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ASSISTANCE TO CHILDREN IN NORTH-WEST PORTUGAL: THE CASE OF PRE-INDUSTRIAL BRAGA



BRAGA — 1993

Cadernos do Noroeste, Vol. 6 (1-2), 1993, 95-116

ASSISTANCE TO CHILDREN IN NORTH-WEST PORTUGAL: THE CASE OF PRE-INDUSTRIAL BRAGA

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ABSTRACT :

In pre-industrial Braga, children seem to have been the most numerous recipients of charity. Assistance to childhood was not confined to abandoned children, but included also destitute children whose parents were known, either legitimate or illegitimate.

The level of child abandonment was never very high when compared to bigger cities like Porto, sex ratios are inconclusive and tend to favour the abandonment of males rather than girls, curves of seasonality seem to match in broad terms other data existing for the same area applying to all the births.

D. Frei Caetano Brandão, archbishop of Braga towards the end of the eighteenth century, founded in 1791 a college for needy children, both foundlings and orphans. Initially intended to privilege foundlings, it soon became almost monopolized by orphans and children whose parents were still alive.

Orphans, deprived of one or both parents, although coming from well-to-do families, were in need of support in order to ensure careers that would enable them to reproduce or improve the social status of their families of birth. Strictly dominated by ecclesiastical authorities until 1834-5, the college depended largely on patronage in the admittance of its pensioners, especially in the case of foundlings and illegitimate children. But, once a child entered the college, regardless its origin, no career seem to have been forbidden to him. How can we explain this if norms forbade illegitimate children to become priests ? The fact that many children had

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protectors to stand for them might have influenced the career they followed. Besides, in a system that produced a high level of losses — children who died, who escaped the college or gave up their studies— the policy of the college administrators seems to have been to profit from intelligence and talent whenever they could be found.

1. Introduction

In pre-industrial societies, social and juridical definitions of children could vary. Children could be legitimate or illegitimate and thus have different inheritance rights; they could be deprived of the person normally entitled to *patria potestas* — the father — and thus be orphans. Foundlings, who could be hypothetically legitimate, illegitimate or orphans, were disconnected from their lineage through abandonment by their families. In theory they were presumed legitimate, that is, the jurisprudence stated clearly that, their filiation being doubtful, they were presumed as legitimate [1].

Recent historiography has devoted attention to children, as individuals in a fragile stage of life-cycle and, like the old-aged, particularly dependent on welfare. As such, attention has been devoted particularly to foundlings and, at a lesser degree, to orphans. Nevertheless, it is many times ignored that the other children, either legitimate or illegitimate, could be recipients of assistance. For instance, foundlings have been studied without being inserted in the wider context of childhood: we do not the proportion of foundlings in the context of children who received institutional help; we ignore how different it was being a foundling from being an orphan or an illegitimate child. This work attempts to seize the population of infants who depended on institutions of assistance in a country town of North West Portugal during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It also tries to analyze the condition of foundlings in a college which accepted children in all the categories previously referred to during the nineteenth century.

[1] PINTO, António Joaquim de Gouveia, *Exame crítico e histórico sobre os direitos estabelecidos pela legislação antiga e moderna, tanto pátria como subsidiária, e das nações mais vizinhas e cultas, relativamente aos expostos e engeitados*, Lisboa, Tipografia da Academia Real das Ciências, 1828, p. 16.

2. The «case study»: Braga, a pre-industrial country town

Braga was a small provincial city: from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century the city had less than 20000 inhabitants. The figures are 10000 inhabitants in 1600, 15000 in 1750, 16000 in 1800 and 19000 in 1850 [2].

Up to the nineteenth century, Braga was a «rural city» in the sense that the limits between urban and rural were still not clear. In the middle of the nineteenth century the local newspaper was still worrying about persons being physically damaged by pigs and cows that wandered by the main streets of the town. Among other Portuguese provincial towns, Braga outstood for the fact of being the main religious center of the kingdom since the Middle Ages. Ecclesiastical powers affirmed themselves after the Council of Trent, and the city became a center of formation of would-be priests. Several strong congregations existed, such as the *Congregados* (São Filipe de Néri), the Jesuits, and the main convent of the Benedictine Order, Tibães, was located only a few miles away from the city.

Economically the city functioned as a market for the Baixo-Minho, an area included in North West Portugal, a center of trade for most of the peasants. Agriculture was the main activity, although the sale of artifacts ensured the arrival of peasants from the whole of northwest Portugal to its markets.

