

Report on the development of the project:

*A geographical analysis of information on founding tokens of the Santa
Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa*

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january 2024

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1. Introduction

Foundling tokens are an important primary source. These tokens, frequently accompanied children when they were abandoned in institutions, such as foundling wheels (baby hatches) or hospices. They have been shown to consist of objects, often with an underlying symbolism, but also manuscripts. In the latter case, the content of the tokens has been found to vary depending on the 'sender', the information they wanted to provide and their intentions. It has been demonstrated that tokens could provide information not only about the abandoned children, but also about their parents (and sometimes other family members), the reasons for the abandonment, revealing signs of emotional ties and even geographical information, allowing us to ascertain the provenance of the foundlings.

Since its foundation, the Real Casa dos Expostos in Lisbon functioned as the primary institution for abandoned children in Portugal, as it provided care for the highest number of children in need. A significant proportion of these children were entrusted with the institution in the form of handwritten tokens, which the Historical Archive of Santa Casa Misericórdia de Lisboa holds in its archival fonds. These tokens span the chronological period from the late 18th century to the early 20th century.

This report is related to the information contained in the foundling tokens of the Historical Archive of Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa and is the result of the work carried out to create a historical cartography based on the existence, categorisation and typology of the geographical information in this source. Consequently, a historical cartography at municipality level was created for mainland Portugal and, in the specific case of Lisbon, the data is presented at parish level.

In this report, we initially present the methodology employed to produce the historical cartography, the challenges and the subsequent solutions. Secondly, we present the

statistics resulting from the analysis of the founding tokens and the historical cartography produced, as well as the corresponding considerations.

This work conducted by the Digital Humanities Lab from the Institute of Contemporary History from the School of the School of Social Sciences and Humanities of NOVA University in Lisboa/IN2PAST, under the direction of Professor Daniel Alves and Joana Vieira Paulino, PhD.

2. Methodology

The present study is grounded in data from the ATOM database of the Historical Archive of Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa. It is specifically focused on the records and transcription of the handwritten tokens that were used to accompany abandoned children between the late 18th century and the first half of the 20th century.

The raw data was transformed into tabular format (Microsoft Excel file), by the team from the Digital Humanities Lab, which then initiated the processing of each individual transcription of the handwritten signal. To this end, each archival description from the source was analysed, categorised and the geographical information contained in it (if any) was surveyed, according to the following logical structure and seeking to answer the following questions:

- Does the founding token have geographical information?
 - If it is not the case, processing stopped, and the following was issued: "No geographical information".
 - If so, this investigation has endeavoured to address each question in as much detail as possible, using the information provided in the token. The following inquiries have been addressed:
 - Geographical category: mainland, islands and abroad.

- What typology/moment of life was the geographic information associated with? (baptism, birth, mother's residence, etc.).
- To which municipality, outskirts or bishopric does the source allude? (macro geographical analysis).
- Which parish or place is indicated in the source? (micro geographical analysis).
- Which country does the source indicate?

The record was multiplied by the number of children specified in the foundling token, in cases where more than one child was mentioned.

After receiving the information from the Historical Archive of Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, a cross-check was conducted between the geographical data and the georeferenced information files from the Digital Humanities Lab. The team has previously conducted research projects, resulting in the compilation of *shapefiles* that encompass georeferenced information on the portuguese administrative organisation from the 18th century until 2001. These shapefiles were utilised in the development of the present work.

In this manner, a chronological division was established for the data contained in the tokens, based on the years of the shapefiles and the evolution of the administrative division. This methodological option permitted the representation of the boundaries of the municipalities and parishes of mainland Portugal with historical rigour, roughly related to the reforms that took place in the city of Lisbon. It is also noteworthy that in the same year, cartography was adopted for both the administrative division of the

municipality and the parish of the municipality of Lisbon. The analysis was thus conducted by defining five chronological segments:

- For data prior to 1836, the basic administrative division was established as the year 1801, and the chronology of this period, between the end of the 18th century and 1836, roughly corresponds to the Ancien Régime (Silveira, 1997). From the 1830s onwards, the Kingdom's administrative division underwent several changes (Silveira, 1997). The first attempt of the liberal administrative reorganisation was initiated in 1834, with the establishment of districts in 1835 and the reform of councils in 1836 (Silveira, 1997).
- For the data between 1836 and 1851, the year 1842 was used as the base administrative division. The latter corresponds to a year of stabilisation of the system and, consequently, of the administrative boundaries. Up to this point, changes had occurred, for example, in the boundaries at district level (Silveira, 1997).
- For the period from 1852 to 1884, the year 1878 was designated as the fundamental administrative division, a development that coincided with the municipal and city boundaries of Lisbon being reduced in 1852. Consequently, the distinction between the city (with a reduced area) and its environs (with an expanded area), which had persisted since the Ancien Régime and even continued under Liberalism until 1851, was eliminated (Alves, 2004). The administrative division of 1878 was selected as a pivotal year in the policy towards the foundlings in the city of Lisbon, marking the conclusion of the anonymous abandonment of children on the foundling wheel by the end of 1870. By this juncture, the wheel had been relocated within the premises of the Real Casa dos Expostos in Lisbon (Paulino, 2019).
- For the data from 1885 to 1910, the year 1890 was used as the administrative base. In 1885, the city underwent further expansion, with the municipality and the city maintaining the same area (Alves, 2004).

- For data subsequent to 1910, the base administrative division was set at 1920.

In light of the significance of Lisbon within the scope of this analysis, particularly given its role as the municipality of Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa and its status as the origin of the majority of foundlings within this institution, as evidenced by historical cartography, it was deemed necessary to incorporate the geographical boundaries of the city into the cartographic representation. This incorporation was undertaken by extending the cartographic boundaries of the city, as delineated on maps based on the municipal administrative division, to encompass the additional geographical area. This methodological decision is expected to facilitate comprehension of the true dimensions of the city and the municipality, particularly in chronologies where there was no parallel and the municipal area exceeded that of the city. This is particularly salient before 1836 and between 1836 and 1851.

Following the establishment of the chronological periods and the definition of the basic administrative division to be used (municipality and parish level in the municipality of Lisbon), a new individual analysis of the records with geographical information was carried out. The purpose of this analysis was to compare them with the attribute tables of the shapefiles from the Digital Humanities Lab. The objective of this stage was to collect the name of the parish and municipality contained in the shapefiles, as well as the respective identification code. The subsequent phase involved enriching the Excel file with the corresponding data for georeferencing, which was carried out in three stages:

- 1) Initially, all the foundling tokens were processed, with the exception of those pertaining to the city of Lisbon, for which geographical information was only set at the municipal level. Subsequently, the relevant identification code and name on the shapefile were appended to the Excel file, in a separate column (figure 1).

ReferenceCode	Identifier	scopeAndContent	Place	G	Type	COD180	Parish cartography	Parish/Place	CODCONC	Municipality_cartography	Municipality/outskirts/bishopric_source
PT-SCMLSB/CE/EE/EB/08/012/214	214	Female child (born in Sintra) baptised by Father Miguel dos Santos. It includes a note from the priest stating that the child had been baptised at home on condition.	1		C Birth				3405	Sintra	Sintra

Figure 1. Geographical information is processed at municipality level, for records that only had information at this level of description (except for the municipality of Lisbon).

- 2) Secondly, for municipalities other than Lisbon, an individual check was performed on all records that contained information at the parish or place level in the primary source. A parallel of this information was sought in the shapefiles, with a view to confirming the parish or place's municipality of origin. It was found that, in some cases, the parish or place transcribed in the source corresponded to a municipality other than the one mentioned. This process was undertaken when data was available at the parish or place level for all municipalities in mainland Portugal, with the objective of ensuring the most accurate representation possible. The shapefiles' identifying codes are also provided (figure 2).

ReferenceCode	identifier	scopeAndContent	Place	Geography	Type	COD180	Parish_ cartography	Parish/ place	CODCONC	Municipality_ cartography	County/ outskirts /bishopric_ sorce
PT-SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/E B/08/005/274	274	Male child, baptised on 30 April 1794 by Father Manuel Pereira Torcato, priest of the parish of Santa Maria Madalena de Aldeia Gavinha de Alenquer. Includes the baptism certificate issued by the priest.	1	C	Baptism		-	Santa Maria Madalena da Aldeia Gavinha	160	Aldeia Galega da Merciana	Alenquer
PT-SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/E B/08/001/011	11	Male children, born to unknown parents, baptised on 4 January 1790 by Friar Manuel Correia de Lacerda, a young nobleman of the Royal House, priest of the parish of Santa Maria da Graça in Setúbal.	1	C	Baptism		-	Santa Maria da Graça	3355	Setúbal	Setúbal

Figure 2. Geographical information is processed at municipality level exclusively for records at parish level (except for the municipality of Lisbon).

The third step in the process entailed the processing of data pertaining to the municipality of Lisbon and its parishes. In this instance too, it was necessary to ascertain whether the parish or place was, indeed, part of this municipality. The name of the municipality, the parish and the identifier code for both levels were therefore recorded as shown in the shapefile (figure 3).

ReferenceCode	identifier	scopeAndConte	Place	Geography	Type	COD180	Parish/cartograp	Parish/ place/font	CODCONC	Municipality _cartography	Municipality / outskirts /bishopric_sourc
PT-SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/ 005/658	658	Male child, son of José Joaquim and Inácia Maria do Sacramento, baptised in the parish of Nossa Senhora da Conceição in the city of Lisbon.	1	C	Baptism	4061	(Lisbon) Conceição	Nossa Senhora da Conceição	1915	Lisbon	Lisbon
PT-SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/ 001/553	553	Female child, born on 25 September 1790 to unknown parents, baptised on the 29th of the same month and year by Father António Viegas, substitute parish priest of the parish of Coração de Jesus in the city of Lisbon.	1	C	Baptism	4072	(Lisbon) Coração de Jesus	Coração de Jesus	1915	Lisbon	Lisbon

Figure 3. Processing of geographical information at the level of the municipality of Lisbon and its parishes.

It should be noted that the chronological division of the administrative divisions into five periods - and consequently the adoption of five different shapefiles - entailed changes to the nomenclature of municipalities and parishes and the identifying codes in attribute tables. These changes resulted in the processing being carried out for each period in isolation.

Following the organisation and processing of the information, the historical cartography was created with the free and open-source geographic information system software QGIS. (<https://qgis.org/en/site/>).

