

# Marital relations among individuals born In and Out of marriage. Compared observations in two Portuguese cities: Guimarães and Évora, 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries

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# Initial remarks and questions

- *Urban Spaces: Demographic and Social Dynamics in Portugal (17<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, leaded by Carlota Santos – Minho University.
- Representative sample of 18 cities using the “parish reconstruction methodology”.
- Portugal is known by its very different behaviours between North and South. [...]
- Literature says that generally in *Ancien Regime* societies marriages involving individuals of different status were not socially accepted. Was this happening in Portugal? What were the chances for an illegitimate child to get married?



Guimarães area:

4 urban parishes (Nossa Senhora de Oliveira, S. Paio, S. Sebastião)

2 sub-urban, 4 rural

c. 6500 inhabitants (1801 census)

Évora area: 2 urban parishes (Sé and Santo Antão) and one rural space – Nossa Senhora do Divor)

Évora accounted c. 10.500 inhabitants (1801)

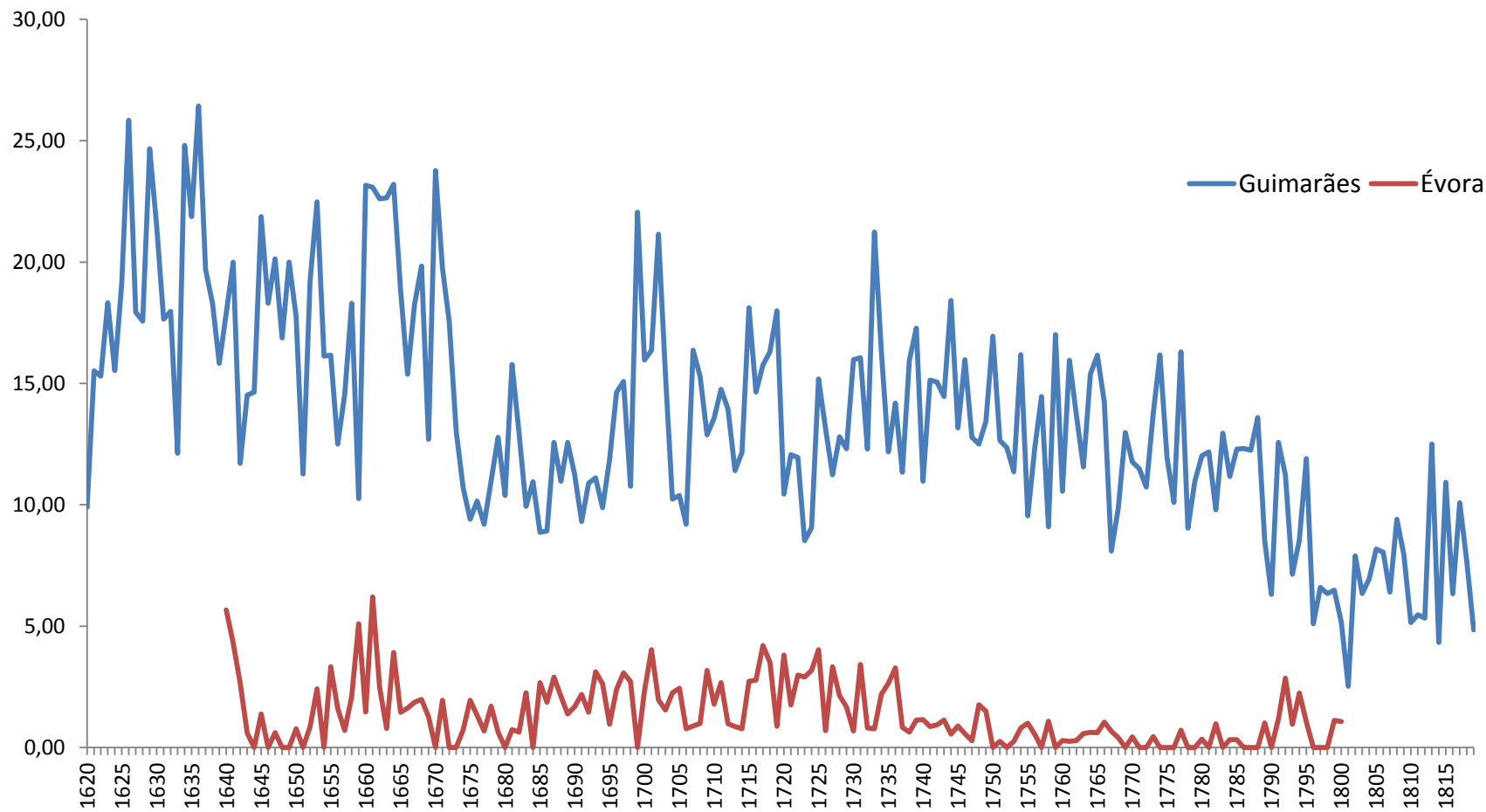
# Initial remarks and questions

- What was the illegitimacy intensity in these cities?
- Are there significant differences between urban and rural areas?
- Parents profile: civil status, “repeaters”, age at first child, marriage intensity
- The illegitimate weddings: would they get married with individuals of the same condition?

