

Title: Portuguese population over the nineteenth century: an overview.  
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In the last few decades, there has been particular interest in describing demographic patterns in the 19th century in Portugal. Parish-level research has made it possible to observe marriage, fertility, mortality and migration patterns all over the country (Amorim, 1983, 1992, 1998; Andrade, 2010a, 2010b, 2011; Brettell, 1986; O'Neill, 1987; Pereira, 1996; Faria, 1998; Faustino, 1998; Gomes, 1998; Scott, 1999; Castro, 2001; Solé, 2001; Juncal, 2004). However, few efforts were made to synthesise the findings in order to get a broader overview of the Portuguese demographic dynamics over the period (Livi-Bacci, 1971; Rolland (1986)). Different parts of Portugal presented their particularities, which were mainly a consequence of regional socio-economic specificities associated with a larger context of demographic patterns (such as international migration streams). In order to fill this lack, this paper will present a review of the research findings at local and regional levels. It will also analyse data from the census of 1845, 1864, 1878, 1890 and 1900. The idea is to make a comparative analysis so regional and national patterns will be identified. In this extended abstract I will show some of the analysis of the paper, such as the Portuguese population increase according to the census data, the proportion of celibates and the mean age at first marriage. The analysis presented in this extended abstract is only a sample of what was already done in the full paper, which includes also the analysis of the crude birth, death, infant death and emigration rates by province, proportion of illegitimate children, and total fertility rates by parish.

Population increase was more intense in some districts than others. The great variation in the proportion of population increase among the districts suggests that internal migration was intense in continental Portugal. Some districts acted as suppliers and others as receivers of population. This is very clear when comparing the Entre-Douro-e-Minho districts, Viana do Castelo and Braga growing very little, while Porto had substantially increased even with the intensive international emigration that was taking place there over the nineteenth century (see Table 1).

TABLE 1: Total Population, proportion of population increase and Annual Growth Rate, by District. Continental Portugal, 1849 to 1900.

| Districts        | 1801      | Total Population |           |           |           |           | % Population Increase 1849-1900 | Annual Growth Rate 1849-1900 (per 1000) |
|------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------------------------|---|
|                  |           | 1849             | 1864      | 1878      | 1890      | 1900      |                                 |   |
| Bragança         |           | 122,787          | 158,909   | 168,651   | 179,678   | 185,586   | 51.1                            | 8.1                                     |
| Vila Real        |           | 184,378          | 213,289   | 224,628   | 237,302   | 243,584   | 32.1                            | 5.5                                     |
| Viana do Castelo |           | 185,038          | 195,257   | 201,390   | 207,366   | 214,599   | 16.0                            | 2.9                                     |
| Braga            |           | 300,622          | 309,508   | 319,464   | 338,308   | 356,819   | 18.7                            | 3.4                                     |
| Porto            |           | 370,021          | 410,665   | 461,881   | 546,262   | 601,688   | 62.6                            | 9.5                                     |
| Guarda           |           | 206,655          | 210,414   | 228,494   | 250,154   | 263,292   | 27.4                            | 4.7                                     |
| Viseu            |           | 295,589          | 353,543   | 371,571   | 391,015   | 402,799   | 36.3                            | 6.1                                     |
| Aveiro           |           | 241,401          | 238,700   | 257,049   | 287,437   | 302,181   | 25.2                            | 4.4                                     |
| Castelo Branco   |           | 137,877          | 159,505   | 173,983   | 205,211   | 216,629   | 57.1                            | 8.9                                     |
| Coimbra          |           | 256,577          | 268,894   | 292,037   | 316,624   | 333,505   | 30.0                            | 5.1                                     |
| Leiria           |           | 137,569          | 173,916   | 192,982   | 217,278   | 240,167   | 74.6                            | 10.9                                    |
| Santarém         |           | 154,830          | 196,617   | 220,881   | 254,844   | 283,676   | 83.2                            | 11.9                                    |
| Lisboa           |           | 390,184          | 438,464   | 498,059   | 611,168   | 708,750   | 81.6                            | 11.7                                    |
| Portalegre       |           | 85,683           | 95,665    | 101,126   | 112,834   | 124,697   | 45.5                            | 7.4                                     |
| Évora            |           | 83,160           | 98,104    | 106,858   | 118,408   | 127,232   | 53.0                            | 8.3                                     |
| Beja             |           | 119,521          | 135,508   | 142,119   | 157,571   | 161,602   | 35.2                            | 5.9                                     |
| Faro             |           | 139,562          | 172,660   | 199,142   | 228,635   | 254,851   | 82.6                            | 11.8                                    |
| <b>Continent</b> | 2,905,785 | 3,411,454        | 3,829,618 | 4,160,315 | 4,660,095 | 5,021,657 | 47.2                            | 7.6                                     |