3. The *Misericórdia* and welfare

In Portugal, the whole welfare system from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries seems to have been based upon the existence of the *Misericórdias* — lay confraternities, highly stratified, gathering volunteer work of the male citizens. Supposed to have been formed following an Early Modern Italy model (more than that, a model from Florence), the *Misericórdias* often supervised most of the assistance institutions in their towns, as well as ensured the performance of a wide range of services. Braga's *Misericórdia* was no exception: it administered the Hospital de São Marcos (a kind of General Hospital) and a *Recolhimento* (a deposit for the

[2] BAIROCH, Paul; BATOU, Jean; CHÈVRE, Pierre, *The population of the European Cities from 800 to 1850*, Genève, Droz, 1988, p. 57.

safeguard of female honour), gave assistance to the prisoners, buried the poor on a free basis, and visited the « ashamed poor ». Those services were performed by its members, the *irmãos* (brothers), people who could afford spare time to help others (thus non-strictly hand working), often belonging to the well-to-do families. Social status played a part in the definition of membership, as non-noble were separated from noble members, the ruling posts belonging to the latter [3].

The sources available from the *Misericórdias'* activity concern most of the institutions and activities its members performed. Series are nevertheless weak on what concerns chronological continuity and density. The identification of persons is very defective: the absence of information on age, for instance, makes the distinction between adults and children very difficult.

Nevertheless, a good source for the measurement of numbers of poor and their stages of life cycle, are the records of burials to the poor: the *Misericórdia* ensured free burials to those whose relatives, if existing, could not afford a funeral. Considering the importance people accorded to death, and the fact that most individuals during their lifetimes saved in order to get a decent funeral [4], we are dealing here with one the most deprived strata of the population.

The compiling of data from such a source creates a set of delicate problems:

A) Ages are never stated, and children can be distinguished between adults, only in two points:

   1. The registers of adults mention marital status, even if not always
   2. Burials of adults were accompanied by a mass, which cost was noted as a side remark to the register.

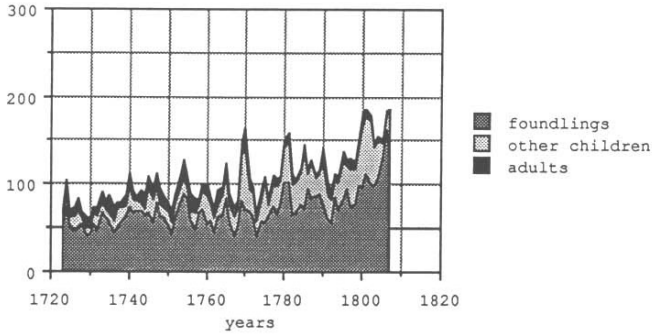
It is not clear that all adults should be necessarily old aged people: they could be young foreigners, beggars or even poor labourers. Concerning adults, a distinction shall be made only between single, married and widow individuals.

[3] ADB, Fundo da Misericórdia, *Compromissos da Misericórdia de Braga*, Livros n. 1-2.

[4] In the cities and even in rural parishes, a number of confraternities were in charge of organizing the religious festivities, as well as the funerals of members.

B) There is a lack of information concerning children found dead: one does not know if they were foundlings or if they were children whose families deposited them dead in order to be given a funeral, without having to have any contacts with the *Misericórdia*. That difficulty is worsened by the fact that the source does not, in many cases, specify that the child was found dead. We shall limit ourselves to distinguish between foundlings and children with stated filiations, either legitimate or illegitimate.

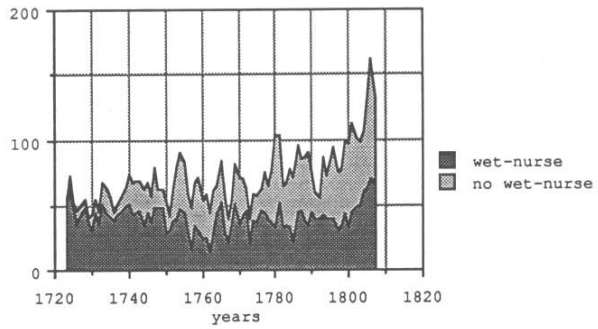
Graph 1. **Burials of poor (1723-1807).**



The graph shows clearly that the proportion of children is overwhelming in all periods, the number of adults being always very inferior. The results match the normal pattern of preindustrial societies where the number of children was very high compared to those who reached old age. Even so, and if we consider that the adults being buried were not necessarily old aged, the proportion of adults is surprisingly low.