## Study limitations

- The difficulty of following the illegitimates:
- High mobility among the villages
- The imperfection of parish registers until the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century
- The abandoned children phenomena
  
- It is not possible to do a representative longitudinal study of this group.

# Illegitimacy percentage in Guimarães and Évora (1620-1820)



# Illegitimacy in Guimarães per periods

## Urban, mixed and rural areas (1620-1819)

Period	All births (abandoned incl.)			Illegitimate births			Illegitimate %		
	Urban	Mixed area	Rural	Urban	Mixed area	Rural	Urban	Mixed area	Rural
1620-1669	6135	1402	1176	1109	289	157	18,1	20,6	13,4
1670-1699	4611	1390	1047	550	173	88	11,9	12,4	8,4
1700-1749	9113	2849	2603	1283	399	423	14,1	14	16,3
1750-1789	7066	2453	2267	911	248	194	12,9	10,1	8,6
1790-1819	5833	2144	1834	428	151	110	7,3	7	6

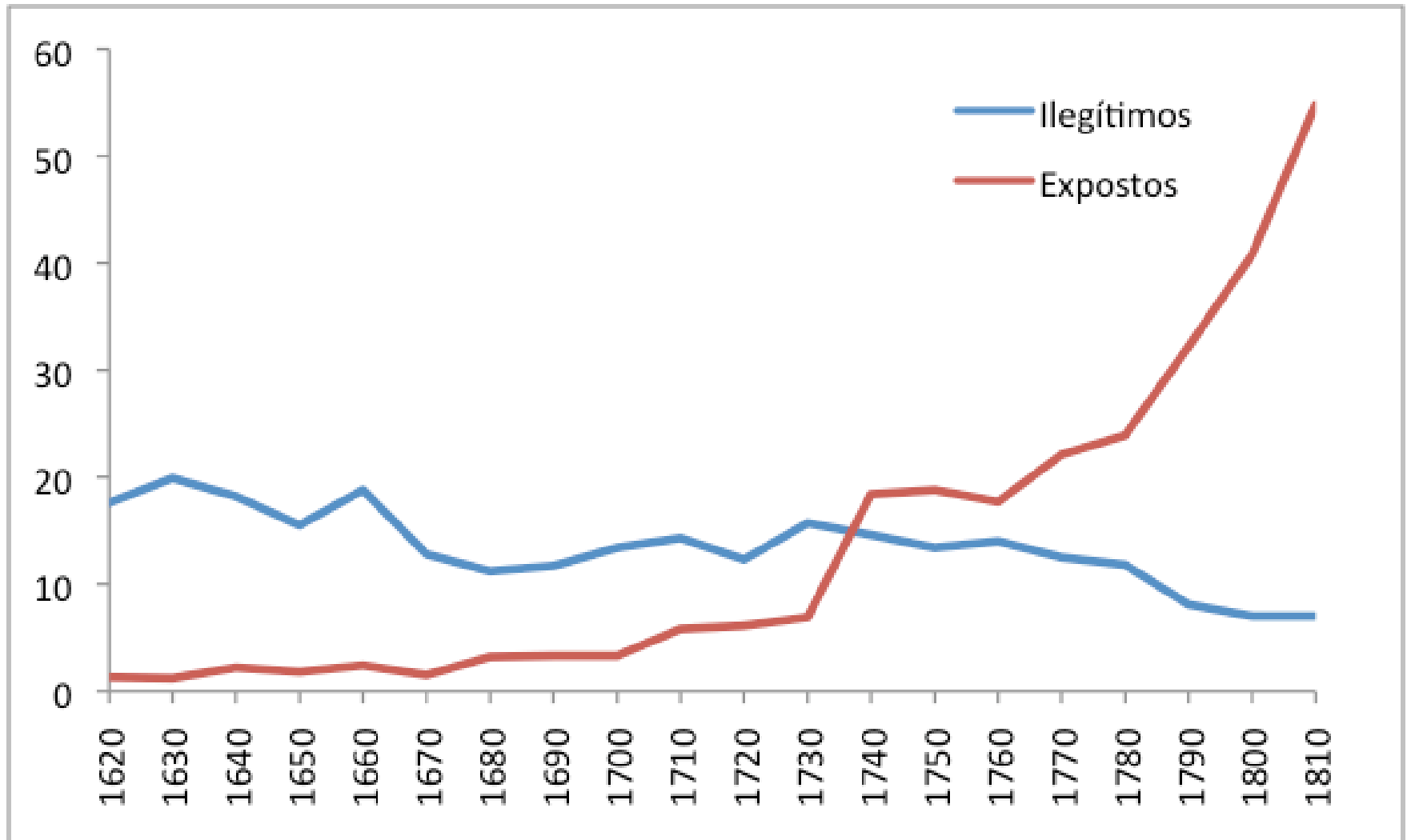
# Illegitimacy in Évora per periods

## Urban, mixed and rural areas (1640-1800)

Periods	All births (abandoned incl.)		Illegitimate births		Illegitimate %	
	Urban area	Rural area	Urban area	Rural area	Urban area	Rural area
1640-1739	13268	2584	236	375	1,8	14,5
1740-1800	16480	679	173	48	1,0	7,1

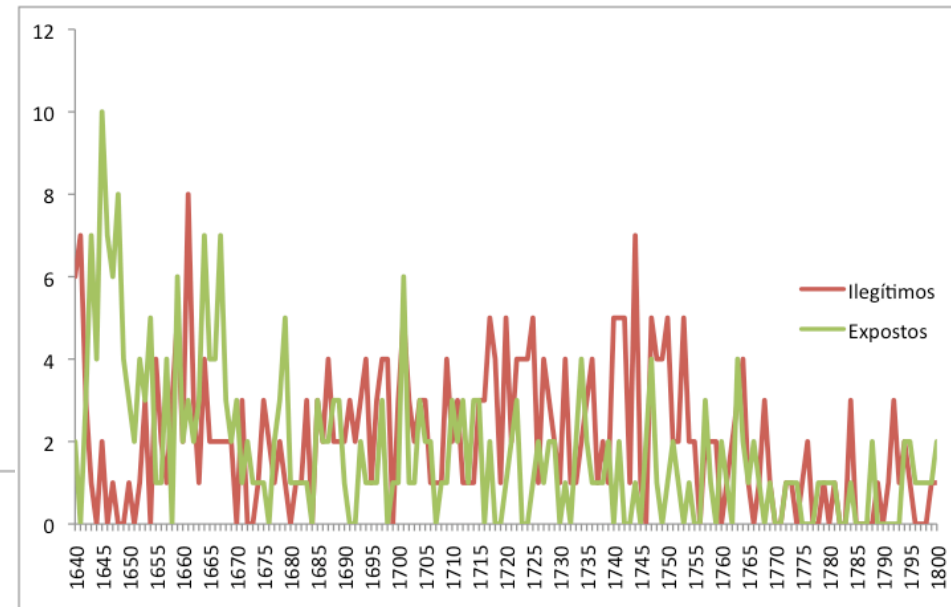
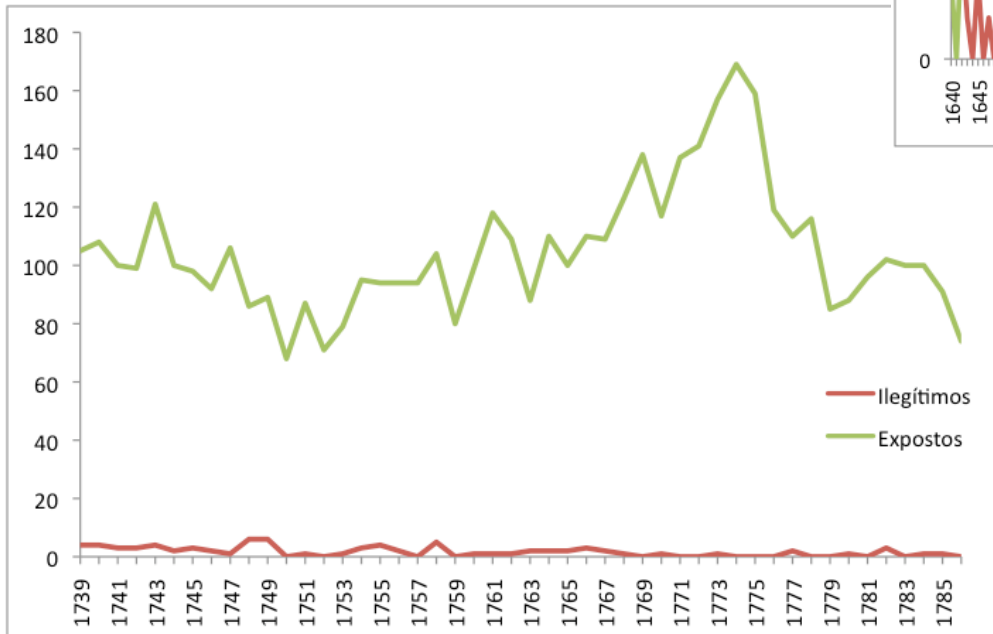


# Illegitimacy + abandoned children (% total births) (Guimarães – urban area)



# Illegitimacy + abandoned children (N) (Évora – urban area)

- Santo Antão (city of Évora)



Sé (city of Évora)

# Age at first illeg. children and marriage

Guimarães	Single mothers	First marriage
Urban	24.9	23.6
Mixed area	25.8	25.9
Rural	26.6	24.9

Guimarães: about 33% of the single mothers recorded a wedding within the parish.

