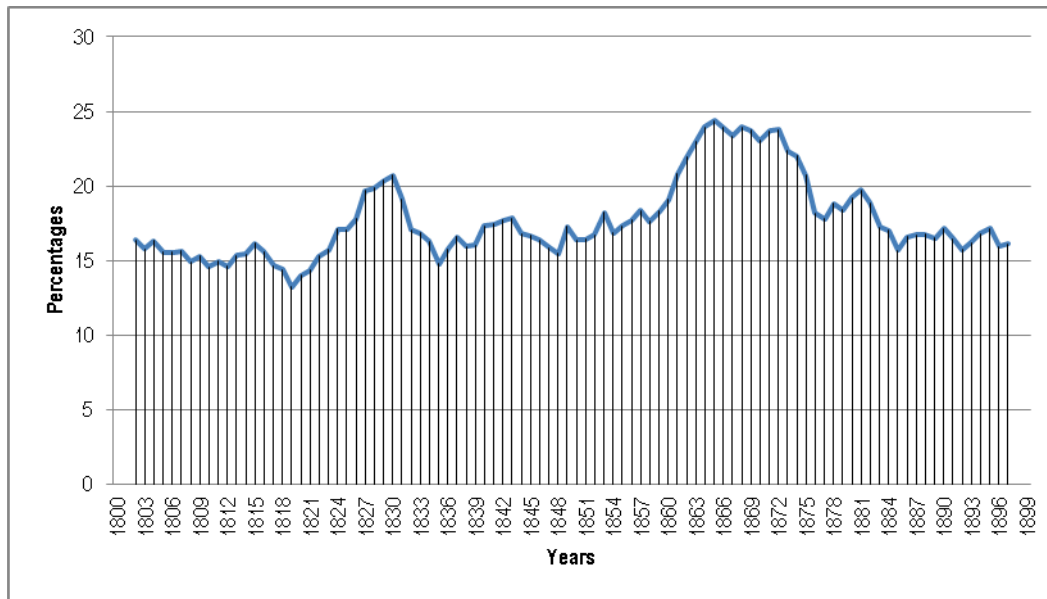


Fig. 2. Percentile evolution in illegitimate births in urban settings in the 19th century – moving five-year measurements

The rate of illegitimacy always remains below levels reflecting the number of women pregnant prior to wedding, a sign of the regulating role matrimony assumes, and with the 19th century consistent with previous periods, even in urban environment as regards procreation. A significant percentage of weddings, ranging between 19.9 per cent and 42.3 per cent, are preceded by pregnancy.

At the same time, there is a clear trend for correspondence between a higher weighting of children born out of wedlock and higher average ages for a woman's first marriage as may generically be perceived from comparing the first two and the last two of the spaces under observation.

However, taking them jointly into consideration, we find that illegitimacy rises throughout the second half of the 19th century and this may in good part be due to the closure of orphanages and the considerable increase in male emigration, particularly to Brazil, and impacting on the percentages remaining celibate in both genders (Livi-Bacci 1971: 72).

The proto-statistic period (1800-1885)

The data existing on out of wedlock births in the urban context remain scarce, dispersed with poor levels of organisation and standardisation. In this section, we firstly propose a

generic table on illegitimacy levels with the core objective of getting a grasp on the extent of this phenomenon across the different cities and communities in Portugal. In this analysis, we essentially begin by approaching the out of wedlock variable before then studying the numbers of foundlings in the country as from the mid-19th century. However, in certain cases, such as the cities of Angra do Heroísmo and Ponta Delgada (the Azores) and the city of Lisbon, we aim to convey a more detailed point of view and combining some of the data on illegitimacy and abandonment. We then move our focus onto the period subsequent to 1886. As from this year, the *Estatísticas Demográficas* (henceforth Demographic Statistics) and the *Anuários Estatísticos de Portugal* (henceforth Statistical Annularies of Portugal), both national in scope, provide for a more thorough understanding of the incidence of this variable both due to the enhanced reliability of the information and to the abolition of the foundling wheels, which had distorted analysis on this situation through to the mid-1870s.

There is national recognition of the data produced by Miguel Franzini and Adrien Balbi between 1815 and 1826 with different works on population statistics in accordance with the census lists drawn up by parishes throughout the entire kingdom (Franzini 1826; Balbi 1822). Franzini puts forward a total for all the "illegitimate births" taking place in Portugal between 1815 and 1819 (table 1) even though he refers to the figure as made up of the foundlings in his observations on this field. Similarly, Adrien Balbi, after analysing 24 Portuguese *comarcas* (district courts) between 1815 and 1819, he details the "*enfants trouvés*", although failing to stipulate whether these figures also refer to illegitimate births¹⁰. This correspondingly means that the data presented may refer either to the foundlings or potentially the sum of both the illegitimate and the abandoned in keeping with the frequent confusion between both in this chronology.