Source: Portuguese pre censuses of 1801 and 1849, and Portuguese censuses of 1864, 1878, 1890 and 1900.

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Table 1 also presents the total population for each district, showing a concentration of people in the northwest region (Porto district in particular). This concentration could be considered by itself a reason for this area becoming the main emigration point of the country. However, to sustain a degree of demographic equilibrium populations adjust their demographic dynamics accordingly. Hence, to remain as a sender region and at the same time to experience moderate population growth, the district of Porto needed to have high fertility rates and/or a constant inflow of immigrants from other parts of the country. Had this not happened the steady emigration flows would have resulted in a decrease of the population density and a shrinking in population growth rate.

Different geographic regions presented not only distinct population increase, but also different demographic dynamics. Population growth rates varied regionally reflecting spatially variable levels of fertility, nuptiality, and mortality. It is worth noting that migration also differed regionally, with a predominance of international outflows in some areas and internal flows in others, with people not only leaving the motherland but also relocating themselves inside the country.

The aggregative data presented in the last section suggest that there were significant regional variations in demographic behaviour in nineteenth-century Portugal. Differences can be observed not only between regions but also over time. But how representative is the aggregative analysis? In order to understand better the regional specificities it is important to understand local dynamics.

TABLE 2: Proportion of celibates. Several parishes of Portugal, 18th and 19th centuries.