Quantitative historical cartography was produced for the chronological segments defined at the municipal level, as well as for the parishes of the city of Lisbon (which will be presented in a subsequent chapter). The records were processed in Excel, and calculations were made for the total number of records for each municipality for the five periods, as well as the same calculations for the parishes of the municipality of Lisbon. The identifying code for each was registered, as well as the accounting. These calculations form the foundation for the integration of the administrative division layer of the shapefiles with the data derived from the founding tokens, culminating in the creation of the map presented below.

In addition to this output, statistics can be added regarding the total number of tokens with geographical information (which will be presented in a later chapter).

2.1 Challenges and subsequent solutions

Given the presence of varying levels of description in the tokens' geographical information, in 25 cases it was not possible to identify the parish or municipality mentioned.

The absence of identifiable parallels in the attribute table of the shapefiles, or the existence of multiple parishes sharing the same name across the entirety of mainland Portugal, where the source does not provide information at the parish level, renders georeferencing of these tokens unfeasible (see Table 1 in the annexes).

Concurrently, and confined to Lisbon, 33 records identified were situated at the intersection of parishes. These records make mention of neighbourhoods, streets, lanes or specific buildings, but without any further information or a door number that would allow for a more detailed approach. We have linked the information at municipality level, but not at the level of parishes. We have recorded in a note box those in which the site was located (see table 2 in the annexes).

3. Analysing statistical data and historical cartography

The objective of this chapter is to present the findings of the research that was conducted. The subsequent division of this chapter will be into two sections. The initial section will be an analysis of the statistical data. The second section will be an analysis of the historical cartography that was produced.

The initial stage of the research is to analyse the statistics. An attempt was made to enumerate the number of founding tokens analysed, as well as to determine the number of those which had geographical information and were therefore included in the historical cartography (in raw numbers and percentages). Within this spatial framework,

the geographical origins of the children were analysed, with the children from mainland Portugal, islands and abroad considered (in raw numbers and percentages). For micro-analysis, the number of children from the Lisbon municipality and the number with information at parish level were analysed (both in raw numbers and percentages). The resulting statistics are presented in Table 1, delineated according to the five specified time periods.

As these tokens also possessed what could be considered the typology of the geographical reference - namely, whether it was associated with the location of birth, baptism, or the mother's place of residence - the following statistics are presented in Table 2. These statistics include the raw numbers and percentages for the five chronological gaps.

Table 1. The following statistics are provided for the tokens from the latter half of the 18th century to the mid-20th century. These statistics include the existence of geographical information, origin and data on Lisbon (gross figures and percentages).

	Number of Tokens	Tokens with geography		Origin						Municipality of Lisbon		Information on Lisbon's parishes	
		Total	%	Mainland	%	Islands	%	International	%	Total	%	Total	%
Prior to 1836	36.691	10.095	27,51	10.089	99,94	0	0,00	6	0,06	6.183	61,28	6.155	99,55
1836-1851	13.643	3.219	23,59	3.215	99,88	2	0,06	2	0,06	2.906	90,39	2.906	100,00
1852-1884	30.213	5.702	18,87	5.701	99,98	0	0,00	1	0,00	5.544	97,25	5.540	99,93
1885-1910	4.722	4.439	94,01	4.439	100,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	4.413	99,41	4.410	99,93
After 1910	2.436	1.590	65,27	1.587	99,81	0	0	3	0,19	1.375	86,64	1.301	94,62

As illustrated in Table 1, there are two distinct periods that can be identified in relation to the total number of tokens. Firstly, during a period when anonymous child abandonment was widespread. This corresponds to the hiatus before 1836, from 1836 to 1851 and a significant part of the period from 1852 to 1884. It is widely accepted that this practice came to an end in the city of Lisbon on 1 December 1870. This finding is supported by the observation that a greater number of tokens are concentrated within these chronological periods, as they also correspond to a higher frequency of children being institutionally abandoned. For instance, on the eve of the end of anonymous child abandonment in the capital (1869), 2,901 children were left in the foundling wheel of the Misericórdia de Lisboa (Paulino, 2019)¹.

Following the modification of the model for admitting foundlings to this institution, which was now weighted and justified, the number of abandoned children fell to 2,551 in 1871, 780 in 1872 and 317 in 1873 (Paulino, 2019). This represented a transitional period, and the figures subsequently stabilised, reaching a nadir in 1906 with 88 abandonments (Paulino, 2019). This decline can be attributed to the measures implemented by the Misericórdia de Lisboa from 1871 onwards, including the requirement for the child's admission to be formally requested (leading to a decrease in anonymous abandonment), the necessity to provide evidence of the mother's identity and residence in the capital within the nine months prior to the birth, and the prohibition of children older than six months (Paulino, 2019). Consequently, the decline in the number of foundling tokens in the sample may be attributed to the decline in the number of abandoned children at Misericórdia de Lisboa.

With regard to the presence of geographical information on foundling tokens prior to 1884, it is evident that only approximately one-quarter or less of these tokens contained

¹ The aforementioned statistics were not significantly lower than those observed in other European cities. For instance, in the mid-nineteenth century, approximately 4,000 children were abandoned each year in Paris, a major capital city. In Milan, from 1842 onwards, the number of abandoned children was never less than 3,000 per year, and between 1861 and 1867 it reached 5,000 abandonments per year (Fuchs, 1984; Hunecke, 1985; Jablonka, 2006).

such data. Specifically, in the period prior to 1836, this figure stood at 27.51%; between 1836 and 1851, it was 23.59%; and between 1852 and 1884, it was 18.87%. These figures are considered low in relation to the total. It was not until 1885 that the proportion of tokens reaching 94.01% was observed, and this was followed by 65.27% after 1910.

A macro-analytical perspective reveals that a significant proportion of references pertaining to foundling tokens are associated with mainland Portugal. Indeed, between the close of the 18th century and the mid-20th century, 99.94% to 100% of all tokens bearing geographical data pertain to mainland Portugal.

A more detailed analysis indicates that the majority of the geographical data contained in the foundling tokens pertains to the municipality of Lisbon. However, for the period prior to 1836, this association is less pronounced, corresponding to 61.28%.

This phenomenon could be attributed to the abandonment of children from other municipalities, particularly those in closer proximity to the capital, as evidenced by historical sources, including those produced by Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa itself. This hypothesis will be confirmed by producing historical cartography, which will be used to illustrate specific examples. However, it should be noted that this figure rose until after 1910, from 90.39% in 1836-1851 to 99.41% in 1885-1910, and then fell slightly to 94.62% after 1910. This trend may be linked to a greater control by the Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa over the admission of minors from outside the municipality.

With regard to the municipality of Lisbon and, more specifically, the presence of information at the parish level, it is evident that in all the periods analysed, the data is between 94.62% and 100% complete, thereby providing a satisfactory representation of the provenance of the foundlings in the portuguese capital.

Table 2. Typology of geographical reference: mainland Portugal (gross figures and percentage).

	Birth		Baptism		Abandonment		Declaration of poverty		Certificate of good conduct		Certificate of illness and poverty		Certificate		Mother's place of birth		Mother's/parent's residence		Parental/family occupation		No indication	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Ant.1836	4442	44,03	5638	55,88	1	0,01	6	0,06	0	0,00	0	0,00	1	0,01	0	0,00	1	0,01	0	0,00	0	0,00
1836-1851	2666	82,92	547	17,01	0	0,00	2	0,06	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
1852-1884	3545	62,18	2012	35,29	0	0,00	137	2,40	1	0,02	1	0,02	1	0,02	0	0,00	0	0,00	3	0,05	1	0,02
1885-1910	9	0,203	4429	99,77	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	1	0,02	0	0,00
Post.1910	1120	70,57	66	4,16	1	0,06	1	0,06	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	61	3,84	326	20,54	12	0,76	0	0,00

As illustrated in Table 2, the typology associated with geographical information is delineated by reference to the specific category, including, but not limited to, birthplace, baptism, institutionalized abandonment, and so forth. This typology is the one to which the source refers; as such, it should be noted that different producers may refer to the same typology in different ways, for example by referring to a declaration or certificate. In such instances, the data was standardised prior to processing.

A general analysis of Table 2 reveals that the majority of the chronological intervals under consideration share common elements, including birth, baptism and poverty certificate. However, it was only between 1852 and 1884 that the typologies diversified, although some of them reappeared on occasion, such as the certificate of good conduct or the profession of the parents or another family member.

The spatiality mentioned in the foundling token is related to the birth or baptism of the child, alternating between one case and the other. The mother's or parents' place of residence (20.54%) is of some importance, although not predominant, in a period after 1910. This phenomenon may be linked to the greater control over children's origins, which began in 1871 with the end of anonymous child abandonment in the capital. This change was precipitated by the fact that, from the previous year, Misericórdia de Lisboa could no longer admit abandon children from outside the municipality, and mothers had to provide evidence of their residence in the municipality