Children, being the most numerous individuals to depend on a free burial, could be either foundlings or non-foundlings, a category which integrates both legitimate and illegitimate children.

Graph 2. **Burials of foundlings (1723-1807).**

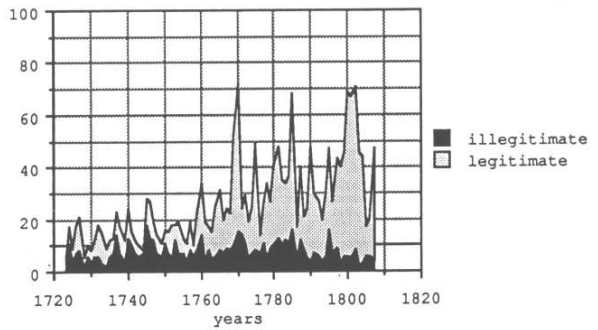


Most of the foundlings were being brought up by wet-nurses and their ages could extend until adolescence; instead the children who were not on nurse were either in the *Casa da Roda* waiting for a wet-nurse or were found dead. The proportion of such children seems to increase after 1780, perhaps because the number of women available to breastfeed did not rise in the same proportion as foundlings.

Non-foundlings (see graph 3) could also be orphaned children, but the sources do not name them as such: only a close reading allowed to determine if one or both of the parents had already been dead. Results here were deceiving, as altogether orphans summed only 81 children, and they were integrated in the « non-foundlings » category. The same can not apply to the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children: the number of illegitimate being roughly equal to until 1760, the number of legitimate children rises towards the end of the century[5]. It can be said that legitimate children became the majority of non-foundlings. There are peaks in 1770 and 1780, who could correspond to infant mortality crisis.

[5] Unless otherwise stated, children whose father's and mother's name figure in the registers were considered legitimate, even if they could be the result of probable consensual unions.

Graph 3. **Burials of non-foundlings (1723-1807).**



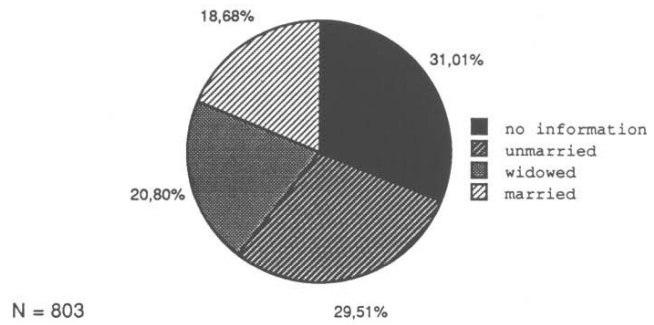
Who were the adults being buried at the *Misericórdia*'s expenses? Mainly beggars and crippled individuals, sometimes living under the porches of some buildings, prisoners of the local prison, foreigners, people who died suddenly. In eighty five years, only a case of a man, the bastard son of a presumably well-to-do family, who had a degree either in Law or Medicine, as he is called *doutor* (doctor)[6]. There were also some women of a higher status then the others, those named *donas* — they could be part of the ashamed poor the *Misericórdia* took care of. Concerning civil status, surprisingly the number of widows matches the amount of married persons (see graph 4).

4. Foundlings: annual entrances, sex ratio and seasonality

Although the *Misericórdia* gave free burials to foundlings, assistance to them in what concerns financing their upbringing was ensured by the local council, as it was prescribed in the law. But, as all abandoned children

[6] ADB, Fundo da Misericórdia, *Livro de Enterros de Pobres e Expostos*, n. 80, fl. 96.

Graph 4. **Burials of adults (1723-1807). Marital status.**

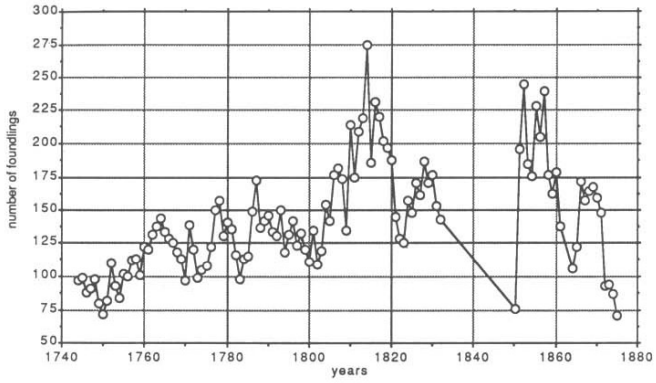


had to be baptized, the source used to study the annual entries is ecclesiastical: the *Livros de Baptismos de Expostos da Sé*. As the number of abandoned children was high, the priests of the cathedral drew separate registers for foundlings from 1744. Nevertheless, this source does not account for the total number of abandoned children, that is, foundlings who were found dead are not registered as they did not obviously receive baptism.

