

Isabel Zendal Gómez

IN THE GALICIAN ARCHIVES

Antonio López Mariño
(Asociación Isabel Zendal)



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FOREWORD I

I frequently say that we Galicians ignore our past and, therefore, ignore great figures and events of historical significance.

One such case is Galicia's role in the Spanish Royal Philanthropic Expedition to bring Smallpox Vaccination to the New World and Asia in the 19th century. This expedition set sail from the port of A Coruña in 1803, with the aim of immunising overseas territories against smallpox, a lethal disease for Native Americans, with an extremely high mortality rate among other populations. One of the main figures of that expedition was the Galician nurse, Isabel Zandal, who was responsible for taking care of the children carrying the vaccine. Even though the WHO considered her the first nurse in history to participate in an international mission, and she is held in great esteem in Mexico, where she would end her days once her work in the expedition had come to an end, Isabel Zandal has always been a stranger in her country of origin.

Fortunately, recent research conducted by the historian and journalist Antonio López Mariño has provided us with hitherto unknown biographical data. The reader is furnished with these data, along with supporting documentation, in this trilingual edition (Galician, Spanish and English), conceived not only for information purposes, but also to pay this little known figure, but one that was determinant for the success of the mission in which she took part, the tribute she deserves.

It is a great honour for the Parliament of Galicia to cooperate with the Isabel Zandal Association in promoting a remarkable Galician figure who played a leading role in the fight against the death of thousands of people. This was a historical struggle that merits acknowledgement, and serves as a wake-up call to the foolhardy among us who still question the utility of vaccines today.

Miguel Ángel Santalices Vieira
President of the Parliament of Galicia



FOREWORD II

In October 2016, the Isabel Zendal Cultural Association began its work, bringing together a panel of professionals from different settings (culture, nursing, medicine, journalism, history, sailing, publishing, etc.) whose connecting link is their interest in bringing into the public memory the Galician protagonists of a transcendental international healthcare feat, the Spanish Royal Philanthropic Vaccine Expedition, and to do so with particular reference to the only woman participating in it, and after whom the association is named: Isabel Zendal Gómez.

The volume we are prefacing is the result of interest in researching the identity, the life history and the healthcare legacy of this woman from A Coruña, born over two centuries ago in the parish of Santa Mariña de Parada de Ordes; an interest shared by the author, who devoted his time and effort to research on this individual; by the President of the Parliament of Galicia, who is fully aware of the importance for healthcare of this enlightened, philanthropic undertaking, and wished to commemorate it in the year of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the constitution of our autonomic Parliament; and by the members of the Association of which I am proud to be President.

This publication serves as evidence of that shared effort. We hope it arouses, in all those who read it, the curiosity to learn more about this health expedition, which was the vehicle for the first international vaccination programme: a programme led in the main by Galicians, by the City of A Coruña, its Port, and by its inhabitants. We hope to find these readers in the future scientific and cultural events that we are encouraging from the Isabel Zendal Association.

M^a Pilar Farjas Abadía
President of the Isabel Zendal Association

THE MOTHER OF ALL VACCINES

She was born into an extremely poor family,
in a village in the municipality of Ordes.

She moved to A Coruña, where, as a single-mother,
she would hold the post of rectoress in the Foundling Home.

In November 1803,
as part of the medical team from the Royal Philanthropic Vaccine Expedition,
she embarked on a four-year, transoceanic voyage,
which would give her the prestige of being
the first world's first female nurse
on an international public health mission.

She was entrusted with the care of the only essential link
in the Royal Philanthropic Expedition:
the foundlings who, literally from arm to arm, took to the Americas and to Asia
the first known vaccine - that of smallpox.

An extraordinary life,
from very humble origins
to the peaks of oblivion.

Isabel Zendal Gómez
is totally unknown by her compatriots.
By us all.