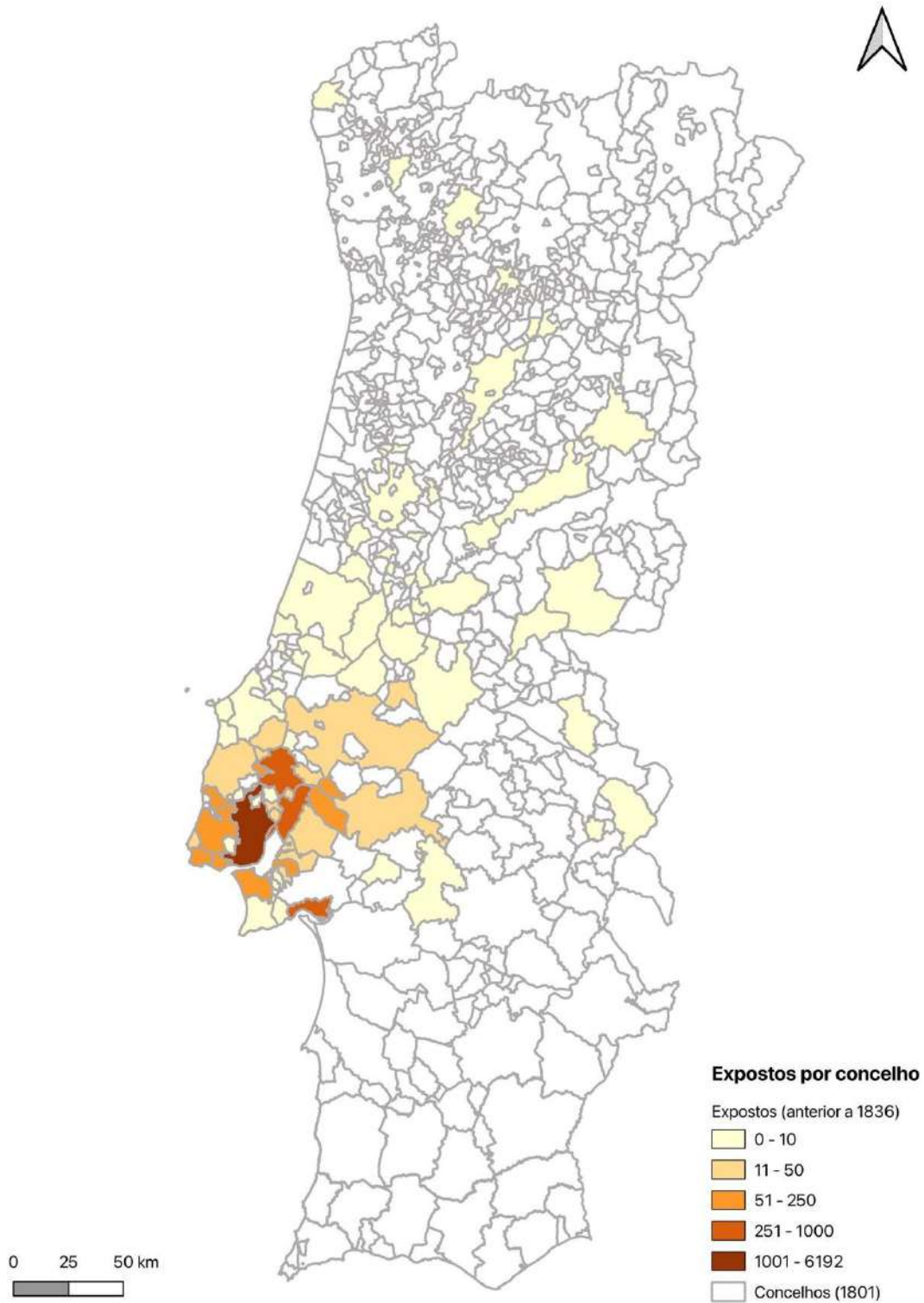


Figure 4: Number of foundlings per municipality, according to geographical information on the tokens before 1836

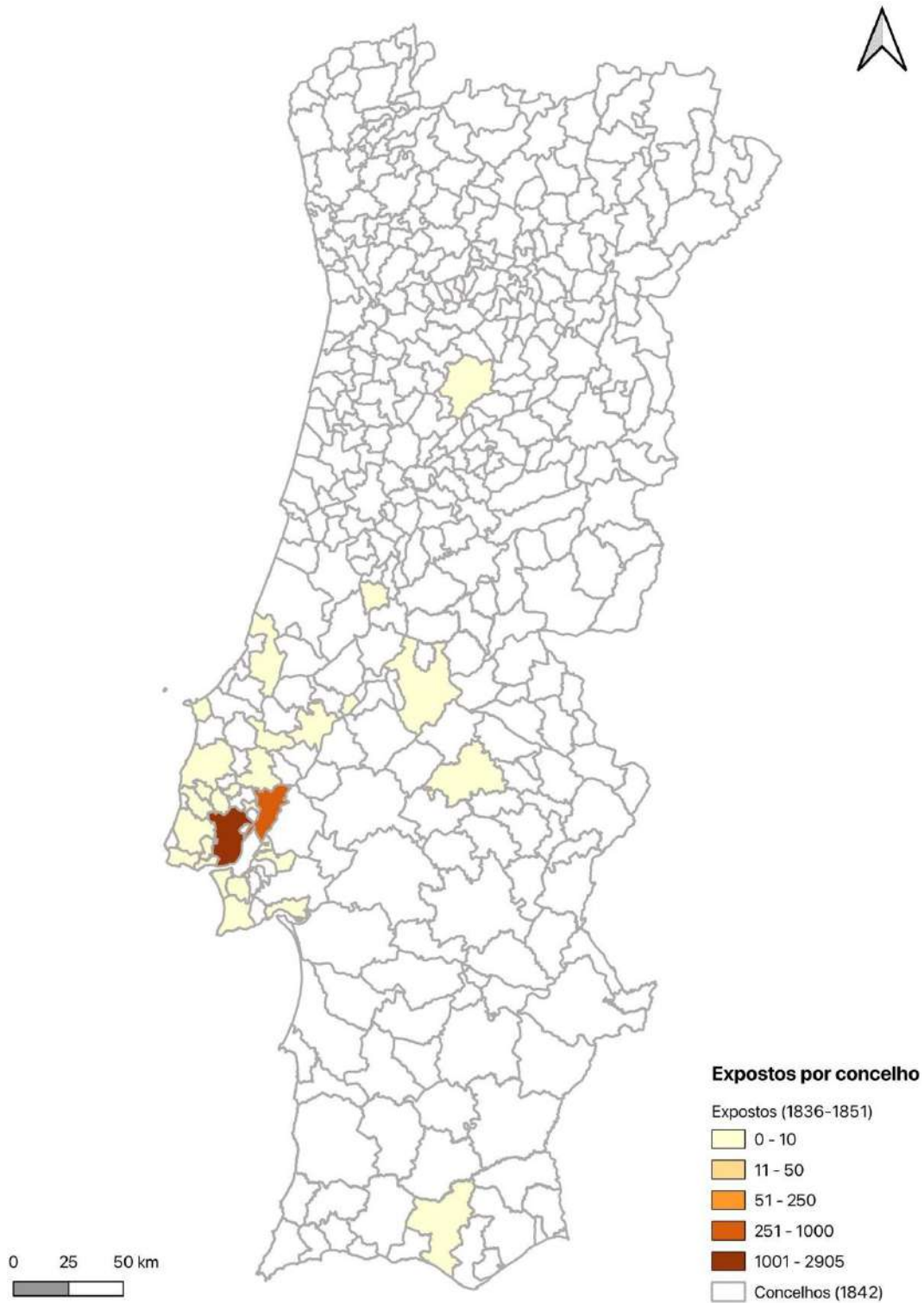


Figure 5: Number of foundlings per municipality, according to geographical information on the tokens between 1836 and 1851.

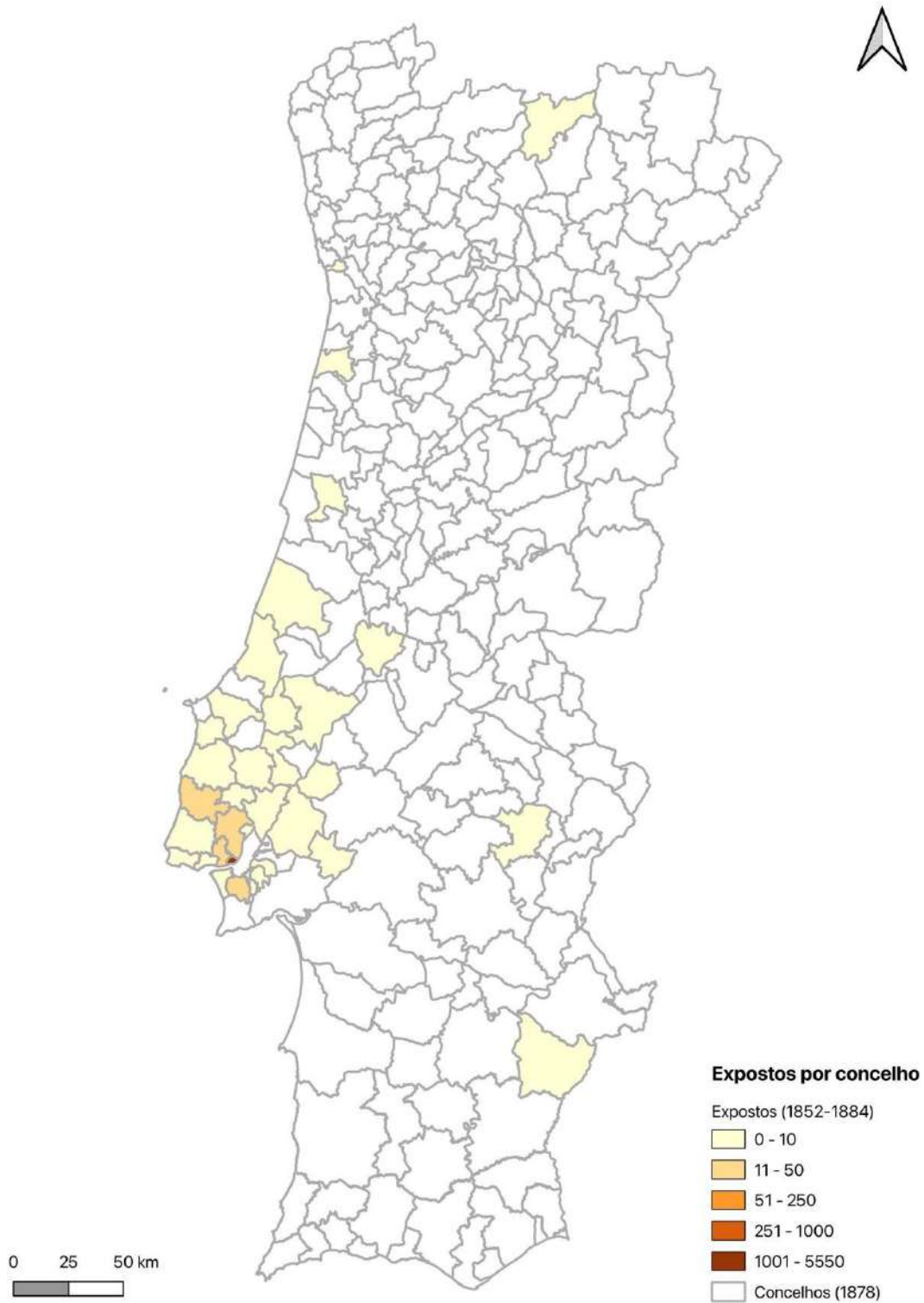


Figure 6: Number of foundlings per municipality, according to geographical information on the tokens between 1852 and 1884..