Table 1 - Percentage of "illegitimates" in Portugal and in the cities of Lisbon and Oporto (1815-1819)

Portugal	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819
Legitimate births	104250	104490	103880	99520	98045
Illegitimate Births	10835	11490	11260	10790	11005
TOTAL	115085	115980	115140	110310	109050

¹⁰ As inferred in the paragraph "Rapport des naissances légitimes aux naissances illégitimes" within the scope of which the author analyses the data (Balbi 1822, 215)

% Illegitimacy	9.4	9.9	9.8	9.8	10.1
City of Lisbon					
Legitimate births	5738	5373	5545	5230	5310
Illegitimate births	2095	2022	2024	2095	2050
TOTAL	7833	7395	7569	7325	7360
% Illegitimacy	26.7	27.3	26.7	28.6	27.9
City of Oporto					
Legitimate births	1626	1679	1707	1715	1756
Illegitimate births	1863	1801	1863	1633	1847
TOTAL	3489	3480	3570	3348	3603
% Illegitimacy	53.4	51.8	52.2	48.8	51.3

Source: Franzini 1826, 9-10.

According to Franzini, the average percentage of illegitimacy stood at around 9.8% between 1815 and 1819 although this would be clearly higher should these figures not incorporate the full range of illegitimate infants. Irrespective of data quality, we should highlight the significant difference in the situation portrayed for the kingdom's two leading cities, Lisbon and Oporto. In the former, "illegitimacy" peaked at around 27%, whilst in Oporto this soared to form a majority of total births (c. 51%). According to the report's author, the great disproportion verified between the cities "derives from the sheer numbers of abandoned infants from Minho province, indeed populous, and which send them off to the respective capital" (Franzini, 1826, 11). These results show how significantly the rates were very much affected by the factor of concentrating abandoned infants on the foundling wheels from across the rural hinterland serving the city. The examples that follow, relative to the cities of Angra do Heroísmo, Ponta Delgada (the Azores) and Funchal (Madeira), ensure the clarification of this point.

By chronological order (1815-1819) and based on the same data, Adrien Balbi sets out the information broken down to the level of 24 of Portugal's *comarcas* (district courts).

Table 2 - Percentage of illegitimacy in 24 Portuguese *comarcas*, 1815-1819

District courts	Births	"Illegitimate"	Total	Illeg. %
Alcobaça	3294	33	3327	1.0
Alenquer	7921	374	8295	4.5
Aveiro	14848	299	15147	2.0
Aviz	5198	287	5485	5.2
Barcelos	19993	1614	21607	7.5
Beja	11312	814	12126	6.7
Braga	7856	1249	9105	13.7
Bragança	13884	1039	14923	7.0

Castelo Branco	12548	544	13092	4.2
Crato	5679	157	5836	2.7
Faro	8462	818	9280	8.8
Feira	12716	995	13711	7.3
Guimarães	20599	2174	22773	9.5
Lagos	5940	491	6431	7.6
Lamego	16865	2186	19051	11.5
Lisbon, city	26835	10388	37223	27.9
Lisbon, surroundings	8634	41	8675	0.5
Ourém	3454	52	3506	1.5
Ourique	9658	504	10162	5.0
Portalegre	6429	560	6989	8.0
Ribatejo	2700	125	2825	4.4
Santarém	14361	540	14901	3.6
Tavira	7484	707	8191	8.6
Torres Vedras	8875	302	9177	3.3
Vila-Real	15600	2597	18197	14.3
24 district courts	271145	28890	300035	9.6

What this sample of around 52% of the total births in Portugal tells us is that there tends to be higher level of illegitimacy in the North of Portugal, particularly rising in Braga, Lamego, Vila Real and certainly in Oporto. However, in the South of Portugal, especially the Algarve, the values recorded by the Tavira and Faro *comarcas* stand out alongside Portalegre, located inland in the Alentejo region. The cities of Lisbon and Oporto belong in a different category and are clearly dissonant to the national averages given they oscillate around 27% in Lisbon and 53% in Oporto.