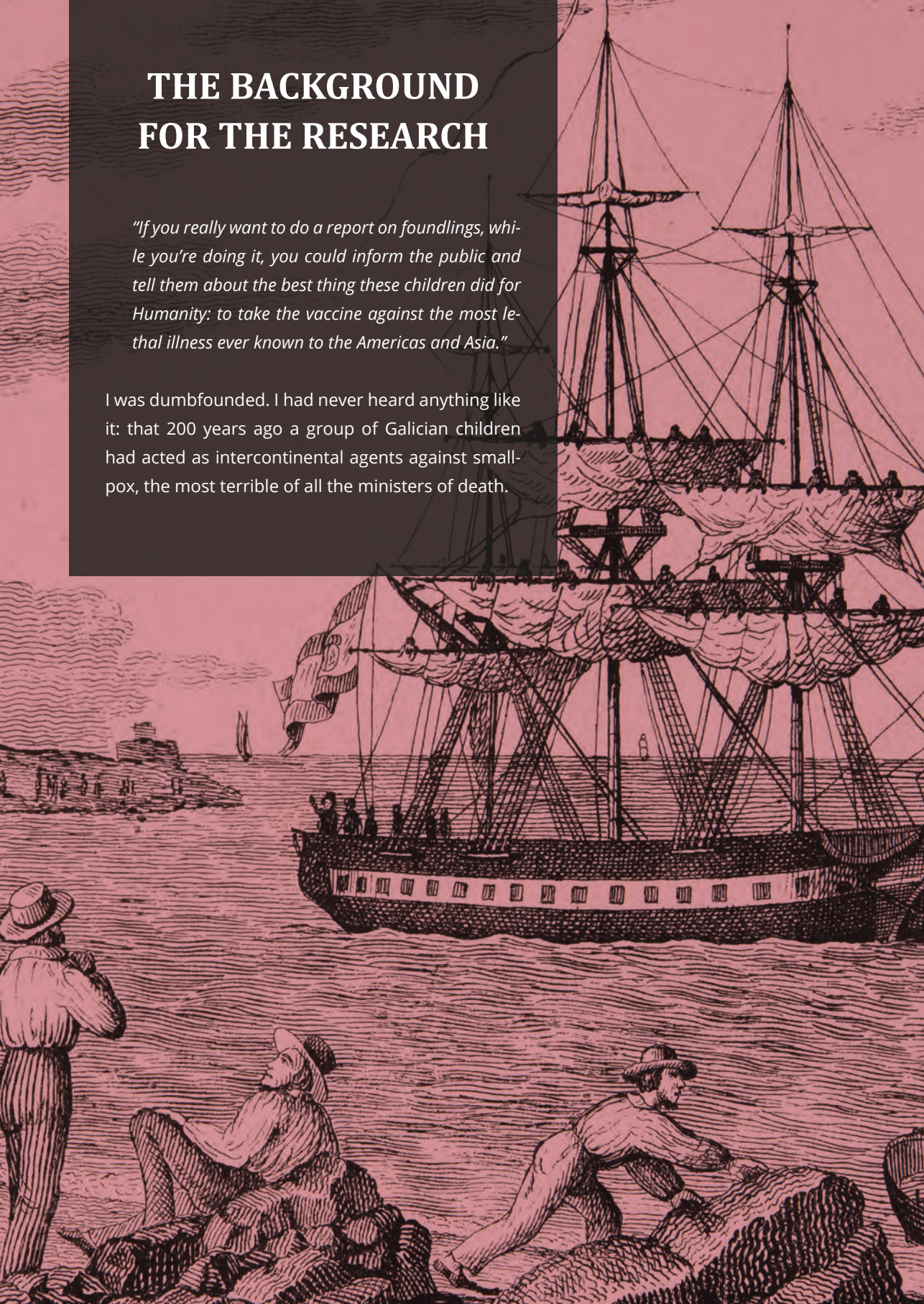




THE BACKGROUND FOR THE RESEARCH

"If you really want to do a report on foundlings, while you're doing it, you could inform the public and tell them about the best thing these children did for Humanity: to take the vaccine against the most lethal illness ever known to the Americas and Asia."

I was dumbfounded. I had never heard anything like it: that 200 years ago a group of Galician children had acted as intercontinental agents against smallpox, the most terrible of all the ministers of death.



Permanent absences

It must have been in 1999. Back then, I was one of the reporters from “*Que foi de...?*” [*Whatever happened to...?*], a programme (directed by Santiago Romero and Joaquín Pedrido) on Galicia’s regional television (TVG) that revisited people and events which, after their time in the limelight, had long since fallen out of collective memory. I had chosen to prepare a story on those national birth rate prizes which, during the Franco period, fêted families with 15, 18 or 23 children. As a sort of flip side of these *model* families, I had also decided to approach the world of foundlings—children abandoned by their parents who, unlike orphans with no parents, had never been lucky enough to have been rocked to sleep by an elder sister, a godfather or a grandmother.