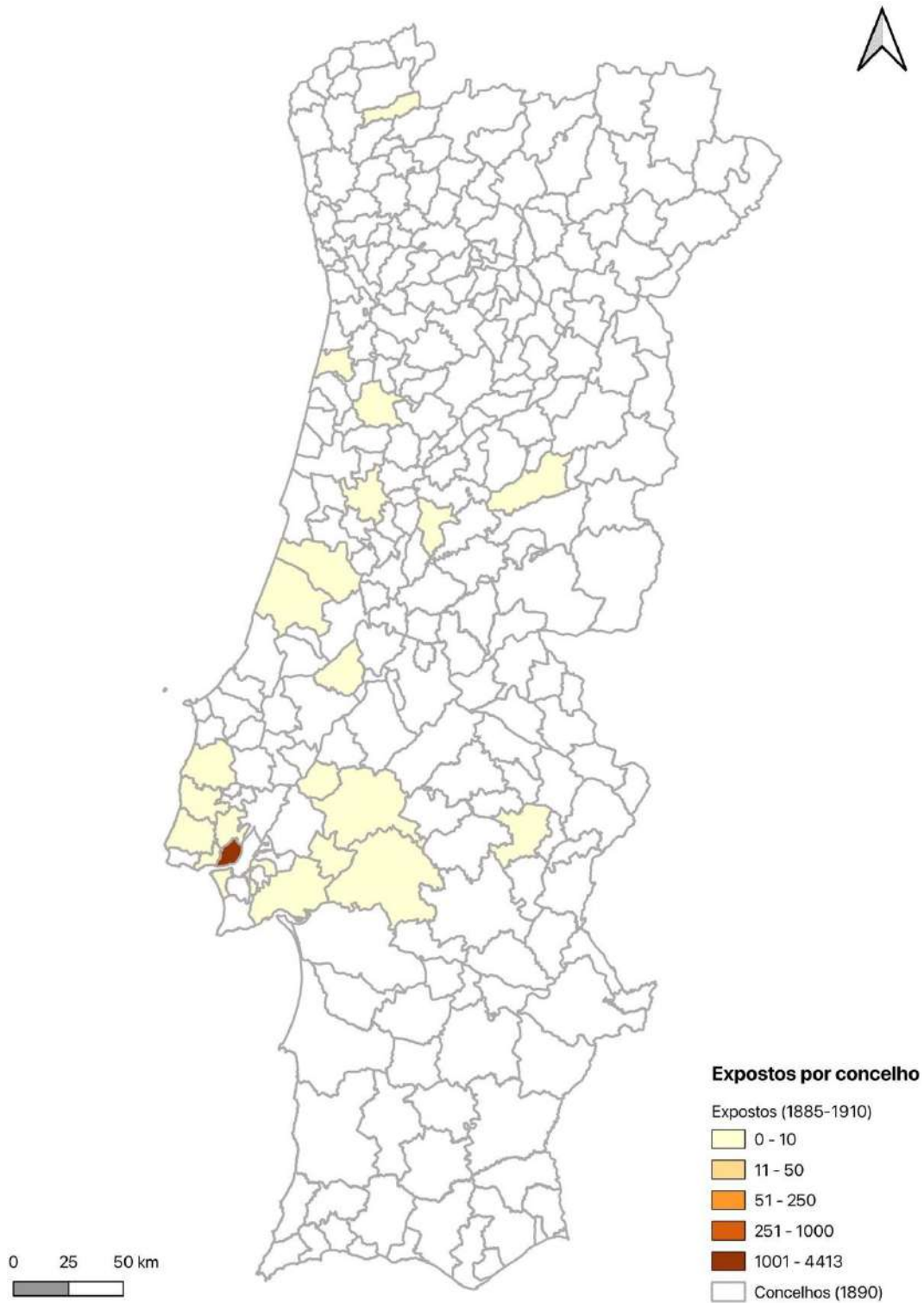


Figure 7: Number of foundlings per municipality, according to geographical information on the tokens between 1885 and 1910.

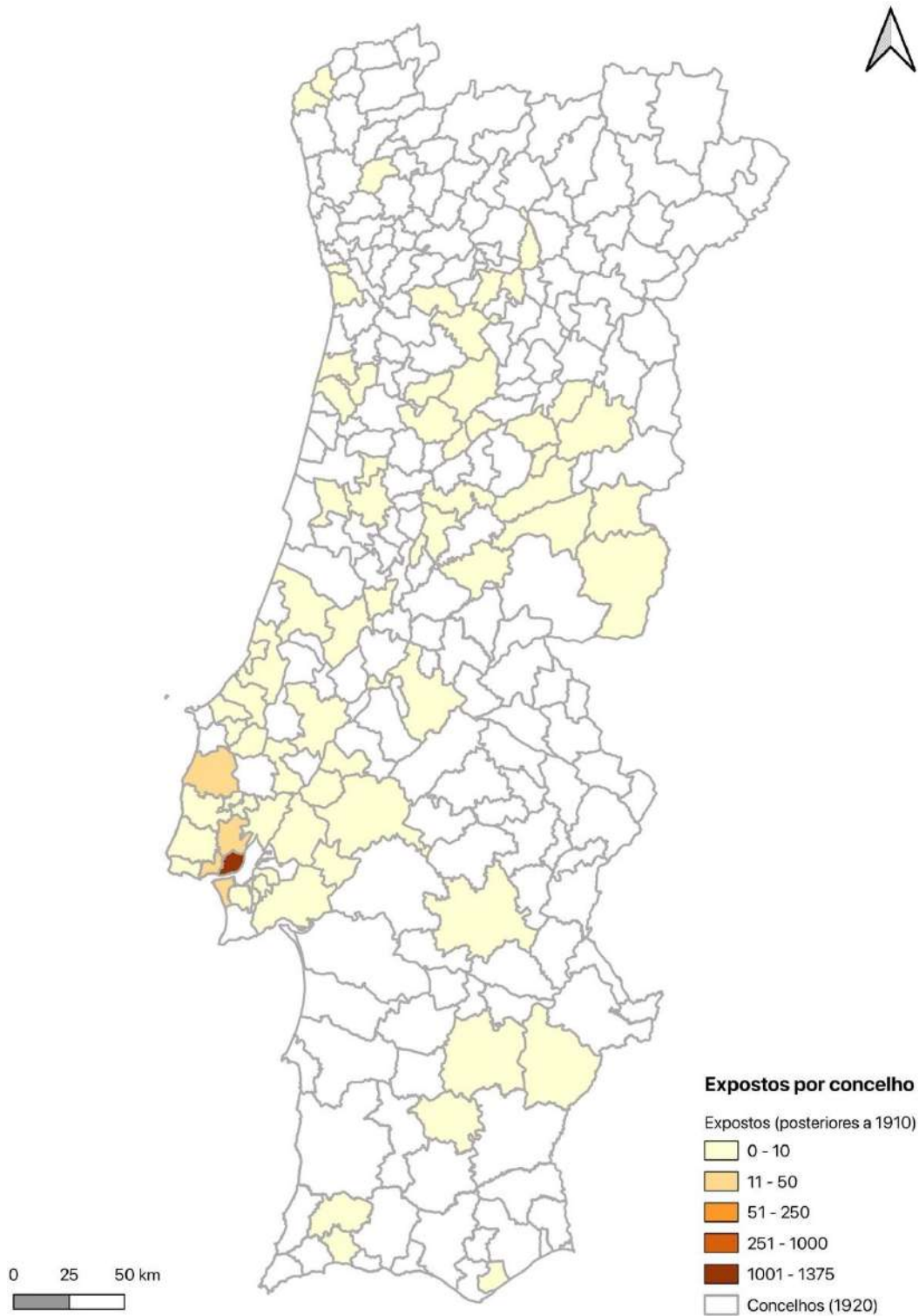


Figure 8: Number of foundlings per municipality, according to geographical information on the tokens after 1910.

Figures 4 to 8 illustrate the number of foundlings per municipality according to the information contained in the foundling tokens with geographical data. Each figure is assigned a chronological period. Accordingly, figure 4 corresponds to the period prior to 1836, figure 5 to the period between 1836 and 1851, figure 6 to the period between 1852 and 1884, figure 7 to the period from 1885 to 1910, and finally figure 8 to the period after 1910.

A thorough examination of the historical cartography reveals a marked predominance of children from the municipality of Lisbon. Indeed, the geographical area of influence of Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa in terms of receiving abandoned children was relatively small when considered all municipalities in mainland Portugal, with only occasional cases recorded in municipalities situated further away from the capital. However, a notable representation of the municipalities closest to Lisbon is observed.

For instance, 6,192 minors arrived from the municipality of Lisbon prior to 1836 (see Figure 4). Although the figures are lower, the neighbouring municipalities of Vila Franca de Xira (878), Setúbal (785), Alenquer (585) and Sintra (201) are of particular interest. Despite the presence of children from more distant municipalities such as Caminha, Braga or Celorico de Basto, these are isolated cases involving only one minor. A significant proportion of the abandoned children originate from the municipality of Lisbon itself, in addition to the surrounding districts.

As we move chronologically, the concentration of children from Lisbon increases, while dispersion across the continent decreases. For example, in Figure 5, between 1836 and 1851, there continues to be a preponderance of Lisbon (2,905), which is accentuated in Figure 6, referring to the period 1852 to 1884 (5,550 children), and remains equally preponderant in Figure 7, between 1885 and 1910 (4,413), and in Figure 8, after 1910 (1,375).

As the temporal progression is made, it becomes evident that there is a greater concentration of children in Lisbon, whilst the dispersion across the whole of the mainland has decreased. As demonstrated in Figure 5, between 1836 and 1851, there was a clear preponderance of Lisbon (2,905). This trend is further accentuated in Figure 6, which refers to the period from 1852 to 1884 (5,550 children), and remains equally evident in Figures 7 (4,413) between 1885 and 1910 and Figure 8 (1,375) after 1910.

Conversely, the greater weight of the municipalities adjacent to the city of Lisbon is subject to variation. In the period between 1836 and 1851 (see Figure 5), the municipality of Vila Franca de Xira (257) is the only one to demonstrate a significant deviation from the norm (with the remaining municipalities in yellow displaying variations in the number of children between 1 and 6). However, in the subsequent period between 1852 and 1884 (see Figure 6), a greater number of municipalities emerge as outliers, though these show a decline in the number of children. Specifically, Olivais (45), Belém (20), Mafra (13) and Seixal (13) emerged as notable municipalities. Between 1885 and 1910 (see Figure 7), the number of children from other parishes was sporadic, with only one or two children recorded in any given year. However, after 1910, 21 other neighbouring parishes emerged as significant contributors, although this increase was not statistically significant. These include Loures (19), Torres Vedras (18), Oeiras (17) and Almada (14).