In a more circumspect approach to some of these cities, we take as our example Angra do Heroísmo at the beginning of the 19th century. With a total population of around 10,000 permanent residents between 1820 and 1830, the city was made up of four urban parishes. Breaking down the births in the city, we find 74% are legitimate, 3% illegitimate and 22% foundlings¹¹. However, were we to take the parish of Sé solely into account, and in keeping with the consequences of the foundling wheel located there, we gain the following statistical make up: 37.4% legitimate, 1.9% illegitimate and 60.8% foundlings. The composition of this last group (between legitimate and illegitimate)

¹¹ National Archive (ANTT), *Ministério do Reino*, bundle 260 ("Mappa das quatro freguezias desta Cidade de Angra").

remains to be ascertained alongside the percentages deriving exclusively from the urban environment.

Continuing in the city of Angra and based upon the statistical reporting submitted by the civil governors between 1837 and 1872, we find that the city took in almost the totality of illegitimate births (and which certainly included all foundlings). Analysis of illegitimate births finds that such were almost exclusively concentrated in urban parishes, the reason for which the percentage of illegitimacy in the city was over double that verified in the municipality as a whole. This reality was similar to the city of Ponta Delgada, the largest Azorean settlement and one of the largest in Portugal of that time (table 4)

Table 3 – Illegitimate percentages in the city and council of Angra (1837-1881)

	City of Angra	Council of Angra
1837	33.4	20.2
1841	42.1	21.0
1872	46.0	22.0
1881	25.6	10.0

Table 4 - Percentage of illegitimates in the city and council of Ponta Delgada (1839 and 1881)

	City of Ponta Delgada	Council of Ponta Delgada
1839	27.3	15.0
1881	13.4	6.6

On the national scale, the city of Lisbon takes the leading position and would have been home to around 170,000 inhabitants around halfway through the 19th century (Rodrigues, 1995, 124). According to the data proposed by Teresa Rodrigues (1995, 120-121), the illegitimacy rate remained stable throughout the first half of the century at around 26% before rising to around 35% by its end.

Table 5 – Birth rate in the council and city of Lisbon, 1815-1896

	Total	Legitimate	Illegitimate	%
1815	7833	5738	2095	26.7
1816	7395	5373	2022	27.3
1817	7569	5545	2024	26.7
1818	6325	4230	2095	33.1
1819	7360	5310	2050	27.9
1887	7365	4900	2465	33.5

1888	7317	4973	2344	32.0
1889	7888	5331	2557	32.4
1890	8149	5549	2600	31.9
1891	8530	5813	2717	31.9
1892	8792	6036	2756	31.3
1893	7942	5428	2514	31.7
1894	8350	5636	2714	32.5
1895	8740	5838	2902	33.2
1896	9117	5868	3249	35.6

However, as the author duly notes, these figures include foundlings originally from other parts of the Kingdom. Taking into account the data on the illegitimacy records at the parish level, the illegitimates were estimated to represent around a fifth of the total numbers of infants baptised (Rodrigues 1995, 121). Taking the 1850 district population statistical chart as the point of reference, the conclusion reached was that of the 3,986 baptisms occurring that year, 439, thus 11%, were illegitimate¹². Hence, we may posit that on average, the number of foundlings recorded in the capital was around double the total of illegitimate baptisms.

The overall data position for Portugal as regards the incidence of abandonment remains fairly fragmentary for any attempt to make across the board comments about the phenomenon. Despite the existence of plenty of manuscript and printed report information, such as the *Civil Governor Reports*, it remains very difficult to quantify and chronologically analyse either the numbers of foundlings in overall terms or their distribution across urban and rural communities. We do, however, gain an idea as to the number of foundlings abandoned in 1850 by district of both mainland and archipelago Portugal. In this year, and excluding Coimbra district, around 14,000 infants would have been left on the foundling wheels, which corresponds to approximately 12% of births nationwide in 1850.

¹² National Archive (ANTT), *Ministry of the Kingdom*, bundle 3373 ("Mappa demonstrativo do movimento da população em o anno de 1850...")

Table 6 – Foundling movements in Portugal by district, 1850¹³

Districts	Existing on 30.06.1850	Entrances	Handed over to parents or other persons	Births 1850	%Entrances/births
Beja	511	394	64	4765	8.3
Evora	648	443	77	3549	12.5
Portalegre	661	408	95	3270	12.5
Faro	936	531	202	6521	8.1
Aveiro	819	584	485	6936	8.4
Castelo Branco	710	368	135	5104	7.2
Coimbra	-	-	-	6807	
Guarda	1373	585	309	7643	7.7
Viseu	2197	1278	331	9234	13.8
Leiria	688	220	64	4476	4.9
Lisbon	9547	2828	175	11423	24.8
Santarém	961	461	80	5892	7.8
Braga	2335	790	246	8856	8.9
Oporto	2872	2081	695	11924	17.5
Viana do Castelo	1161	448	155	5128	8.7
Bragança	596	453	139	4136	11.0
Vila Real	1727	1139	398	6153	18.5
Angra	b)	236	-	2006	11.8
Funchal	955	220	88	3635	6.1
Horta	507	257	89	2009	12.8
Ponta Delgada	b)	423	-	4311	9.8
TOTAL	29204	14147	3827	123778	12.0