The number of foundlings abandoned per year (see graph 5) remains below the hundred during the first two decades; from 1760 to 1800 it ranges from 100 to 175, but it is the decade between 1800 and 1810 who shows a steep rise together with a high instability. Around 1820 the number falls again but begins to rise after 1823. After 1832 until 1850 no registers are to be found, although 1850 is incomplete. That explains its low number of foundlings, that corresponds to the months between August and December. After 1851 until 1860 the curve seems to retake the instability verified for the 1810's. The last seven years depict a rapid fall in the numbers of abandoned children: in fact, in Portugal, legal abandonment finishes gradually after 1860[7].

[7] The abandonment system would be substituted by subventioned lactations to poor mothers. On the other hand local authorities started to be more severe on the application of a law that constrained unmarried women to declare their pregnancies.

Graph 5. **Foundlings in Braga (1744-1875). Anual entries.**



Graph 6. **Foundlings in Braga (1744-1875). Sex ratios.**

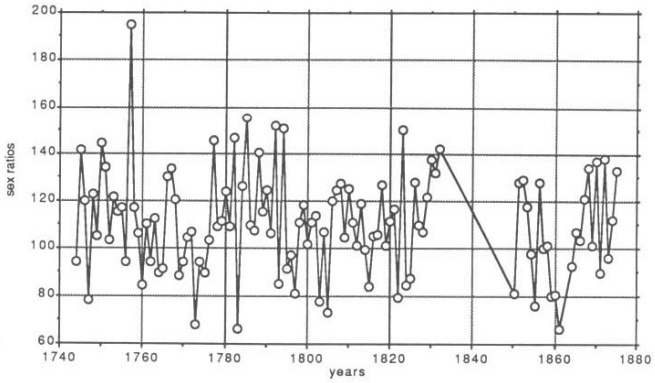


Table 1. **Frequency distribution of sex ratios (1744-1875).**

$X_1 : \times 100$

Bar	From (≥)	To (<)	Count	Percent
1	60	80	8	7.08
2	80	100	25	22.124
9	100	120	42	37.168
4	120	140	27	23.894
5	140	160	10	8.85
6	160	180	0	0
7	180	200	1	.885

— Mod

Source: ADB, Fundo Paroquial, *Livros de Baptismos de Expostos da Sé*, n. 1-5.

Sex ratios seem to be rather unbalanced, and the picture is somewhat confused as can be seen in graph 6. Nevertheless it can be cleared in Table 1, that shows that only in 30 % of the years the number of boys was inferior to the girls. Certainly, a sex differential abandonment that would privilege girls can not be concluded. On the contrary, c. 31 % of the years register a rather high ratio of boys, between 120 and 160. The year of 1757, with a sex ratio of nearly 200 was undoubtedly abnormal. Nevertheless, one should be cautious of concluding a preference in the abandonment of males before other sex ratios are known for other case studies in the same area.

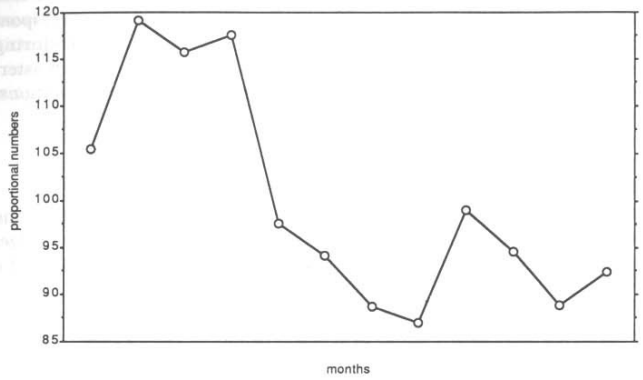
The calculations of seasonality of births of foundlings are approximative as it is probable that not all the foundlings were new-born: baptism sub-conditione could take place at any age. To be baptized sub-conditione it was enough the suspicion that the child had not been previously baptized with all the rites the Church prescribed.

The movement of conceptions has its peak during the end of Spring (June) and the beginning of Summer (July). The lowest number of conceptions take place in Autumn.