| Region                              | District         | Parish             | Males %             |                          |        |             | Females %   |                          |             |             |      |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|------|
|                                     |                  |                    | Before 1801         | 19th century (1801-1900) |        |             | Before 1801 | 19th century (1801-1900) |             |             |      |
|                                     |                  |                    |                     | Beginning                | Middle | End         |             | Beginning                | Middle      | End         |      |
| The mountainous and rural Northeast | Bragança         | Cardanha           | 11.0                |                          |        |             | 13.0        |                          |             |             |      |
|                                     |                  | Poiães             | 13.0                |                          |        |             | 16.0        |                          |             |             |      |
|                                     |                  | Rebordãos          | 13.0                |                          |        |             | 11.0        |                          |             |             |      |
|                                     | Vila Real        | Calvão             | <b>24.3</b>         | 9.4                      |        |             | <b>44.1</b> | 15.6                     |             |             |      |
| Northwest                           | Viseu            | Couto do Mosteiro  | 18.3                |                          |        |             | <b>24.6</b> |                          |             |             |      |
|                                     | Viana do Castelo | Facha              | 18.6                | <b>21.6</b>              |        | 12.8        | <b>41.5</b> | <b>41.9</b>              |             | <b>40.6</b> |      |
| Lanheses                            |                  |                    |                     | 10.0                     | 8.2    |             |             | <b>33.9</b>              | <b>24.3</b> |             |      |
| Meadela                             |                  | 4.7                | 2.1                 |                          |        | <b>20.0</b> | 15.6        |                          |             |             |      |
| Northwest                           | Braga            | Romarigães         | 12.9                | 13.5                     | 10.0   | 8.2         | <b>25.9</b> | <b>21.5</b>              | <b>33.9</b> | <b>24.3</b> |      |
|                                     |                  | Alvito São Pedro   | <b>37.0</b>         | <b>29.0</b>              |        | <b>24.0</b> | <b>49.0</b> | <b>45.0</b>              |             | <b>33.0</b> |      |
|                                     |                  | Antas              | 14.3                | <b>25.0</b>              | 4.3    | 11.1        | <b>29.0</b> | <b>27.8</b>              | <b>32.8</b> | <b>38.7</b> |      |
|                                     | Braga            | Avelada            | 14.5                | 16.3                     | 19.2   |             | <b>23.9</b> | <b>25.0</b>              | <b>31.0</b> |             |      |
|                                     |                  | Avidos             | 3.0                 |                          | 13.5   | 14.7        | 15.1        |                          | 17.0        | 20.0        |      |
|                                     | Braga            | Barcelinhos        | 16.4                | 18.8                     |        | <b>22.2</b> | <b>31.5</b> | <b>37.3</b>              |             | <b>42.0</b> |      |
|                                     |                  | Basto Santa Tecla  | 2.2                 |                          | 4.4    |             | 15.3        |                          | 23.3        |             |      |
|                                     | Braga            | Cervães            | <b>20.5</b>         | 12.6                     |        |             | <b>27.7</b> | <b>27.2</b>              |             |             |      |
|                                     |                  | Guimarães (rural)* | 7.0                 |                          |        |             | 11.0        |                          |             |             |      |
|                                     | Braga            | Guimarães (urban)* | <b>21.0</b>         |                          |        |             | <b>30.0</b> |                          |             |             |      |
|                                     |                  | Mouquim            | 17.2                |                          | 16.6   |             | <b>24.2</b> |                          | <b>27.2</b> |             |      |
|                                     | Northwest        | Porto              | Ronfe               | 15.2                     | 14.0   |             | 4.3         | <b>31.7</b>              | <b>35.5</b> |             | 10.3 |
|                                     |                  |                    | Cedofeita           |                          |        |             |             |                          |             |             | 17.0 |
| Central area by the Atlantic Coast  | Aveiro           | Cortegaça          |                     | 9.7                      | 13.1   |             | 11.7        |                          | <b>21.1</b> |             |      |
|                                     |                  | Lisboa             | Ériceira            | 9.4                      | 9.2    | 3.7         |             | 10.2                     | 6.7         | 6.8         |      |
| Southern area                       | Beja             | Selmes             |                     |                          | 7.7    |             |             |                          | 4.5         |             |      |
|                                     |                  | Faro               | Conceição de Tavira |                          | 2.6    |             | 5.6         |                          | 4.0         | 4.4         |      |

Source: Amorim, 1973, 1980, 1983-1984, 1987, 2004; Brettell, 1986; Faria, 1998; Faustino, 1998; Gomes, 1998; Juncal, 2004; Paiva, 2001; Pereira, 1996; Pinto, 1998; Reis, 2003; Santos, 1999; Scott, 1999; and Solé, 2001.

Note: Both rural and urban Guimarães are composed by more than one parish.

Over the nineteenth century it is possible to observe that the parishes placed in central and southern districts (Lisboa, Beja, and Faro) had considerably lower proportions of celibate women, ranging between 4 and 6.8 percent (Table 2). Parishes from the Northeast revealed in general very high proportions of spinsters, with some variation between them. Unfortunately, information for the Northwest is limited to the parish of Couto do Mosteiro (Viseu District), which shows 15.6 percent of women celibates for the beginning of the nineteenth century.

What is important to highlight here is that although parishes from the Northeast area presented, in general, high proportions of celibates, they do not compose a homogeneous group. There was some variation with some parishes with more than 40

percent of definitive spinsters, and others under 25 percent. In addition, some parishes presented decreasing trends (such as Facha and Alvito), while others saw their proportion of spinsters increasing over time (such as Antas, Avelada and Barcelinhos). The proportion of bachelors seemed to have followed that of women, so the areas with high proportion of spinsters also show high proportions of celibate males, and vice versa, as observed in the regional approach.