While clearly not all foundlings were illegitimate, we may suppose that a significant percentage of these 14,000 children were born outside of wedlock. To this number, we also need to add the illegitimate births recorded in parishes and would certainly push the level of illegitimacy up to around 20%.

Analysis by district again emphasises the capital, Lisbon (25%) and Oporto (18%) – which together account for 35% of all foundlings – but also Vila Real (19) and Viseu (14), and in the opposite direction Funchal (6%) Castelo Branco (7%), Guarda (8%) and Santarém (8%).

¹³ National Archive (ANTT), *Ministry of the Kingdom*, bundle 3380, «*Statística da existencia and movimento dos Expostos nas rodas dos districtos do continente do Reino and Ilhas adjacentes Ano de 1850-1851*».

Table 7 – Foundling numbers for the cities of Lisbon and Oporto (1840-1847)¹⁴

Years	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847
Lisbon	1961	2028	2020	2237	2235	2319	2524	2334
Oporto	1432	1335	889	948	1208	1047	1197	1284

Taking the main cities - Lisbon and Oporto – as our framework, we find that their foundling wheels attracted the large majority of infants recorded as abandoned in their respective districts. Accepting an average number of 2,200 abandoned infants in 1850 Lisbon, we correspondingly find around 78% of the district's abandoned were institutionalised in the capital. In the city of Oporto, with an average of 1,168 foundlings, this corresponds to 56% of foundlings at the district level.

The modern statistical period

Based upon the *Demographic Statistics* existing after 1886, we may provide a first approach to the overall levels of illegitimacy and the urban reality prevailing. However, these data still contain some shortcomings. Firstly, we do not have information for cities but only for the broader territorial units, the councils and districts. Only after 1901 did the *Demographic Statistics* distinguish between *Lisboa cidade* and *Porto cidade* from their respective broader council borders. Furthermore, the very concept of “city” is complex, having experienced various formulations beyond the multiplicity of points of view and criteria applied for their definition (whether administrative, juridical or statistical) and all combining to result in the defining of uneven and disparate urban definitions.

Without getting into deep discussion about the problematic definition of urban contexts, based on the data we have available for the period after 1886, we still need to ascertain the level of illegitimacy so as provide an overview of its incidence as the 19th century closed.

Collating the information available from the Annularies and the Demographic Statistics, it does prove possible to build up a continuous, if short, series for the numbers of illegitimate births (see appendix), by council. One facet that immediately stands out is the existence of higher percentages of illegitimate births in the North (see also Table 8). If we consider, in conjunction with Amaro das Neves (1998: 154), that rates above 10% configure a high illegitimacy

¹⁴ Oporto (Sá, 1996, 52-53), Lisbon - "Mappa dos Expostos entrados and fallecidos..." in *Almanak Popular*, 1850.

frequency regime and considering those districts where either a half or over a half of the councils meet this criteria for the years under consideration, we find the districts of Braga, Bragança, Oporto, Viana do Castelo, Vila Real, Viseu and Angra do Heroísmo all fall under the high frequency regime.

There is therefore a corresponding continuity rendered to the 18th and 19th centuries as regards the distribution of illegitimacy across Portugal. As regards the other districts, we have situations with very low incidences, as is the case with Beja (with the exception of Odemira where values break the 20% mark and clearly standing out within the context of this district) and Castelo Branco, or with mean intensity, such as Guarda or Faro, for example, which record their highest level in 1886, but which subsequently experience a declining trend in illegitimacy. Of particular note are the districts of Bragança, Viana do Castelo and Viseu where between 90% and 100% of councils return levels of illegitimate births equal to or greater than 10%.