Indeed, the practice of child abandonment was a common occurrence until it ended in the capital at the end of the year 1870. Misericórdia de Lisboa routinely voiced discontent regarding the reception of children from other municipalities, asserting that the responsibility for their care should fall upon the foundling wheels in their respective municipalities of origin. For instance, consider the official letter from this institution dated February 1852, addressed to the civil governor of Lisbon, in which it was reported that a newborn girl had been transferred to the *Real Casa dos Expostos* in Lisbon, an action that

had been authorised by the administration of Oeiras. The transport of the infant was purportedly executed by Maria Gomes, a resident of the aforementioned place. The institution claimed that the child's guardianship did not belong to that Misericórdia, but rather to the place of origin. Consequently, the child was denied entry to the institution². It is worthy of note that numerous accounts in the sources exhibit analogous circumstances. Institutional efforts to address this issue manifested in August of the same year, when the Ministry of the Kingdom received a proposal for a project aimed at preventing such occurrences. However, despite the institution's repeated reminders to the government, no documentation has been found that specifically references the project's progress³.

The closure of foundling wheels in the municipalities close to Lisbon in 1866, without the creation of hospices in the latter area, is a significant factor in the deterioration of the situation. Indeed, it is estimated that this closure resulted in an increase in the number of children coming from these spaces, and consequently an increase in the abandonment of minors in *Real Casa dos Expostos* in Lisbon and handed over to their tutelage.

Concomitant with this situation, it is to be expected that the tendency for the municipality of Lisbon to predominate should be accentuated from the end of 1870 onwards, given the measures imposed from 1871 onwards to apply for child admission, such as the presentation of proof of the mother's residence in the capital in the nine months prior to giving birth. Furthermore, the mother and child were formally reported to the relevant local authorities following the birth at “Hospital de S. José”. In 1875, the supervision of

²ANTT, Ministério do Reino – Conselho Geral de Beneficência, mç. 4507, Ofício da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa sobre as lotarias, 12 de novembro de 1853.

³ In the face of the government's inactivity, Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa took the initiative to implement measures, including the imposition of penalties and the charging of individuals who abandoned minors from outside the municipality of Lisbon to the institution. Also called for the assistance of local administrative authorities to monitor parents who had the means to raise their children, whether legitimate or illegitimate, and to provide them with compensation in the event of non-compliance. ANTT, fonds Ministério do Reino – subfonds Conselho Geral de Beneficência, bundle 4507, *Consulta do Conselho Geral de Beneficência sobre a representação da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa para a repressão dos abusos na sua roda, 4 de dezembro de 1852*. AHSCML, *Acta... nº 1*, 27 de março de 1852, fls. 21v-22; 18 de abril de 1853, fl. 112v; 19 de junho de 1852, fl. 40v; Fonds: Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, subfonds: Gestão Administrativa, *Correspondência recebida e expedida*, box 13, bundle 13, file 1, september 11, 1853.

expectant mothers and their infants was further intensified. Pregnant women who had given birth in the hospital were escorted by police officers on their return to their place of origin. This measure effectively precluded the women from relinquishing their children to Misericórdia de Lisboa, thus ensuring that the institution could not accept children from outside the municipality⁴. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in the early stages of the decline of anonymous abandonment in the capital, it was common practice for the *recoveiras*, women who were paid to transport children to the institution, to make false declarations about the legitimacy of the children, their parentage and residence. In order to circumvent this issue, in April 1871 the *recoveiras* were compelled to present a document substantiating their identity, undertaking responsibility for the statements made and providing evidence of the mother's residence in the city of Lisbon⁵.

It is evident that, in the face of abuses perpetrated by other municipalities, both before and after 1870, Misericórdia de Lisboa endeavoured to assume an active role in combating these violations. This commitment is evidenced by the institution's proactive initiatives and its appeals to the government for intervention.

This assertion is substantiated by the historical cartography under scrutiny, which evidences a marked preponderance of children from Lisbon, accompanied by a decline in those hailing from other municipalities, particularly those in closer proximity to the capital.

⁴ This accompaniment was paid for by Misericórdia itself. AHSCML, *Acta...* no. 10, 8 March 1871, fl. 5v; 23 February 1875, fl. 137.

⁵ Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, *Relatório...*, 1871 (2), pp. 7-9.

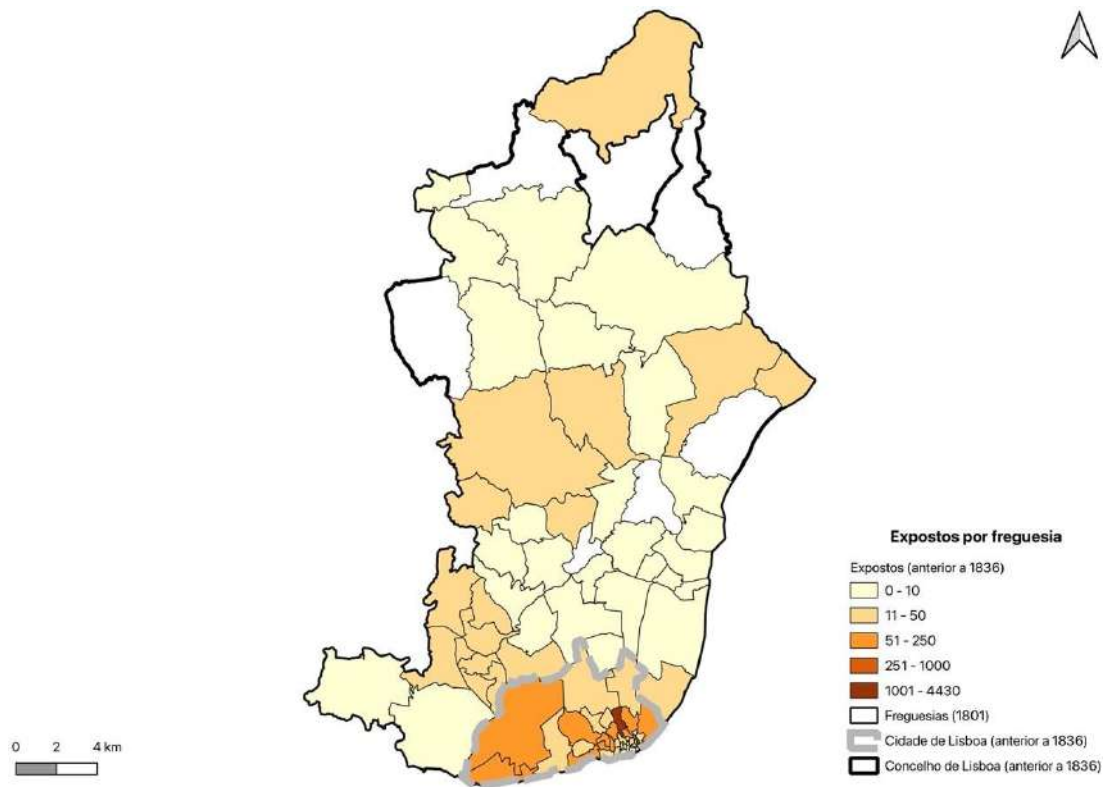


Table 9. Number of foundlings per parish in the municipality of Lisbon, according to geographical information on the tokens prior to 1836.

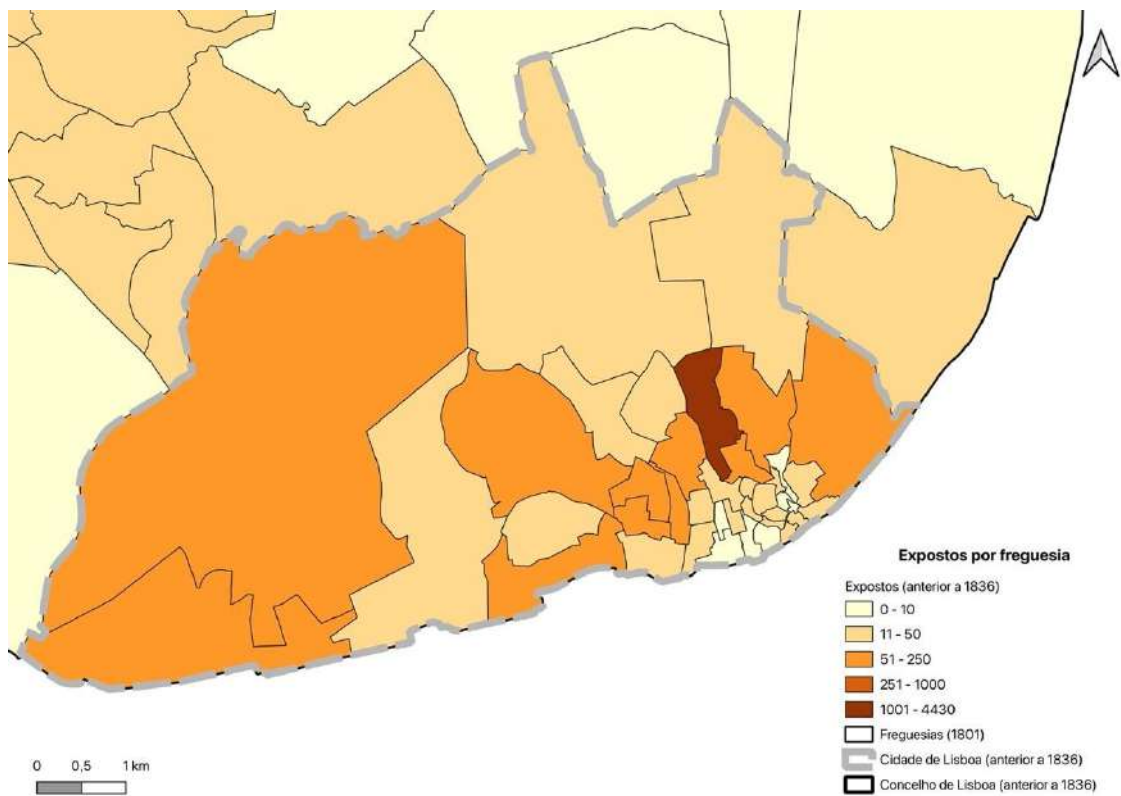


Table 10. Number of foundlings per parish in the municipality of Lisbon, according to geographical information on the tokens prior to 1836 (Zoom to Lisbon).