In addition to celibacy, the mean age at first marriage is also a good indicator of nuptiality and fertility, and so can expose structural differences that will directly affect population growth. Table 3.16 shows that, as in the case of regional analysis, the age at first marriage seems to be directly associated to the proportion of celibates. The comparison of Tables 2 and 3 shows that the areas with higher proportion of spinsters have also the highest ages at first marriage for women. It suggests that these parishes were suffering restraints that were making hard the formation of legitimate families.

Differences in migration and economy were certainly affecting this picture. Again, the southern parishes show much lower ages than those placed in the northern side of river Tejo. The general trend follows that presented in the last section, with lower ages found for the southern parishes, and higher for those placed in the northwest. Nonetheless, it is possible to observe that parishes from the northwest do not make up a homogeneous group. Those situated in Viana do Castelo and Braga districts have higher ages than those from Porto and Aveiro. And inside Braga it is also possible to see that the parishes of Guimarães had much lower ages than the others, specially the urban parishes. Concerning males, trends in their age at first marriage seems to follow what was observed in the regional analysis, with grooms also presenting lower ages in the parishes from the south, following the bride's trend.

Definitive celibacy, age at first marriage, along with illegitimate births can be considered as the main determinants of fertility in Portugal, although the degree of impact of each could vary according to the region analysed. When observing regional trends of illegitimacy it is clear that the northern populations presented the highest proportions. The analysis of local parishes shows a similar trend, with the highest proportions of illegitimacy among the northwest communities and the district of Lisbon (Table 4), in fact, over the eighteenth century the parish from of Mercês (Lisbon) presented the highest proportion of illegitimacy (22%).

Unfortunately, four pages are not enough to present the all the analysis, but based on the results of the full paper we can conclude that different factors with distinct intensities were acting on each population producing different local dynamics. However, when seen in a bigger picture, a group of distinct parishes help to define a specific demographic dynamics that differs from that of parishes from other regions. One thing is clear, the analysis of isolated parishes cannot be taken as representative of a particular region because of intra-regional variation. Nonetheless, the understanding of local cases can provide insights to a better understanding of the internal dynamics that generate a predominant trend in each region. Each single sub-population of the country contributed to the maintenance of the growth, even if it followed different paths that produced distinct patterns. In order to better understand the Portuguese demographic dynamic it is necessary to analyse parishes from all over the country to see their behaviours and their interactions. Many parishes have already been studied, revealing not only similarities but also distinctions among those localised in the same areas. In this way, this studied aims to contribute to the next generation of parish studies to follow not a selfish way of studying closed local cases, but to investigate demographic local cases in a comparative way, so a bigger picture of nineteenth-century Portugal could be built.

TABLE 3: Mean age at first marriage by sex. Several Portuguese parishes, 18th and 19th centuries.