Table 8 – Illegitimacy percentages by districts (1886-1904)

Districts	1886	1887	1889	1896	1901	1902	1903	1904
Aveiro	10.51	10.26	9.55	10.4	10.53	9.32	10.02	8.63
Beja	11.42	10.07	9.24	10.37	10.45	9.56	10.37	9.72
Braga	13.1	10.78	11.97	9.55	10.66	10.5	9.9	10.99
Bragança	20.9	15.95	20.12	20.69	21.44	19.4	17	16.81
Castelo Branco	5.8	4.88	4.59	3.98	4.15	4.14	3.37	3.9
Coimbra	9.7	10.05	9.12	8.9	8.05	9.63	8.76	7.75
Évora	13.1	12.56	12.38	11.12	12.48	13.22	13.51	12.58
Faro	8.8	7.95	7.7	9.25	8.59	9.29	8.72	8.27
Guarda	9.1	24.49	9.03	6.58	6.63	7.43	5.2	7.09
Leiria	6.8	5.47	5.69	6.29	6.36	6.4	5.33	5.7
Lisbon	7.7	20.02	19.41	23.48	22.47	22.89	22.8	23.24
Portalegre	8.3	9.41	8.52	7.1	7.37	7.73	70.5	7.13
Porto	14.57	14.13	14.21	17.17	14.15	13.2	12.91	12.56
Santarém	6.78	6.71	7.23	6.47	6.27	6.52	6.72	6.44
Viana do Castelo	14.55	16.5	16.18	13.75	16.09	14.31	14.82	14.55
Vila Real	19.6	20.68	21.07	27.56	23.96	18.53	18.3	17.59
Viseu	18.52	17.65	17.74	17.46	14.02	15.59	15.02	15.44
Angra do Heroísmo	11.2	10.75	10.04	8.24	6.64	6.77	4.45	5.23
Horta	11.18	10.8	8.61	7.97	7.05	8.32	4.92	7.02
Ponta Delgada	4.96	2.89	2.27	3.2	2.48	2.48	2.26	2.04
Funchal	5.57	5.12	4.58	3.41	3.72	2.11	2.06	1.52
Portugal	14.3	13.02	12.15	12.55	11.89	11.83	11.47	11.4

Source: *Estatísticas Demográficas* (Demographic Statistics), part I “Dados retrospectivos and comparativos”, 1968 in Bandeira, 1996:460

If we observe those councils hosting district capitals, thus urban agglomerates with some scale and functionality deriving from political-institutional organisations, we find that within the context of each respective district, the most clearly distinctive cases are Lisbon and Oporto. Indeed, the Demographic Statistics data for the years between 1901 and 1905 confirm the perception that the high values of the council stem from the levels prevalent in the urban centre (see Table 9)

Table 9 – Illegitimacy Percentages for Lisbon and Oporto

Years	Lisbon (city)	Lisbon (council)	Oporto (city)	Oporto (council)
1901	34.6	11.9	24.7	9.2
1902	35.6	12.1	26.2	8.1
1903	34.8	13.4	27	7.5
1904	35.5	14.3	26.1	7.4
1905	35.6	15.6	26.0	7.3

Source: *Population Movement Statistics –civil status and emigration*, National Institute of Statistics

In both these cases, we may confirm how these urban contexts prove a place of refuge for single females from rural areas who thereby gain from these more populous environments the opportunity to bear children far from the more condemnatory norms of their original communities. However, only a more thorough study, cross-referencing data derived from different sources might prove able to confirm this respective hypothesis or whether there are other reasons, for example related to the actual urban structure itself regarding the social dynamics and mobility levels specific to larger scale urban environments.

In other districts, this relationship is not clear. In districts where illegitimacy levels cluster, there is, as aforementioned, a certain homogeneity within the framework of their high levels. Nevertheless, in the district of Braga, the council of this name has a lower level of illegitimate births when compared with the other councils in the district. In still others, we encounter some diversity in the situations but without ever being able to reach definitive conclusions: in Coimbra, the city council reports relatively high percentages within the regional context but similar to those recorded by Oliveira do Hospital or

Tábua; the council of Évora registers its highest illegitimacy rates in 1889 and 1890 while in the remainder of the years, Estremoz, in particular but also Montemor-o-Novo and Vila Viçosa are close or even exceed the levels reported by the district capital Évora. Meanwhile, in the case of the cities of Faro and Leiria, their illegitimacy rates are relatively low within the context of their respective districts.

We may thereby question to what extent one of the usually accepted characteristics of illegitimacy actually stands up to analysis, thus, that its incidence was more common to urban than to rural environments (Neves, 1998: 156) as it would after all appear to be less generally the case than often identified. Clearly, this issue requires analysis of the smallest unit of territorial structures (parishes) and a more closely defined approach to the urban. The data deriving from these sources, annuaries and statistics on population fluctuations, are important but primarily for framing the regional/national context of illegitimacy and as the departure point for more finely broken down analysis based on other sources.