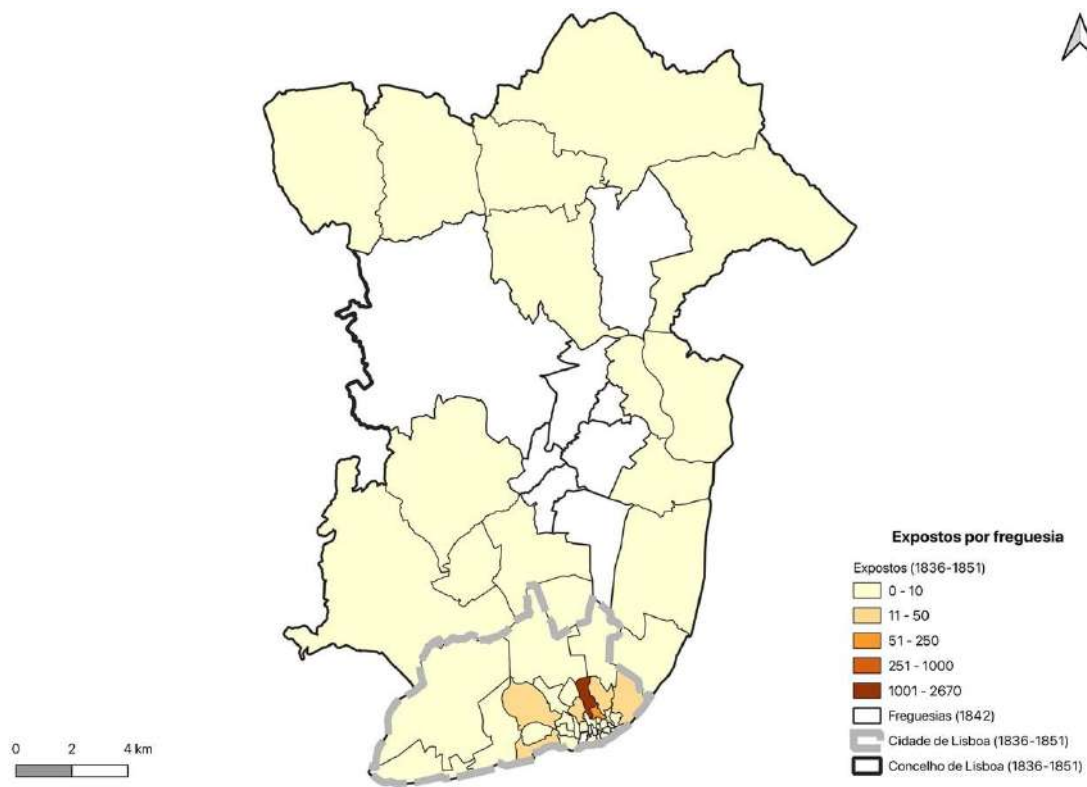


Table 11. Number of foundlings per parish in the municipality of Lisbon, according to geographical information on the tokens between 1836 and 1851.

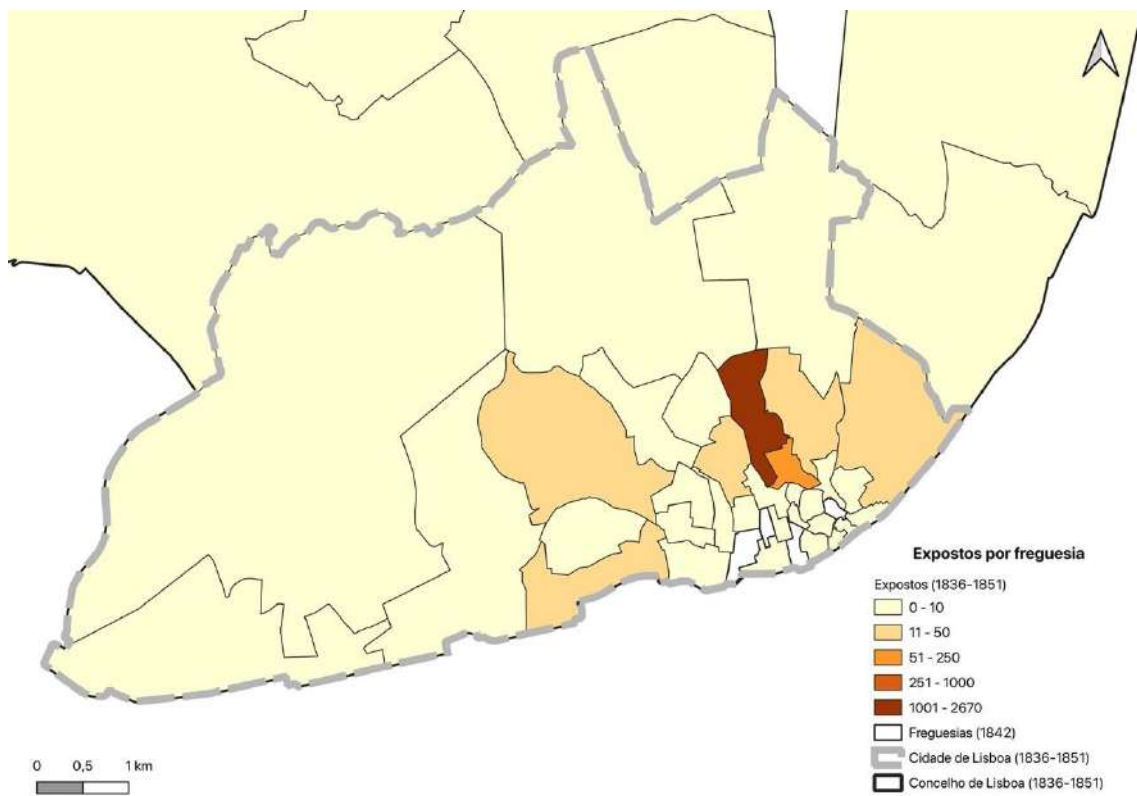


Table 12. Number of foundlings per parish in the municipality of Lisbon, according to geographical information on the tokens between 1836 and 1851 (Zoom to Lisbon).

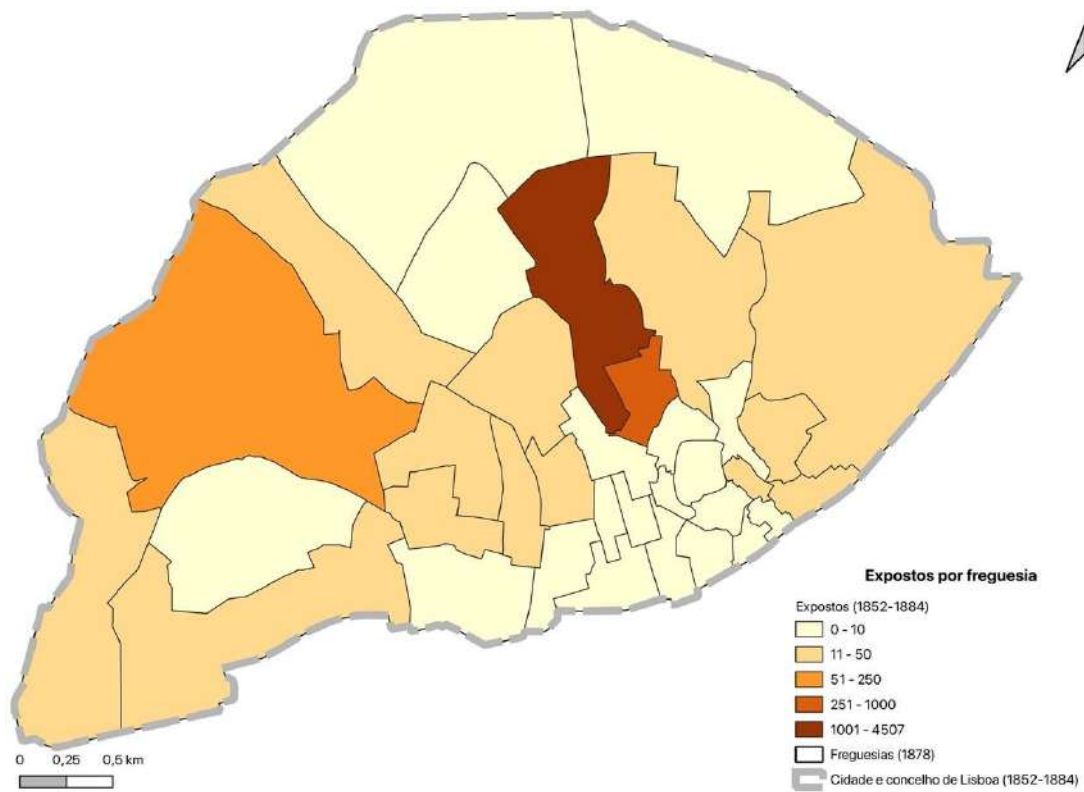


Table 13. Number of foundlings per parish in the municipality of Lisbon, according to geographical information on the tokens between 1852 and 1884.

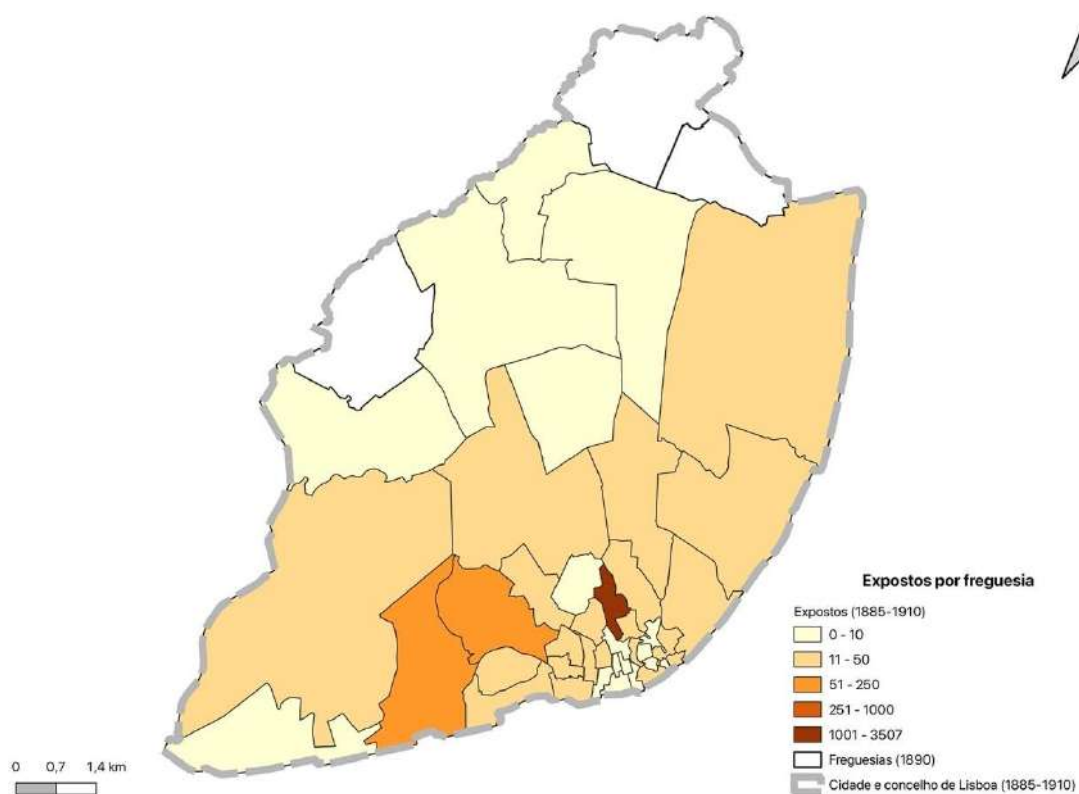


Table 14. Number of foundlings per parish in the municipality of Lisbon, according to geographical information on the tokens between 1885 and 1910.