35% got married after 6 months; 28% married after 5 years

In Évora only 3,3% of the single mothers recorded a marriage (this number was certainly higher as we are only considering the parishes of Sé and Santo Antão.

“REPEATERS” URBAN SPACES – GUIMARÃES: 15-20%  
- ÉVORA: 8-10%

# Mixed marriages in Guimarães

	Urban area		Sub-urban area		Rural area	
	1580-1779	1780-1819	1580-1779	1780-1819	1580-1779	1780-1819
Leg. male + Leg. female	54,8	49,3	71,2	77,4	81,4	85,5
Leg. male + Ileg/Abandoned female	15,6	17,1	9,8	8,3	7,3	6,8
Ileg/Abandoned male + Leg. female	19,5	21,4	15,4	11,9	9,9	7,1
Ileg/Abandoned male + Ileg/Abandoned female	10,1	12,2	3,6	2,4	1,4	0,6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

# Mixed marriages in Évora

	Sé (urban)		Sto. Antão (urban)		Divor (rural)	
	1640-1739	1740-1800	1640-1739	1740-1800	1640-1739	1740-1800
Leg. male + Leg. female	95,36	94,59	99,24	97,91	99,04	94,35
Leg. male + Ileg/Abandoned female	2,79	2,33	0,51	0,97	0,48	3,23
Ileg/Abandoned male + Leg. female	1,55	2,88	0,25	1,07	0,48	1,61
Ileg/Abandoned male + Ileg/Abandoned female	0,31	0,20	0,00	0,05	0,00	0,81
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

# Illegitimate fathers – some remarks

- Although *Braga's Bishop Constitutions (1639)* did not allow fathers identification, this norm was not always respected.
- Before 1700, 78% of the records refers the father name:
  - 17 married males            7.1 %
  - 25 priests                    10.4%
  - 109 single                    45.4%
  - 89 unknown status        37.8 %
- There tends to exist an omission on nobles illeg. offspring as well as slave owners.

# Single mothers – some remarks

- 246 single mothers:
- 16 women were registered as having children of 2 different men.
- 4 – 3 different men

2 children of the same man – 10 cases

3 children of the same man – 4 cases

[Sub-prone society]

# Married Illegitimates – Known and unknown paternity n= 1481

Paternity	Urban	Sub-urban	Rural	All areas
	Antes de 1700			
Unknown	40 (11,4%)	10 (8,5%)	9 (18,4%)	59 (11,4%)
Known	311 (88,6%)	108 (91,5%)	40 (81,6%)	459 (88,6%)
Priest	41 (11,7%)	10 (8,5%)	6 (12,2%)	57 (11,0%)
1700-1779				
Unknown	58 (12,8%)	18 (9,7%)	24 (15,6%)	100 (12,6%)
Known	396 (87,2%)	168 (90,3%)	130 (84,4%)	694 (87,4%)
Priest	73 (16,1%)	24 (12,9%)	25 (9,7%)	112 (14,1%)

As from the 1481 married illegitimates c. 88% have information about both progenitors.

This high percentage can also be related with the significant number of single mothers getting married at a later stage (c. 30%).

Fathers being priests was quite high in both periods: 11% and 14%



# General conclusions

- The high percentages of illegitimate and abandoned children in Portugal. Crucial differences in Guimarães (c. 25%-35%) and Évora (c. 8% urban and rural).
- The large proportion of mixed marriages involving individuals born in and outside marriage – Guimarães.
- The existence of a reduced sub-society of illeg./abandoned children (few number of “repeaters”; large number of illeg. children getting married with unknown fathers)

# Guimarães – Illegitimate geographic origin. Guimarães

Spouse origin	Born in the urban area				Born in the mixed and rural areas			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
From the 9 villages	92	69,7	109	56,8	53	69,7	55	51,4
Others (council)	14	10,6	41	21,3	9	11,9	26	24,3
Others (district)	16	12,1	28	14,6	9	11,8	17	15,9
Others (outside the district)	7	5,3	14	7,3	5	8,6	0	8,4
Foreigners	3	2,3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	132	100	192	100	76	100	107	100