5. Conclusion

This article very much represents a work in progress on the quantification of illegitimacy in the Portuguese urban context of the 19th century and joins the still very limited range of indicators available. Furthermore, we set clearly set out the existence of all but insurmountable obstacles to the full measurement of illegitimacy given it is not generally possible to ascertain the parentage (legitimate or illegitimate) of abandoned infants.

Despite these heavy restraints, it was our objective to advance with some clues for research. The results obtained both from the reconstruction of parishes and from the macro-demographic data demonstrate that the percentage of illegitimacy in Portugal recorded high levels, located between 10% (1815-1819) and 12.5% at the end of the century. However, analysis of the urban environment reports far higher rates. Microanalysis of the 35,000 urban baptisms taking place between 1800 and 1900 reveals a rate of illegitimacy oscillating between 16% and 24% and peaking in the 1860s.

Standing out in the urban panorama are the cities of Lisbon and Oporto with the former returning average illegitimacy rates of 28% at the beginning of the century and 35% by around 1890. To these levels, there was a strong contribution made by foundlings

arriving from Lisbon's rural surroundings who, through to 1875 when the foundling wheels were abolished, constituted the large majority of children registered as illegitimate. This reality is still more visible in Oporto where around 52% of children were of illegitimate origin in 1815-1819, a figure that falls back to 24% by the end of the century.

In addition to this strong concentration in the largest cities, other medium scale urban environments were home to the same trends. Such is clear in Angra do Heroísmo with illegitimacy rates varying between 33% (1837) and 26% (1881), in contrast to the broader reality across the council's hinterland. Ponta Delgada, another sizeable settlement in the Azores, returns a broadly similar reality.

To conclude, we unfortunately need to stress the still very rudimentary understanding that we currently have on this social phenomenon in the urban context and especially as regards its regional distribution. Analysis of the information available shows that certain inland cities, Viseu and Vila-Real for example, maintained their out of wedlock birth rates without any explanation thus far proposed as to the reasons behind this consistency. We also lack detail on major urban centres such as Coimbra, Faro, and Setúbal for which no robust data has hitherto been produced. We thereby hope that in the near future our understanding on the incidence of illegitimacy in the urban context may still be broadened and deepened.

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APPENDIX
Illegitimacy percentages by council

District : Coimbra						
District: Aveiro	x	20,8	20,8	20,2	18,5	18,0
Águeda	×	18,0	18,0	5,9	7,8	23,6
Albergaria-a-Velha	×	19,2	22,2	18,8	13,8	18,2
Andarães-Nova	×	10,8	14,6	18,8	12,5	16,4
Arouca	×	22,6	19,2	18,5	18,0	18,4
Árco do Bôro	×	14,4	12,7	18,6	12,2	19,4
Castelo de Paiva	×	22,2	23,5	22,4	22,4	22,8
Fátima	×	5,0	6,5	6,8	5,1	4,8
Monte Castelo	×	12,8	8,0	7,1	16,5	8,8
Montemor-o-Velho	×	12,0	16,8	17,5	12,8	18,9
District de Bragança	x	14,5	14,9	15,4	13,0	12,8
Melheiras	×	29,2	19,8	22,5	18,8	19,8
Oliveira de Azeméis	×	29,2	28,2	27,9	27,4	28,9
Oliveira do Bairro	×	25,0	19,7	12,8	16,5	19,8
Parque de Espada à Cinta	×	16,2	13,4	14,5	13,8	14,2
Sever do Vouga	×	22,3	22,5	22,6	22,6	16,8
Vale de Fátima	×	18,4	17,6	17,8	12,9	18,8
Total	×	18,5	18,2	18,6	18,6	20,6
District : Évora						
Aljustrel	x	18,0	15,2	18,0	16,3	20,9
Almodôvar	x	9,8	31,8	29,5	29,5	36,3
Alvito	x	18,9	22,1	19,8	19,2	16,8
Barrancos	x	15,6	22,8	22,4	20,2	25,4
Beja	x	25,8	25,8	26,8	28,8	22,9
District de Castelo Branco		21,6	22,4	22,3	14,5	13,9
Castelo Branco	x	5,4	18,0	6,9	18,6	18,8
Ferreira Branco	x	12,0	19,5	2,8	5,8	8,8
Mértola	x	4,2	16,8	9,9	6,2	16,8
Ourique	x	15,3	4,9	4,2	2,2	5,2
Redimiã	x	20,8	28,0	29,5	28,4	26,5
Trancoso	x	14,5	18,8	12,2	15,8	18,8
Unhais da Serra	x	14,6	12,3	12,8	16,8	13,8
Vidigueira	x	14,5	12,8	18,8	13,8	15,8
District : Faro						
District: Braga	x	6,5	2,0	2,9	2,8	2,2
Amares	×	5,7	18,2	2,8	3,6	10,5
Bonjardim	×	17,4	12,0	12,8	12,2	10,8
Paços de Marim	×	10,5	18,8	8,8	6,9	18,8