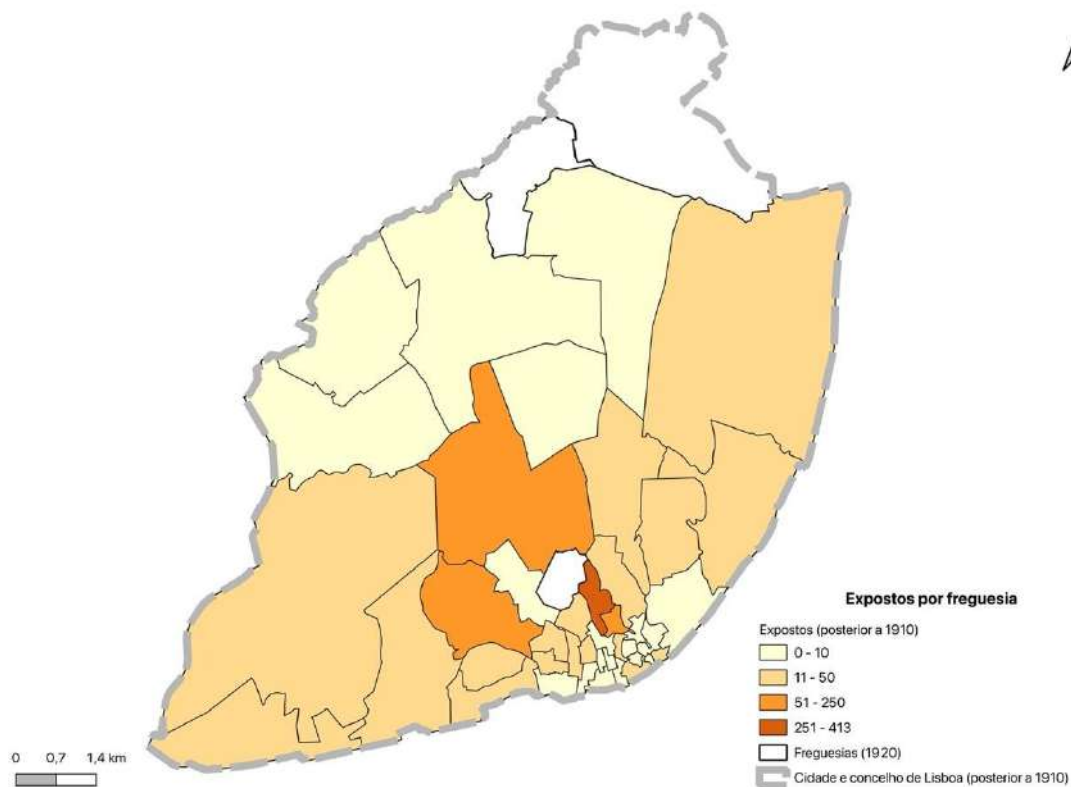


Table 15. Number of foundlings per parish in the municipality of Lisbon, according to geographical information on the tokens after 1910.

Figures 9 to 15 illustrate the number of foundlings per parish in the municipality of Lisbon for the chronological periods analysed (see Figures 9, 11, 13, 14 and 15). Given that the size of the municipality of Lisbon in the gaps before 1836 and between 1836 and 1851 did not coincide with the city, but was larger than it, a second map was presented for these chronologies. This second map refers to a maximised representation at the level of the city of Lisbon (see Figures 10 and 12).

When considering the municipality and city of Lisbon, it is evident that there is a continuity in the dominance of the parish of Pena throughout the period analysed. The data reveals that prior to 1836, 4,430 children were born there, while between 1836 and 1851, the figure was 2,670. From 1852 to 1884, the number increased to 4,507, and between 1885 and 1910, it was 3,507. After 1910, the figure stood at 413. This may be related to the fact that the most representative typologies (see Table 2) were births and baptisms. The “Hospital de São José” was located within the parish. It was here that the majority of the foundlings in this sample were born and baptised.

Despite their relative infrequency in comparison to the parish of Pena, parishes were also identified in the area surrounding Lisbon's historic city centre and in its outlying parishes. These latter parishes include Socorro, Santa Isabel and Anjos. These correspond, for example, to the parishes where the housing of the 'laboring classes' was located in larger numbers (Alcântara, 2019). It is evident that population growth has also occurred in certain parishes, such as Santa Isabel and Anjos, which extended significantly to Arroios, Coração de Jesus and Alcântara (see table 3 in the annexes). This population growth can be attributed to urban expansion, driven by migration and often associated with a more economically disadvantaged population, which aligns with the social profile of the majority of the abandoners of these minors (Paulino, 2019; Rodrigues, 1995).

4. Conclusion

The present document is the product of the work of the Digital Humanities Lab team, who were responsible for the historical cartography, which was based on the analysis and processing of data contained in the tokens between the end of the 18th century and the middle of the 20th century. This data is held in the Historical Archive of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa.

The methodology applied, which was based on an individual analysis of the records, their division into chronological periods and the processing of data for georeferencing, allowed the production of historically accurate cartography with a geographic information system. This system takes us to the origin of the foundlings at the level of mainland Portugal and, in this case, the parishes of the municipality of Lisbon during the period under analysis.

It can be stated that geographical references in the initial chronologies were not significant, but their presence increased over time. However, the information gathered thus far indicates that the majority of foundlings originated from mainland Portugal, specifically from the municipality of Lisbon. The neighbouring municipalities also exhibited a certain degree of predominance, though this was not significant in general terms. The records from the capital are particularly rich in detail, as they generally mention the child's parish of origin. Of particular note is the parish of Pena, for reasons that may be related to the act of birth or baptism associated with “Hospital São José”, the capital's primary medical facility during the period in question. The predominance of other parishes, situated in the central urban area and along its periphery, is related to the city's expansion, which attracted a population that exhibited a tendency to neglect their offspring.

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Annexes

Table 1. Parishes/places and municipalities / outskirts or bishopric that could not be identified due to the lack of specific information in the source

referenceCode	scopeAndContent	Parish/place_source	Municipality / outskirts /bishopric_source
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/001/009	Female child, born on 13 October 1789, baptised in the Church of São Quintino.	Igreja de S. Quintino	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/004/580	Male child, baptised on 7 October 1793 by Father António Mendes Fortuna, bursar and provost of the Castanheira Hospital. Includes the baptism certificate issued by the priest.	Hospital de Castanheira	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/010/256	Female child, born on 13 February 1799, baptised in the parish of Conceição Nova. Includes a square of paper with the initials "M. G. R.".	Conceição Nova	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/004/125	Male child, born on 31 August 1792, baptised in the parish of Coração de Jesus.	Coração de Jesus	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/004/284	Male child baptised in the parish of Guia.	Guia	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/015/092	Female child, baptised on 28 January 1804 by Father João de Figueiredo L., priest of the parish of Nossa Senhora da Lapa.	Nossa Senhora da Lapa	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/004/021	Male child, born on 7 January 1793, son of Manuel Fernandes and Josefa de Faria, baptised in the parish of Nossa Senhora da Pena on the 10th of the same month and year.	Nossa Senhora da Pena	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/002/004	Female child, baptised on 2 January 1791 by Father António José Cardoso, priest of the parish of Nossa Senhora da Purificação.	Nossa Senhora da Purificação	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/0015/495	Female child, born on 21 February 1804, baptised on 8 March of the same year in the parish of Nossa Senhora da Purificação de São Pedro.	Nossa Senhora da Purificação de São Pedro	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/005/173	Male child born in December 1793 in Aldeia Galega. Includes a green ribbon and a piece of black velvet.	?	Aldeia Galega

referenceCode	scopeAndContent	Parish/place_source	Municipality / outskirts /bishopric_source _
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/006/084	Female child, baptised on 18 February 1795 by Father António José Gomes, priest of the parish of Nossa Senhora do Monte.	Nossa Senhora do Monte	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/006/198	Female child baptised in the parish of Santa Catarina.	Santa Catarina	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/006/398	Female child, born in March 1795 in the province of Beira.	?	Beira
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/002/153	Female child, baptised on 22 March in the parish of São Mamede.	São Mamede	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/006/008	Female child, daughter of José Francisco Formiga and Maria Joaquina, baptised in the parish of São Martinho.	São Martinho	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/005/581	Female child, born in November 1791, daughter of Bartolomeu Pereira and Bernardina, deceased, baptised in the parish of São Nicolau.	São Nicolau	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/010/388	Male child, born in Aldeia Galega.	?	Aldeia Galega
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/001/538	Male child, son of Manuel Joaquim and Camila Joaquina, baptised on 21 September 1790 by Father Leonardo José Pedro da Cunha, priest of the parish of São Pedro.	São Pedro	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/017/246	Male child baptised in the parish of Nossa Senhora do Monte	Nossa Senhora do Monte	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/011/178	A female child, baptised on 27 March 1800 by Father José de Figueiredo de Santa Rita, priest of the parish of Santa Rita de Castanheira do Ribatejo. Includes the baptism certificate issued by the priest.	Santa Rita	Castanheira do Ribatejo
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/066/0653	Male child, born on 4 August 1855, in Janeira.	Janeira	?

referenceCode	scopeAndContent	Parish/place_source	Municipality / outskirts /bishopric_source
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/076/0158	Female child, born on 29 January 1865, baptised in the parish of Nossa Senhora do Socorro.	Nossa Senhora do Socorro	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/080/0123	Male child, born on 21 January 1869, son of Micaela da Silva, an assistant at Quinta dos Arciprestes.	Quinta dos Arciprestes	?
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/091/161	Female child, born on 29 October 1880, a foundling of Santa Casa da Misericórdia in Lisbon, daughter of Francisca Romana da Silva, baptised on 7 November of the same year by Father José Antunes Serra, priest of the church of the hospital.	?	?