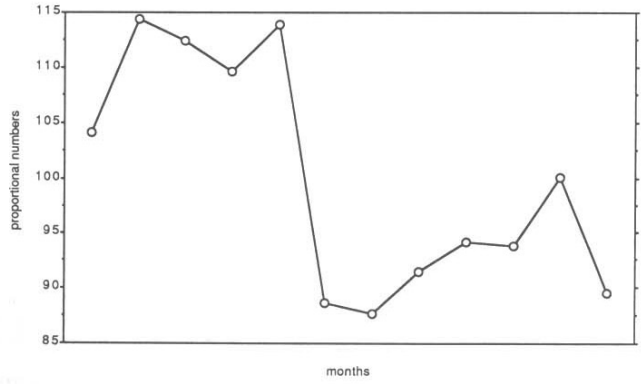
Two main differences strike in the two cohorts (1744-1799 and 1800-1875), that correspond to graphs number 7 and 8:

1. In the first conceptions have their peak in May, June and July whilst in the second cohort the peak extends until August.
2. There is a significant difference in conceptions taking place in February: they are very low in 1744-1799, but they rose in the other cohort.

Graph 7. **Seasonality of abandonment. Braga (1744-1799).**



Graph 8. **Seasonality of abandonment. Braga (1800-1875).**



Nevertheless, the peak of conceptions during late Spring and beginning of Summer matches the pattern found for legitimate births for this area of Portugal [8]. The peak is explained by many authors as corresponding to the months of outdoor work. Differences in conceptions during February, the traditional month for religious prohibitions preceding Easter, could be explained by variations in religious observance of the populations.

5. Foundlings among other children: the *Colégio de São Caetano*

Braga possessed during the nineteenth century a college for orphans who accepted foundlings as pupils on equal right. Up to my knowledge, it is the only college of orphans in Portugal which was also designed by its founder, the archbishop D. Frei Caetano Brandão, to accept foundlings. The archbishop's concern with children is demonstrated in his mémoires, that describe daily distributions of bread in the archbishop's palace to circa 300 hundred children. Such distributions took place before he had the royal permit to found the college circa 1789. The text suggests that those children wandered in the streets. As it happened so often in Counter Reformation times, charity was accompanied by a strong care for religious teaching: the alms-giving by the archbishop included lessons on doctrine. The archbishop regretted the situation of both orphans and foundlings, who, being completely on their own, risked vagrancy and bad behaviour [9].

The archbishop wrote specific norms of functioning of his new college that can be summarized as follows:

To be admitted to the college children would be aged from 8 to 12 years old and selected according to the following order:

1. foundlings
2. orphans of noble origin
3. orphans without both parents
4. legitimate children
5. and, in the last place, illegitimate

[8] Amorim Maria Norberta Simas Bettencourt, *Guimarães 1580-1819. Estudo Demográfico*, Lisbon, INIC, 1987, pp. 147-155; Santos, Geralda M. M. Ferreira, *A freguesia de S. Martinho de Arrifana de Sousa de 1720-1729 (Ensaio de Demografia Histórica)*, Lisbon, Publicações do Centro de Estudos Demográficos, 1979, pp.29-30.

[9] *Memórias para a história da vida do venerável arcebispo de Braga D. Frei Caetano Brandão*, tomo II, Lisboa, Impressão Régia, 1818, pp. 96-97.

By « orphans » he understood children with dead fathers, a definition which matches the juridical concept of orphan. So, children with dead mothers would be excluded from the college, as well as children with infectious diseases or whose parents had acquired them [10].

The regulations of the college, included the following rules concerning daily life:

1. Children would not visit their families even if they were resident in Braga and no visits from the family were admitted more than three times a year (Christmas, Easter and once during August). If the family did not live in Braga those three visits could take place any time during the year;
2. Any letter going in or out of the college should be shown to the principal;
3. Children could be punished, although imprisonment for more than three days required the agreement of the archbishop;
4. Each child should have a bed of his own in a little room, but children should not enter in each other's small bedrooms except with the permission of the principal and in groups of three or four;
5. Pupils should not possess luxury objects;
6. Children should walk barefoot inside the college, in order to prevent them from becoming too demanding and delicate before they knew the destiny awaiting for them; the same was to be observed about the food, which should be abundant but not too sophisticated.
7. Teaching in the college included first reading, writing, drawing, music and morals. After being able to read and write the child would, if he had recognized capacities to follow his studies, learn Latin, start philosophy and theology, or instead learn a craft occupation. There was a chemist shop in the college where children could also be trained to learn that occupation [11].