Total	10,0	10,8	5,3	8,8	9,7	9,7
District : Lisboa						
Alcácer do Sal	x10,3	21,8	19,8	19,0	18,5	22,5
Alcácer do Sal	x 7,6	5,7	6,2	5,8	6,8	8,0
Almada	x11,8	17,3	18,9	9,5	18,0	8,2
Almada	x10,7	16,6	9,4	8,3	9,9	5,4
Almada	x 5,0	13,7	18,4	17,0	19,4	16,8
Almada	x 6,1	8,0	x 5,5	x 3,3	x 5,1	8,0
Almada	x 1,4	5,8	3,2	2,8	0,7	6,9
Almada	x19,3	18,1	18,8	10,8	12,9	18,9
Almada	x 8,4	5,8	5,5	5,8	3,5	2,3
Totalis	x 9,0	8,8	8,0	8,3	3,3	7,8
Districta Guarda	x	4,6	3,1	4,1	3,3	5,0
Almada	x	17,3	23,9	10,0	22,9	17,8
Almada	x	15,8	18,8	13,2	18,9	13,4
Almada	x	x 8,6	39,9	32,8	30,2	39,9
Almada	x	16,8	48,8	10,8	18,8	8,8
Almada	x	5,3	2,2	5,8	5,8	6,2
Almada	x	15,2	19,6	10,6	x15,8	18,2
Almada	x	16,2	13,8	8,5	12,8	12,2
Almada	x	12,8	12,2	15,2	12,4	9,4
Almada	x	25,8	8,9	20,2	18,8	10,8
Almada	x	18,2	16,9	16,8	13,8	12,9
Almada	x	10,4	50,8	10,2	8,8	10,8
Almada	x	x 2,7	20,3	8,9	3,9	8,2
Almada	x	12,4	13,9	16,8	13,8	13,8
Almada	x	8,3	50,8	8,3	9,3	12,3
Total	x	9,7	20,8	18,3	19,8	18,3
District : Portalegre						
Almada	x	3,3	9,8	8,7	8,6	9,2
Almada	x	13,9	20,8	15,8	19,8	14,2
Almada	x	18,6	19,8	17,3	18,9	23,3
Almada	x	6,9	6,6	6,0	0,7	0,5
Almada	x	18,8	12,2	12,3	12,8	12,0
Almada	x	10,2	18,8	18,9	18,8	28,9
Almada	x	5,0	10,9	10,6	8,9	10,8
Almada	x	7,9	5,3	3,8	12,8	16,7
Almada	x	3,8	4,9	3,8	5,2	8,4
Almada	x	4,1	3,6	3,8	6,9	5,9
Almada	x	8,8	6,9	6,9	5,2	16,5
Almada	x	10,8	8,8	8,3	0,2	3,8