I could not work out how to include the vaccine children into the report, but the four women who appeared on the programme (foundlings, now married with children and grandchildren) had led no less amazing lives. One detail: while reminiscing about their childhood games and songs and showing off examples of their embroidery work (they had had them framed) that they had learned in the Foundlings Home, they told us that the *Pazo de Mariñan* (a Historic and Artistic Site since 1972) used to be for foundlings, that it had been donated to them back in 1936. So true was the story that the four women strolled through the interiors and gardens of the *Pazo* as if they were the daughters of a marquis who, every summer, would keep his promise of allowing them two stroll in the family’s recreational estate on the Ria of Betanzos for three months.

The programme “*Que foi de...?*” came to an end, and we reporters flung ourselves into the task of seeking documentation for a new programme (“*Insólito*” [*Extraordinary*], an original idea from Romero & Pedrido). The project never made it past the drawing board, but the information gathering would, ultimately, lead me to the Royal Philanthropic Vaccine Expedition (led by Francisco de Balmis; hence, in the Anglo-Saxon world, it is better known as the Balmis Expedition). The more I read, the more I sat up. It turns out that the expedition had been the pioneer in the field of world public health campaigns, taking the world’s first vaccine from the north of Mexico to the southern tip of Chile, and to the Philippines, Macao and Canton, on an unbroken nine-year odyssey. It also turns out that the Exhibition’s medical team had set sail from A Coruña, on a corvette manned by 27 residents of the city. Signs of smallpox were evident on the face of the Pharaoh, Ramesses V (1,143 years

before Christ). Over the ensuing centuries, deaths owing to smallpox would number close to 300 million (the entire current population of Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium). The fact that Spain's Royal House is the House of Bourbon is down to smallpox: Philip IV's first heir, Prince Baltasar Carlos, died at the age of 16, falling victim to the illness; the new heir, Carlos II, had an intractable problem for the continuity of the lineage of the House of Austria: he was sterile. So a great-grandson of Felipe IV had to be resorted to; and that is how the founder of the current dynasty came to be King of Spain: the Duke of Anjou, Felipe (V) of Bourbon.

The same texts that provided such dazzling data were not so dazzling when speaking of the Galician presence on the Balmis Expedition. With a certain bitter after-taste, we found (in delivery and time, the research was carried out shared with Joaquín Pedrido, up to 2009) sporadic mention of a corvette named the "María Pita", of a certain Díez Tavanera, a Pedro del Barco, a Posse Roybanes and a Teresa Herrera, a Charity Hospital and a *Congregación de los Dolores* [*Congregation of Our Lady of Sorrows*]. Galicia's scant presence in these historical works was assumed as an inescapable reality: as the Balmis Expedition was an odyssey with multiple settings and protagonists, for foreign researchers, delving into the remnants of our archives to resolve Galician questions on the Expedition was not their top priority. Luckily, there were always local historians who persevered in publicising the Galician connection with the Vaccine Expedition¹.

The owner of the "María Pita" was one Manuel Díez Tavanera, resident at 22 Rúa Nueva in Coruña, where he lived with his wife and daughter; a sister-in-law, her husband and their three children; with three manservants, three maids and a servant². The captain of the corvette was Pedro del Barco, who lived in Coruña at 25 Calle Real, along with his wife, seven children, two maids and two black slaves (one of whom would embark as the Expedition's second cook)³.

Vicente Antonio Posse Roybanes, from Betanzos, resident at 14 Calle de la Franja and the town's municipal physician (back then, A Coruña had around 15,000 inhabitants), was a man of the Enlightenment; in 1801, he vaccinated his first grandson (with dry pus, packaged in cotton yarn from Barcelona); in 1804, he diagnosed the first poisonings from eating mussels documented in Galicia⁴⁻⁵; also, in 1804, he tackled an outbreak of smallpox in the region of Bergantiños, travelling with fresh pus, transported in the arm of a child vaccinated 10 days before: the first 13 individuals vaccinated⁶ would allow the vaccination of 169 residents, who, within a further 10 days, would enable the vaccination of 2,197 residents, owing to which, within two months, and starting from one single carrier, the outbreak of smallpox would be eradicated from the region.

Teresa Herrera, who in her own home (at the bottom of Calle de las Panaderas, opposite the Royal Consulate) had set up a small hospital to attend to destitute ill women, would bequeath her wealth with a view to founding a Charity Hospital. This task she entrusted to the Congregation of Our Lady of Sorrows (still active, under the protection of San Nicolás parish church), an institution which, in 1791, would lay the first stone of the Hospital. In the days of the Balmis Exhibition, the Congregation (of which Pedro del Barco and Posse Roybanes were members and holders of executive posts) already ran and administered a charitable centre with three departments: a pauper's hospital, a secret delivery room and a Foundling's Home⁷.