[10] Brandão, D. Frei Caetano, *Plano da educação dos meninos órfãos e expostos do seminário de S. Caetano no ano de 1801*, Braga, Typ. dos Órfãos, 1861, p. 35.

[11] Brandão, D. Frei Caetano, *Plano da Educação...*, pp. 19-51.

But the top of a child's career would be no doubt to become a priest: although the college itself did not teach the ultimate grades of theology, children could attend one of the seminars in Braga. Nevertheless, its founder designed a institution that would, in his own words « include all situations and destinies, and that should be suitable to make happy the country man, as well as the courtier, the army man and the clergyman » [12]. The ultimate scope would be, as in so many philanthropic projects of the Enlightenment, « to form citizens useful to the State and to the Church » [13]. His intentions were to encourage intellectual gifts whenever they would be found: if students gave proof of « rare talent » they could move on to the University. But he was expecting most of the children to become farmers. Recognizing that agriculture was « the most common activity of the province, even if not always practiced in the best way », he also suggested the training of good farmers, who could produce their own tools [14].

Based upon the identities of children who were admitted in the college between 1808 and 1861 [15], an attempt was made to see if the college matched its founder's expectations, that is, if foundlings were privileged on entry; if the college was open to a wide range of social backgrounds; if agriculture was favoured; and if, being considered as legitimate by law, foundlings stood equal chances of becoming clergymen. As it is well known, priesthood was in theory restricted to legitimate children: bastards had to ask for a permit to the highest ecclesiastical authorities. So, in theory, foundlings would not have the need to apply for a special authorization.

The movement of admissions (graph 9) to the college follows some up and downs: the legacy of a fund to support students in 1850 allowed the college to take an extra number of pupils. Otherwise, the capacity would be between 150-200 boarding students, in all stages of teaching. The curve of admissions applies to the years between 1808 and 1861 and refers to 678 students.

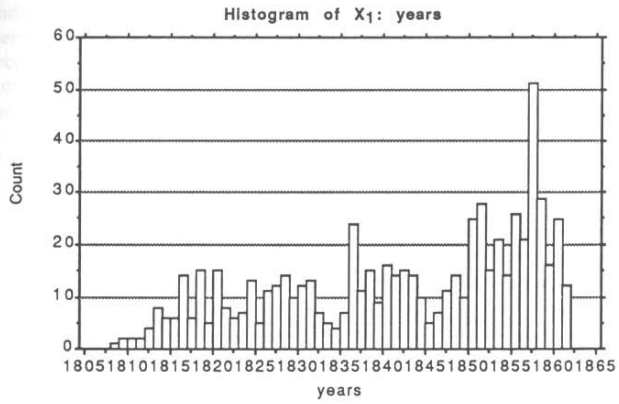
[12] BRANDÃO, D. Frei Caetano, *Plano da educação...*, p. 5.

[13] BRANDÃO, D. Frei Caetano, *Plano da educação...*, p. 3.

[14] *Memórias para a história da vida do venerável arcebispo de Braga D. Frei Caetano Brandão*, tomo II, Lisboa, Impressão Régia, 1818.

[15] The source was a book of children admitted to the college (*Livro de Matrículas*) which stated the students' filiation, year of entry, level of studies accomplished; year of leave and occupation followed. The fact that it only has two different handwritings for 53 years of duration and that from 1855 it does not state leave of pupils, makes us suppose that it is an elaboration of papers who had been disorganized until then.

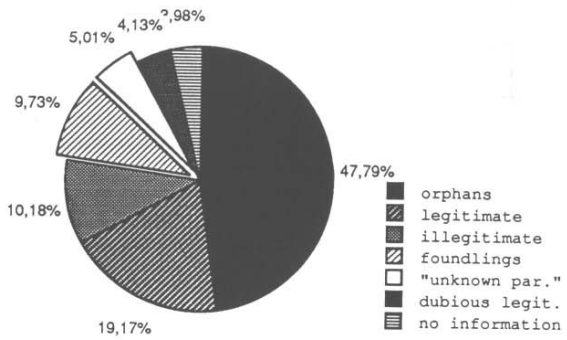
Graph 9. ***São Caetano*: Number of children admitted per year (1808-1861).**



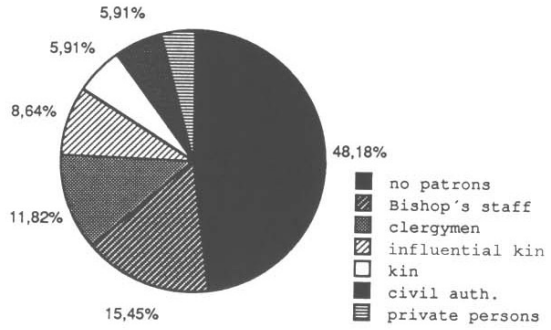
The 1857 peak is still to be explained, but the increase in the number of annual entrances between 1850-51 was clearly due to a private legacy that financed the admission of boys, with the restriction that their families should be resident in Braga.