Vila Verde	x	8,6	8,9	10,3	9,2	3,9
Total	x	10,8	10,7	10,6	12,0	0,0
District : Viana do Castelo						
Total	x17,3	10,9	10,8	10,9	10,5	10,8
District: Porto	17,4	6,8	9,8	19,8	12,9	11,9
Amarante	x20,4	19,0	20,7	23,0	19,9	22,9
Matosinhos	x17,2	12,9	13,9	14,7	15,0	10,1
Monção	x16,4	17,0	20,6	10,0	19,8	10,3
Ponte de Barca	x14,7	17,3	17,3	19,0	15,3	12,0
Bonfim	x16,7	10,5	14,6	15,0	13,3	13,0
Vale Sã	x17,1	13,2	20,3	10,9	19,7	17,5
Maia do Castelo	x12,1	10,0	10,0	13,5	15,9	10,0
Mia de Vila Verde	x14,6	19,8	12,0	10,2	14,3	10,0
Total	x15,9	10,5	10,0	10,9	10,2	10,0
District : Vila Real						
Alfândega	x	19,5	22,8	19,8	10,7	23,0
Boticas	x	22,2	25,6	22,8	23,3	25,0
Esposende	x	15,0	19,5	20,3	17,8	23,9
Montalegre	x	0,0	10,0	10,0	9,0	10,4
Mantovão de Basto	x	25,3	14,8	25,0	25,2	25,0
Montalegre	x	33,2	32,2	30,0	39,4	30,0
Miraflores	x	17,3	10,2	10,3	20,1	20,3
Total	x	13,6	10,5	14,0	16,0	10,0
District: Santarém	x	23,7	26,4	26,6	25,4	26,6
Alcanhões	x	10,5	20,9	19,0	20,0	24,0
Alcanhões	x	15,0	17,1	13,3	10,0	16,9
Alcanhões	x	22,0	20,3	22,0	22,0	20,0
Vila Real	x	27,2	23,8	24,0	25,9	20,2
Vila Real	x	13,0	10,0	10,0	19,6	10,0
Total	x	19,6	20,7	24,3	22,4	20,9
District : Viseu						
Alcanhões	x	21,2	10,0	17,0	15,0	10,3
Carregal do Zêzere	x	10,2	10,3	10,0	19,9	19,2
Castelo Branco	x	10,9	20,5	20,0	10,5	10,2
Magalhães	x	12,1	13,7	10,0	13,0	12,4
Randão	x	13,2	14,2	12,0	17,0	12,0
Montalegre	x	10,0	10,4	10,0	15,0	10,9
Montalegre	x	20,0	20,0	10,3	20,0	20,7
Montalegre	x	10,2	1,9	22,0	12,2	14,0
Montalegre	x	10,0	10,5	10,0	10,9	20,2
Novas Novas	x	10,2	10,0	17,0	12,0	13,2

Utaira de Frades	x 5,4	23,0	22,9	23,4	23,3	29,8
District : Funchal						
Calheta	x 3,5	16,8	14,2	18,3	19,5	18,3
Rancho de Lobos	x 1,6	11,9	12,2	14,8	13,0	10,8
Santa Bárbara	x 6,5	18,2	18,8	12,0	16,9	18,3
Machico da Pesqueira	x 2,9	12,8	7,7	20,8	18,0	22,9
Boimão de S. Mateus	x 5,0	23,7	20,5	13,0	13,9	14,8
Boimão de S. Miguel	x 4,3	13,8	22,7	18,0	22,5	19,2
Boimão Santo	x 2,0	22,0	22,5	19,7	16,8	18,8
Santa Anelhe	x 6,8	22,8	28,2	26,3	19,7	23,3
Santa Cruz	x 1,8	17,0	16,8	19,8	19,3	18,3
Salvador	x10,6	28,5	25,7	27,8	28,5	28,8
Total	x 4,7	15,8	15,2	14,7	18,8	14,1
Tondela	x	20,3	19,0	20,9	22,9	20,5
Viseu	x	19,6	17,5	16,0	14,5	15,5
Vouzela	x	22,5	22,5	27,8	24,0	24,8
Total	x	18,5	17,6	18,0	17,7	17,4
District : Angra do Heroísmo						
Angra do Heroísmo	x	9,0	8,0	9,6	8,3	8,1
Calheta	x	15,9	20,7	18,0	18,3	23,8
Praia da Victoria	x	5,6	6,4	4,7	5,1	5,7
Santa Cruz da Graciosa	x	15,7	17,2	13,0	16,9	16,9
Velas	x	24,2	18,5	19,2	14,6	23,4
Total	x	11,1	10,7	10,5	10,0	11,3
Distrito: Horta						
Corvo	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	4,0
Horta	13,2	13,1	11,7	10,9	8,8	10,7
Lages das Flores	9,4	10,6	15,0	16,8	12,3	16,3
Lages do Pico	16,4	6,9	4,6	6,3	4,7	8,5
Madalena	7,4	5,9	8,5	6,9	4,3	4,4
Santa Cruz	19,8	17,0	18,1	12,9	13,3	45,1
S. Roque	10,6	12,8	9,9	9,4	12,8	5,8
Total	12,6	11,2	10,8	10,3	8,6	12,2
District : Ponta Delgada						
Lagoa	2,9	3,5	3,0	2,0	1,3	2,0
Nordeste	3,2	4,9	4,2	4,7	3,8	4,4
Ponta Delgada	6,6	4,0	0,3	0,2	0,1	3,0
Povoação	4,3	5,8	1,9	2,8	3,2	3,8
Ribeira Grande	4,7	5,1	3,8	5,1	3,8	4,2
Vila do Porto	4,4	4,1	4,3	18,2	8,1	11,1
Vila Franca do Campo	12,3	16,2	13,9	4,4	3,4	3,4

X – No information

Source: *Anuário Estatístico do Reino de Portugal (1885, 1886), Movimento da população – estado civil e emigração*, INE