In everything published, there was always one permanent absence, even in the texts of local historians: the life story of the rectoress of the Foundlings' Home in A Coruña. Even so, Miguel E. Bustamante verified that, in April 1808, the administration of the city of Puebla (Mexico) was paying the annual salary corresponding to Isabel Cendala Gómez as the Expedition's nurse⁸. In turn, Michael M. Smith, who has Isabel *Gómez Cendala's* steps through the Americas and Asia thoroughly documented, clarified that it was in that month of April in 1808, when (on returning from the exhibition to the Philippines) the nurse met with her son Benito, who had remained under the care of Bishop of Puebla. Smith extends the payment of the total amount of wages corresponding to her as part of the Balmis Exhibition medical team up to, at least, 1811⁹. Despite all this, these two works provided no data on the rectoress-nurse's origins. The first approach to Isabel's biography was in 2007, and the authors thereof (Susana Ramírez and José Tuells) highlighted two items of data¹⁰:

» That her surnames were uncertain, since, according to the sources they had collected, the first was as likely to be Cendala/Sendala/Zendala as Sendales or Cendalla/Sandalla/Gandalla and the second, Gómez or López.

» That origin of all that confusion could be due to the fact that "while it has been assumed that the Governess must have been Galician, versions of her first surname have never been found in the region". As a possible solution to the enigma, historians pointed out that her first surname may come from her father or an English or Irish husband (Sendall/Sandall), who may have arrived to Galicia as a pilgrim or merchant.

They may well have been right: if we think about the first time Francisco Balmis mentions the nurse's name (Isabel *Sendala y Gómez*, in 1804, after six months together as expedition members), the Galician Language Institute's Galician Surname Map threw up "zero coincidences" when searching for *Sendala*. Other versions, such as Cendala and Zendala, also showed "zero coincidences"¹¹.

In 1966 a pioneering local researcher, Pastor Nieto Antúñez, published an article identifying the rectoress as Isabel López Gandalla¹². Fifteen years after this work, he entered the “José Cornide” Institute of Studies in A Coruña. In his inaugural speech, he wrote: “Some years ago, the city council wanted to pay homage to the selfless rectoress and named a street after her. Indeed, in December 1971, new street name proposals were accepted, including that of Calle Isabel López Gandalla to replace Travesía de San Francisco. It was obviously me, with my short comment in the Institute’s magazine, who encouraged the city council to name a street in honour of that woman.” The period between that short article in 1966 and the academic speech in 1981, allowed him to confirm what Ramírez and Tuells would also note in 2007: that the different authors, starting with the director of the Expedition himself, were in possession of different versions of both of Isabel’s surnames. “Until this confusion is cleared up, the plaque should be corrected and read as follows: *Calle de doña Isabel, Governess of the Foundling’s Home*”¹³. For 36 years, this street in the Old Quarter bore the sign, from 1971, until 5 December 2017, when a plenary session of A Coruña City Council approved the naming of the street dedicated to the rectoress-nurse with her authentic surnames.

During the final period of the joint research with Joaquín Pedrido, this mix-up with the surnames was not really our problem: we had Isabel’s identity well documented, thanks to nine baptism ceremonies in which she had been the godmother, as well as the certificate in which her replacement was appointed (this documentary evidence appears below). However, being in possession of the treasure that was Isabel’s surnames was like being the owner of... an enormous barren wasteland: that wealth of information was not enough to find out, or to even make a guess at, her birthplace, her age, childhood, youth or the vicissitudes of her adult life; nor did it allow us to ascertain the origin or social status or her family. It was like being adrift, sailing towards nowhere.

Two prize-winning tickets

The names of thirty thousand inhabitants would flash past our eyes during the process of consulting the A Coruña Census, from 1792 to 1803, held in the Municipal Archive. Not being able to find Isabel Cendala/Sendala/Zendala Gómez (the different versions of her first surname were present in the books found in two archives from A Coruña) was as disheartening as the fact that no resident appeared in A Coruña with that first surname. The logical conclusion to these absences was like a slap in the face: Isabel (and her possible family) was from outside the city. Just imagine if we had had to search for the needle that is the rectoress-nurse in the haystack comprising the 3,797 parishes in Galicia!