Graph 10 depicts filiation of children admitted to the college. The former intentions of its founder were somewhat betrayed: of the 678 children admitted between 1808-1861 only 9.7 % were foundlings, even less than the illegitimate children (10.2 %). Even if we add the *filhos de pai incógnito* (children of unknown parents), who could either have been abandoned or have concealed parents), the percentage rises only to c. 15 %. In fact, orphans and legitimate children took 67 % of the places. Who were these orphans and legitimate children? As to what concerns orphans, 82 % had no father, 12 % had no parents at all, 4.3 % had no mother and the rest were described as orphans, without any information on their parents. Both legitimate and orphans, although the sources do not state occupations of parents, often came from « respectable » families from all over North West and North East Portugal, as they surnames suggest. Others seem to come from poorer backgrounds: in this point the intentions expressed by the founder were fulfilled.

Graph 10. ***São Caetano*: Filiation of students (1808-1861).**



Graph 11. ***São Caetano*: Patrons os students (1808-1835).**



On the other hand, at least until 1834, when Civil War ended and the Constitutional Party took over the government, the college was strictly under the archbishop's supervision. In this period, almost all the children were admitted under the patronage of some protector who is named in the records. After 1835, the admission assumes a bureaucratic character, with simple references to dispatches of admission issued by civil authorities: the college was no longer an ecclesiastical institution. Graph 11 shows that ecclesiastical authorities (parish priests, members of the archbishop's chapter) were responsible for a higher number of admissions, followed by members of the family of the students. In 8,64 % of the total cases, kin were simultaneously holders of influential posts. Civil authorities and private persons, with no declared posts nor clear kinship with the pupil, came last. The judges of orphans, men who were legally responsible for the placement of orphans in the labour market, interfered only in two cases.

If we cross information on patrons with the filiation of children, an interesting picture arises, as foundlings and illegitimate children seem to have been more dependent on the intervention of a patron.

Table 2. **Students without patrons (1808-1835).**

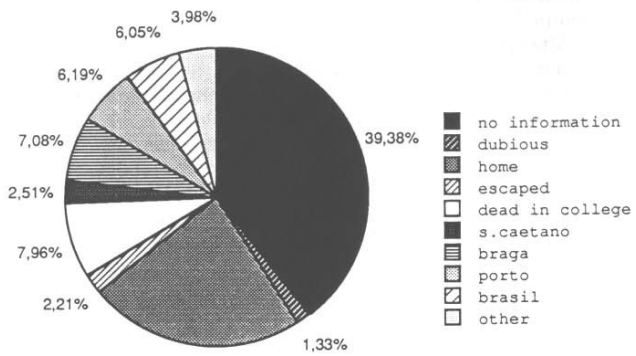
	No patrons	Total within category	%
Foundlings	6	23	26.1
« Unknown par. »	3	5	60
Illegitimate	4	12	33.3
Legitimate	30	52	57.7
Orphan	42	89	47.2
Dubious	13	18	16.6
No information	8	21	38.1
Totals	106	220	48.2

Source: Colégio de São Caetano, *Livro das Matrículas dos Órfãos*, 1808-1861.

The point is that foundling and illegitimate children were not deprived of links with society before entering the college, and they had someone to stand for them.

Considering that we have information on the exit of the college of c. 60 % of the children, we are able to draw a picture of their geographical distribution after having attended the college. 23 % went home after having attended the college and the source does not specify what happened to them. Others escaped the college: in an institution with a harsh discipline where

Graph 12. ***São Caetano*: Geographical distribution of children after attending the college (1808-1861)**



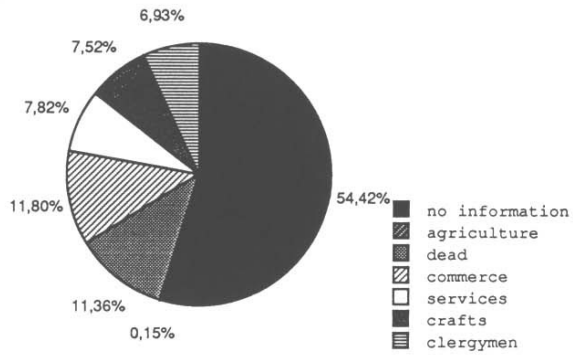
Source: *Livro da Matrícula dos Órfãos*, 1808-1861.

boys only saw their parents three times a year, and had no privacy in their mail, to run away was the only solution for a child who did not like being the college. Circa 8 % were dead in the college, 2.5 % remained as the institution tended to integrate ex-students in order to renew its staff. Only 7 % remained in Braga: the tendency was to send them to Porto, to Brazil or to other cities of the kingdom (see graph 12).