| Region                              | District           | Parish               | Males               |              |              | Females     |              |              |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
|                                     |                    |                      | Before 1800         | 1800 to 1849 | 1850 to 1900 | Before 1800 | 1800 to 1849 | 1850 to 1900 |
| The mountainous and rural Northeast | Bragança           | Cardanha             | 28.9                |              | 32.8         | 28.3        |              | 31.2         |
|                                     |                    | Mosteiro             | 25.5                |              |              | 24.6        |              |              |
|                                     |                    | Poiares<br>Rebordãos | 25.9                |              |              | 25.6        |              |              |
|                                     | Vila Real          | Calvão               | 24.9                | 27.6         | 28.4         | 27.8        | 24.6         | 25.3         |
|                                     | Viseu              | Couto do Mosteiro    | 29.5                |              |              | 28.2        |              |              |
| Northwest                           | Viana do Castelo   | Couto                |                     |              | 29.6         |             |              | 28.8         |
|                                     |                    | Facha                | 25.3                |              | 28.1         | 27.7        |              | 26.8         |
|                                     |                    | Lanheses             | 28.1                | 27.6         | 30.5         | 28.2        | 27.3         | 28.3         |
|                                     |                    | Meadela              | 26.2                | 26.8         |              | 25.4        | 28.0         |              |
|                                     |                    | Paço                 |                     |              | 27.2         |             |              | 26.3         |
|                                     |                    | Romarigães           | 26.8                | 24.3         |              | 27.0        | 27.8         |              |
|                                     | Braga              | Alvito São Pedro     | 26.4                | 30.2         | 29.3         | 29.0        | 30.9         | 28.0         |
|                                     |                    | Antas                | 27.3                | 27.0         | 26.7         | 27.2        | 27.6         | 26.1         |
|                                     |                    | Avidos               | 29.1                | 27.5         | 27.8         | 26.1        | 25.8         | 25.7         |
|                                     |                    | Barcelinhos          | 25.1                | 29.0         | 24.9         | 26.0        | 27.0         | 24.5         |
|                                     |                    | Basto Santa Tecla    | 27.2                |              |              | 25.4        |              |              |
|                                     |                    | Belinho              | 27.8                |              | 26.3         | 27.8        |              | 26.6         |
|                                     |                    | Cervães              | 27.7                |              |              | 27.7        |              |              |
|                                     |                    | Fafe                 | 30.0                |              |              | 26.1        |              |              |
|                                     |                    | Guimarães (rural)    | 25.3                |              |              | 25.1        | 24.7         |              |
|                                     |                    | Guimarães (urban)    | 24.6                |              |              | 22.8        | 22.6         |              |
|                                     |                    | Lordelo              |                     |              |              | 27.1        | 26.9         | 26.8         |
|                                     |                    | Mosteiro             | 29.3                | 28.2         | 30.0         | 27.4        | 27.0         | 27.7         |
|                                     | Mouquim            | 25.3                 | 26.3                |              | 28.6         | 28.9        |              |              |
|                                     | Pico dos Regalados | 29.0                 | 30.0                | 28.0         | 27.0         | 28.0        | 28.0         |              |
| Ronfe                               | 28.3               | 27.4                 | 27.0                | 27.2         | 29.1         | 27.7        |              |              |
| Porto                               | Bougado            | 29.9                 | 28.3                |              | 25.7         | 27.1        |              |              |
|                                     | Cedofeita<br>Unhão |                      | 27.4*               | 24.2**       | 25.7         | 26.7*       | 23.5**       |              |
|                                     | Aveiro             | Cortegaça            | 28.0                | 27.9         | 23.5         | 27.6        | 26.8         | 21.9         |
| Central area by the Atlantic Coast  | Santarém           | Coruche              | 26.2                |              |              | 20.6        |              |              |
|                                     |                    | Salvaterra de Magos  | 29.2                |              |              | 23.7        |              |              |
|                                     | Lisboa             | Ericeira             | 26.5                | 27.9         |              | 23.7        | 25.0         |              |
| Southern area                       | Beja               | Selmes               | 24.3                | 25.0         |              | 22.1        | 22.5         |              |
|                                     |                    | Faro                 | Conceição de Tavira | 25.8         | 25.4         | 28.5        | 23.8         | 22.5         |

Source: Alves, 1989; Amorim, 1973, 1980, 1983-1984, 1987, 2004; Brandão, 1994; Brettell, 1986; Faria, 1998; Faustino, 1998; Gomes, 1998; Juncal, 2004; O'Neill, 1987; Paiva, 2001; Pereira, 1996; Pinto, 1998; Reis, 2003; Santos, 1999; Saraiva, 1997; Scott, 1999; and Solé, 2001.

Note: Both rural and urban Guimarães are composed by more than one parish.