Table 2. Places located at the confluence of parishes in the municipality of Lisbon.

referenceCode	scopeAndContent	Parish/source_place	Notes
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/005/679	Male child, born in Bairro Alto, Lisbon.	Bairro Alto	Located at the junction of the parishes of: Encarnação and Mercês (1801).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/007/391	Male and female children born in Mouraria, Lisbon.	Bairro da Mouraria	Located at the junction of the parishes of: Socorro and Anjos (1801).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/007/391	Male and female children born in Mouraria, Lisbon.	Bairro da Mouraria	Located at the junction of the parishes of: Socorro and Anjos (1801).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/009/659	Male child, born and baptised in Alfama, Lisbon.	Bairro de Alfama	Located at the junction of the parishes of: São Tiago, São Tomé, Salvador, São Vicente, São Estêvão, Santa Marinha (1801).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/003/147	Female child born on 6 March 1792 in Lisbon's Limoeiro Prison, daughter of Silvéria Rosa, a mulatto.	Limoeiro Prison	Located at the junction of the parishes of: São Tiago and São Tomé (1801).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/002/357	Male child, born on 30 June 1791 in Limoeiro, Lisbon.	Limoeiro Prison	Located at the junction of the parishes of: São Tiago and São Tomé (1801).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/010/512	Female child, born in Rua da Mouraria in Lisbon.	Mouraria	Located at the junction of the parishes of: Socorro and Anjos (1801).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/018/329	Male child, born on 9 May 1807 in the Infirmary of the Limoeiro Prison in Lisbon. Includes a drawing of an arabesque.	Limoeiro Prison infirmary	Located at the junction of the parishes of: São Tiago and São Tomé (1801).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/100/048	Male twins born on 16 March 1889 at the Rilhafoles Hospital in Lisbon, sons of Agostinho Dias and Josefa Carmona; maternal granddaughters of João Carmona and Rosa Valente.	Rilhafoles Hospital	At the junction of the parishes of: Anjos, Coração de Jesus and Nossa Senhora da Pena (1890)
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/100/060	Male child, born on 26 March 1889 at the Rilhafoles Hospital in Lisbon, son of António Salvador and Emília Augusta de Sousa; maternal grandchild of Manuel Maria de Sousa and Luísa Eugénia de Sousa.	Rilhafoles Hospital	At the junction of the parishes of: Anjos, Coração de Jesus and Nossa Senhora da Pena (1890).

PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/123/033	Male child, born on 5 December 1911, son of Artur Augusto Rodrigues, a carpenter, and Albertina Rosa da Conceição, a domestic worker, born in the parish of Santa Engrácia in Lisbon, both living in Calçada da Graça in the same city. The child was registered at the Civil Registry Office of the 1.º Bairro in that city. Includes birth registration certificate.	Calçada da Graça	At the junction of the parishes of: Santo André and Santa Marinha and São Vicente (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/123/052	Female child, born on 22 November 1911, daughter of an unknown father and Emília Rodrigues, born in Orense, Galicia, and living in Rua da Bica de Duarte Belo, in Lisbon. The child was registered at the Civil Registry Office of the 2º Bairro of Lisbon. The birth registration certificate is included.	Rua da Bica de Duarte Belo	At the junction of the parishes of: Mercês and Encarnação (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/122/199	Male child, born on 6 October 1911, son of Custódio Lopes de Silva, a worker, and Quitéria Maria da Graça, a domestic, born in the parish of Massarelos in the city of Porto, both living in Rua do Arco do Marquês de Alegrete, in Lisbon. Includes birth registration certificate. Note: the transport guide from São José Hospital states that the child was born outside the hospital.	Rua do Arco do Marquês de Alegrete	At the junction of the parishes of: Santa Justa and Socorro (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/122/091	Female child, born on 30 May 1911, daughter of an unknown father and Luísa da Conceição, a maid, born in the parish of Vilar de Besteiros, municipality of Tondela, and resident in Travessa de João de Deus. Includes birth registration certificate.	Travessa de João de Deus	At the junction of the parishes of: São José and Sacramento (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/122/092	Female child, born on 29 May 1911, daughter of Luísa da Conceição, a servant, living in Rua de São Nicolau in Lisbon. Includes birth registration certificate.	Rua de São Nicolau	At the junction of the parishes of: São Nicolau, Madalena and São Cristóvão and São Lourenço (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/122/099	Male child, born on 17 June 1911, son of an unknown father and Rosa Martins, born in Mortágua and living in Rua do Salitre. Includes birth registration certificate.	Rua do Salitre	At the junction of the parishes of: São Mamede and Coração de Jesus (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/122/128	Male child, born on 6 June 1911, son of Maria da Encarnação, a maid, living in Rua dos Mastros [in the city of Lisbon]. Includes birth registration certificate.	Rua dos Mastros	At the junction of the parishes of: Santa Catarina and Santos-o-Velho (1920).

PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/122/138	Female child, born on 2 August 1911, daughter of José Carlos dos Santos, a painter's assistant, and Luísa Vieira dos Santos, a domestic worker, born in the parish of Mercês in Lisbon and living in Travessa dos Fiéis de Deus in the same city. Includes birth registration certificate	Travessa dos Fiéis de Deus	At the junction of the parishes of: Encarnação and Santa Catarina (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/122/158	Female child, born on 10 September 1911, daughter of an unknown father and Máxima de Jesus, born in [Pera do Moço] and living in Rua dos Lagares in Lisbon. Includes birth registration certificate. Note: the transport guide from São José Hospital states that the child was born outside the hospital.	Rua dos Lagares	At the junction of the parishes of: Santo André and Santa Marinha and Anjos (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/122/172	Female child, born on 19 October 1911, daughter of Maria Emília Fernandes, a maid, born in Gouveia and living in Rua Afonso de Albuquerque [in the city of Lisbon]. Includes birth registration certificate.	Rua Afonso De Albuquerque	At the junction of the parishes of: São Tiago and São Martinho and Sé and São João da Praça (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/122/059	Male child, born on 8 April 1911, daughter of an unknown father and Maria Rosa da Silva, a maid, born in Aveiro and living in Rua do Sol ao Rato. Includes birth registration certificate.	Rua do Sol ao Rato	At the junction of the parishes of: São Mamede and Santa Isabel (1920).

PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/125/074	Female child, born on 26 January 1914 in the parish of Restauradores in Lisbon, daughter of Sofia da Conceição, a maid.	Restauradores	At the junction of the parishes of: Santa Justa, Nossa Senhora da Pena and Nossa Senhora do Socorro (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/125/142	Female child born on 25 March 1914 in the parish of Restauradores in Lisbon, daughter of Margarida Rosa, a domestic worker, and an unknown father.	Restauradores	At the junction of the parishes of: Santa Justa, Nossa Senhora da Pena and Nossa Senhora do Socorro (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/126/053	Male child, born on 8 January 1915 in the parish of Restauradores in Lisbon, son of Glória Duarte, a maid.	Restauradores	At the junction of the parishes of: Santa Justa, Nossa Senhora da Pena and Nossa Senhora do Socorro (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/126/116	Female child, born on 6 October 1915 in the parish of Restauradores in Lisbon, daughter of Maria Piedade Teodora, a prostitute, and an unknown father. Includes birth registration certificate	Restauradores	At the junction of the parishes of: Santa Justa, Nossa Senhora da Pena and Nossa Senhora do Socorro (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/127/025	Female child, born on 5 February 1916 in the parish of Restauradores in Lisbon, daughter of Elisa Maria, a maid, and an unknown father. Includes birth registration certificate	Restauradores	At the junction of the parishes of: Santa Justa, Nossa Senhora da Pena and Nossa Senhora do Socorro (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/127/044	Female child, born on 30 October 1915 in the parish of Restauradores in Lisbon, daughter of Maria de Jesus Alves Costa, a domestic worker, and an unknown father. Includes birth registration certificate.	Restauradores	At the junction of the parishes of: Santa Justa, Nossa Senhora da Pena and Nossa Senhora do Socorro (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/127/127	Male child, born on 3 August 1916 in the parish of Restauradores in Lisbon, son of Emília da Conceição, a seamstress.	Restauradores	At the junction of the parishes of: Santa Justa, Nossa Senhora da Pena and Nossa Senhora do Socorro (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/129/016	Male child, born on 14 December 1917, son of Virgínia Rosa, a maid, from the parish of Alhandra in the municipality of Vila Franca de Xira [resident in the parish of Restauradores in Lisbon] and of an unknown father. Includes birth registration certificate.	Restauradores	At the junction of the parishes of: Santa Justa, Nossa Senhora da Pena and Nossa Senhora do Socorro (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/134/052	Male child, born on 15 March 1923, son of Cândida Ferreira Pinto, a maid, born in Cantanhede [resident in the Restauradores parish in Lisbon] and of an unknown father. Includes birth registration certificate.	Restauradores	At the junction of the parishes of: Santa Justa, Nossa Senhora da Pena and Nossa Senhora do Socorro (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/136/074	Female child, born on 27 October 1924 in the parish of Graça in the city of Lisbon, daughter of José Bernardo, a Civil Police officer, and Maria do Carmo Coelho Caetano Bernardo, a domestic worker.	Graça	At the junction of the parishes of: Santo André and Santa Marinha and São Vicente (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/136/113	Female child, born on 11 July 1925, daughter of Mariana dos Santos, a domestic worker from Olhão [living in the	Restauradores	At the junction of the parishes of: Santa Justa, Nossa

	Restauradores parish in Lisbon] and of an unknown father. Includes birth registration certificate.		Senhora da Pena and Nossa Senhora do Socorro (1920).
PT -SCMLSB SCML/CE/EE/EB/08/137/107	Female child, born on 9 June 1926 in the parish of Restauradores in Lisbon, daughter of Matilde Lourenço, a domestic worker.	Restauradores	At the junction of the parishes of: Santa Justa, Nossa Senhora da Pena and Nossa Senhora do Socorro (1920).

Table 3. Variation in the number of people in Lisbon parishes between 1864 and 1900, expressed as a percentage.

Parish	Variation in the number of people
Arroios	380,04
Coração de Jesus	139,3
Santa Isabel	128,4
Anjos	124,6
Alcântara	123,5
São Sebastião	96,4
Santa Engrácia	93,7
São Vicente	83
São Cristóvão	75,3
Lapa	69,1
Pena	64,3
Socorro	54,5
São Mamede	50,8
Castelo	48,1
Santo Estêvão	45,8
Santos	41,9
São Miguel	40,8
Mercês	37,2
Santiago	36
Santo André	33,1
São José	24,5
Sé	24,1
Santa Catarina	21,2
Encarnação	15
São Paulo	14,8
Sacramento	14,6
Santa Justa	8,3
Mártires	-8,8
São Nicolau	-9,4
Conceição	-10,2
Madalena	-14,3
São Julião	-37,9