Although the administrators of the college did not know the occupation of all the pupils, the source refers to the career they followed, mostly because the institution had some influence in determining the future of the students. In fact, the decision to make a child learn a trade, to follow a preparation to become a chemist or continue his studies until becoming a priest was strongly influenced by the recognition of the child's capacities by the teaching staff, as such studies were subventioned by the institution's funds (see graph 13).

Many children, on account of illness returned home and never came back: those are inserted in the « no information » category. Others died in the college or during their stay at home (c. 12 %). With a high proportion of « waste » pupils, in the sense that some returned home without having

Graph 13. ***São Caetano*: Occupations of students (1808-1861)**



achieved their studies, others died and some even ran away from the college, the remaining students were distributed in the following careers, by order of importance:

1) Commerce and services: most of the children who finished elementary schooling were soon channeled to professions who did not require a very thorough cultural preparation, such as shop-keeping or business. Preferentially they would be sent to Porto or to Brazil, as soon as they finished three to four years of stay in the college: the trip would be subventioned by their relatives or benefactors. Meanwhile they were able to read, write and do elementary arithmetics, which were the basic capacities to run a trade.

In the services, no doubt the most important was chemist: the college possessed its own chemist shop, where the students could be trained. The spirit of the college seems to have been to profit from talent whenever it was recognized: a cook's help (thus a domestic servant and not a pupil, was sent to learn at the chemist's on account of his dedication) [16].

[16] Case number 179, *Livro da Matrícula dos Órfãos*, fl. 20.

2) In smaller proportions we have the learning of a craft (mainly taylor, shoemakers and metal workers (*latoeiros*). The period of apprenticeship in an artisan's shop could be subventioned by the college, in case no one in the family could afford it. Considering agriculture, which was one of the activities D. Frei Caetano Brandão intended to promote, only one child is said to have become a farmer. Agriculture in Portugal has been until recently an activity fulfilled by illiterate individuals: after having learnt how to read and write, children could aspire to other occupations rather than agriculture.

Finally, the top career offered by the college was the pursuing of studies in theology, which enabled the students to become priests, according to the different grades of sacraments: the *tonsura* followed by the minor orders, and the sacred ones (*subdiácono, diácono* and *presbítero*). Circa 7 % were sacramented, becoming parish priests, teachers inside the college or monks in religious communities.

One of the initial scopes of this work was to see if non-legitimate children and foundlings stood any chances of being sacramented. The results are condensed in the following table:

Table 3. **São Caetano: Occupations by filiation (1808-1861)**

Filiation	Agric.	Crafts	Services	Comm.	Priesthod	Totals
Orphans	—	25	26	53	16	120
Legitimate	—	3	9	7	14	33
Illegitimate	—	8	5	6	3	22
Foundlings	1	10	5	6	3	25
«Unknown par.» ...	—	3	—	3	3	9
No information ...	—	1	3	2	7	13
Dubious	—	1	5	3	1	10
Totals	1	51	53	80	47	232

Source: *Livro da Matrícula dos Órfãos,* 1808-1861.

Although standing less chances, it was not impossible for a child with a non-legitimate filiation to become a priest. In a system that certainly produced a high level of losses, the policy of the college administrators must have been to profit from intelligence and talent whenever they could be found. For the foundlings who entered the college — whom we have estimated were a lucky few among other foundlings — to have access to a high career seems to have been difficult, but not impossible.

SOURCES OF GRAPHS:

Numbers 1 to 4: Arquivo Distrital de Braga (ADB), Fundo da Misericórdia, *Livros de Enterros de Pobres e Expostos*, n. 75-82.

Numbers 5 to 8: ADB, Fundo Paroquial, *Livros de Baptismos de Expostos da Sé*, n. 1-5.

Numbers 9 to 13: Colégio de São Caetano, *Livro da Matrícula dos Órfãos*, 1808-1861.