\* 1860-1861

\*\* 1881-1882

TABLE 3.17: Proportion of illegitimate children. Several parishes of Portugal, 18th and 19th centuries.

| Region                              | District         | Parish               | Before 1800% | 19th century (1801-1900) % |        |      |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|--------------|----------------------------|--------|------|
|                                     |                  |                      |              | Beginning                  | Middle | End  |
| The mountainous and rural Northeast | Bragança         | Cardanha             | 6.5          | 7.0                        |        |      |
|                                     |                  | Mosteiro             |              |                            | 29.2   | 44.1 |
|                                     |                  | Poiares<br>Rebordãos | 6.2          | 9.6                        |        |      |
|                                     | Vila Real        | Calvão               | 9.8          | 7.9                        | 14.5   |      |
|                                     | Viseu            | Couto do Mosteiro    | 6.0          |                            |        |      |
| Northwest                           | Viana do Castelo | Couto                |              |                            | 14.3   | 21.1 |
|                                     |                  | Calheiros            |              | 13.9                       |        | 18.5 |
|                                     |                  | Facha                |              | 16.2                       |        | 20.0 |
|                                     |                  | Lanheses             | 10.1         | 11.2                       | 8.7    | 13.0 |
|                                     |                  | Meadela              | 6.9          | 7.1                        | 4.1    |      |
|                                     |                  | Paço                 |              |                            | 5.8    | 12.6 |
|                                     | Braga            | Romarigães           | 6.1          | 2.4                        |        |      |
|                                     |                  | Alvito               | 9.0          | 5.0                        | 15.0   | 13.0 |
|                                     |                  | Antas                | 11.5         | 12.1                       |        | 8.6  |
|                                     |                  | Avidos               | 9.0          | 7.3                        | 8.5    | 12.1 |
|                                     |                  | Barcelinhos          | 7.0          | 4.3                        | 5.7    | 13.5 |
|                                     |                  | Cambeses             |              | 19.3                       | 23.6   | 5.8  |
|                                     |                  | Guimarães (rural)    | 9.5          | 5.8                        |        |      |
|                                     |                  | Guimarães (urban)    | 13.4         | 8.1                        |        |      |
|                                     | Porto            | Mosteiro             | 19.3         | 12.8                       | 14.3   | 21.9 |
|                                     |                  | Regalados            | 6.6          | 6.5                        | 9.2    | 10.8 |
| Ronfe                               |                  | 14.1                 | 7.8          | 13.3                       | 3.9    |      |
| Bougado                             |                  | 8.9                  | 5.6          | 12.2                       |        |      |
| Aveiro                              | Cedofeita        |                      | 7.8          | 14.7                       |        |      |
|                                     | Cortegaça        | 4.2                  | 12.8         | 8.0                        | 3.0    |      |
|                                     | Coimbra          | Sé                   |              | 2.0                        | 4.0    |      |
| Central area by the Atlantic Coast  | Santarém         | Coruche              | 6.0          |                            |        |      |
|                                     |                  | Lisboa               | Ericeira     | 0.8                        |        | 2.0  |
|                                     | Beja             | Mercês               | 22.0         |                            |        |      |
|                                     |                  | Santa Catarina       | 9.9          |                            |        |      |
| Southern area                       | Faro             | Selmes               |              | 1.0                        | 0.4    |      |
|                                     |                  | Conceição de Tavira  | 2.6          |                            | 1.5    | 2.5  |

Source: Alves, 1989; Amorim, 1973, 1980, 1983-1984, 1987, 2004; Brandão, 1994; Brettell, 1986; Faria, 1998; Faustino, 1998; Gomes, 1998; Juncal, 2004; O'Neill, 1987; Paiva, 2001; Pereira, 1996; Pinto, 1998; Reis, 2003; Santos, 1999; Saraiva, 1997; Scott, 1999; and Solé, 2001.

Note: Both rural and urban Guimarães are composed by more than one parish.