A further thirty thousand names would pass under our noses when consulting the parish baptisms (1717-1803), deaths (1779-1803) and marriage (1734-1803) books of the four parishes of A Coruña at that time (Santa María, Santiago, San Nicolás and San Jorge) which are kept in the Historical Diocesan Archive in Santiago. A trip that was as fascinating as it was unproductive, *Zendally* speaking: not even one person whose family name was Cendala/Sendala/Zendala showed up.

Would she have hailed from a city further away? Having assumed this possibility, a brand new door opened: Ferrol. Its Charity Hospital had served as a model for the one in A Coruña: the same name and same organisation, also directed by a religious brotherhood of laypeople. Would you believe it, there may be two fish biting on the same hook: Isabel's parentage and, on top of that, the explanation of the direct appointment as a rectoress of foundlings of a woman who already had experience in the job from the hospital in Ferrol. Of these two imaginary fish, not even a measly backbone appeared: there was no trace, not even a fleeting mention, of Isabel or her family in the archives of the Hospital (which, since 1780, had been under the auspices of the military engineer, Dionisio Sánchez Aguilera) or in the municipal censuses in Ferrol.

Thursday, 7 March 2013. The bundle of files was not particularly promising: it was a list of 400 sick women treated in the Charity Hospital in A Coruña. After checking thousands of names in the censuses of A Coruña and the sacramental registers of its four parishes, there was no way were we going slam the door shut forever, without at least having a look at such a short list. It was a record of the admissions and discharges, noted down by the hospital chaplain. In 1796, under admission number 167, occupying bed number 1, the following entry appeared: *María Zendal Gómez, 20 years of age, single, daughter of Jacobo Zendal and María Gómez, the latter deceased, both resident in Santa Marina de Parada, in the archbishopric of Santiago; admitted on the 20th August 96; She left on the 29th August 96*¹⁴.

I lost my bearings: two days later, on the last page of one Coruña newspaper, I wrote an article under the headline "Enigma of Governess Isabel resolved"¹⁵. The following week, while in the Historical Diocesan Archive in Santiago, I came crashing off my pedestal: that 20-year-old María was called (María) Antonia, not (María) Isabel, the rectoress-nurse. But I landed on my two feet: knowing the parish the family came from was going to solve some of the essential enigmas of Isabel Zendal Gómez's story. Indeed, so lucky was I that, even today, I'm still astonished when I think about that jackpot... thanks to that lottery ticket bought at Santa Mariña de Parada (now in the municipality of Ordes).

During the initial stage of the joint research with Joaquín Pedrido, every fish that appeared was reeled in and, in line with this method, in the parish of San Nicolás in A Coruña, we had noted the **baptism of Benito [1]***, son of a single mother called Isabel Celdam, from Santa Mariña de Parada¹⁶. We both agreed that this line was not worth following, for three reasons: *Celdam* was too distant from the versions of Isabel's first surname referred to by historians. Even more distant from our own theory on the issue: encouraged by the deed from the period, which had a mixture of forms of j/x/ll, we firmly believed that Isabel was the niece of Pedro del Barco, the captain of the "María Pita", through his wife, María Manuela Zendeja (originally from Ziérbana, in the Basque Country). There was a third reason, the most convincing one: through what we had learnt from readings of historians and novelists, our Isabel was a real lady. A mother? Yes, Single mother? No way!

Antonia Zenda's admission to the Charity Hospital gave rise to the christening of Benito, who lay buried in the computer for 10 years: now I had a Zenda and a Celdam (very close variations), both from Parada. And if only I could find a trace of Isabel Zenda/Celdam in the parish sacramental books, would that mean that I was close to re-writing the story of the mother of all vaccines? Could I be just one page away from discovering that she was from Ordes and was an unmarried mother?

"Steady on, son! Don't be too bold, or you'll come a cropper!



Charity Hospital (prior to its disappearance in 1958). Black and white photograph. Carlos González Guitián collection.

* All the documents appearing in bold have their corresponding facsimile, the transcription of which is faithful to the original documents, except with regard to punctuation.



A Coruña, 1809. Aquatint. Engraving by William Heath. London: published by J. Johnson; 1809. A Coruña Municipal Archive (Carlos Martínez- Barbeito collection) [original title: A View of the British & French Positions before Corunna, taken from the citadel].

In the foreground, San Jorge church, in its original location, at the same level as the current Rosalía de Castro Theatre.



Ferrol, 18th Century. Xylography, hand-coloured, by Rico y Galofer. A Coruña Municipal Archive (collection of Carlos Martínez-Barbeito).

The Charity Hospital in A Coruña (1791) was founded and administered on the lines of the Charity Hospital in Ferrol (1780).



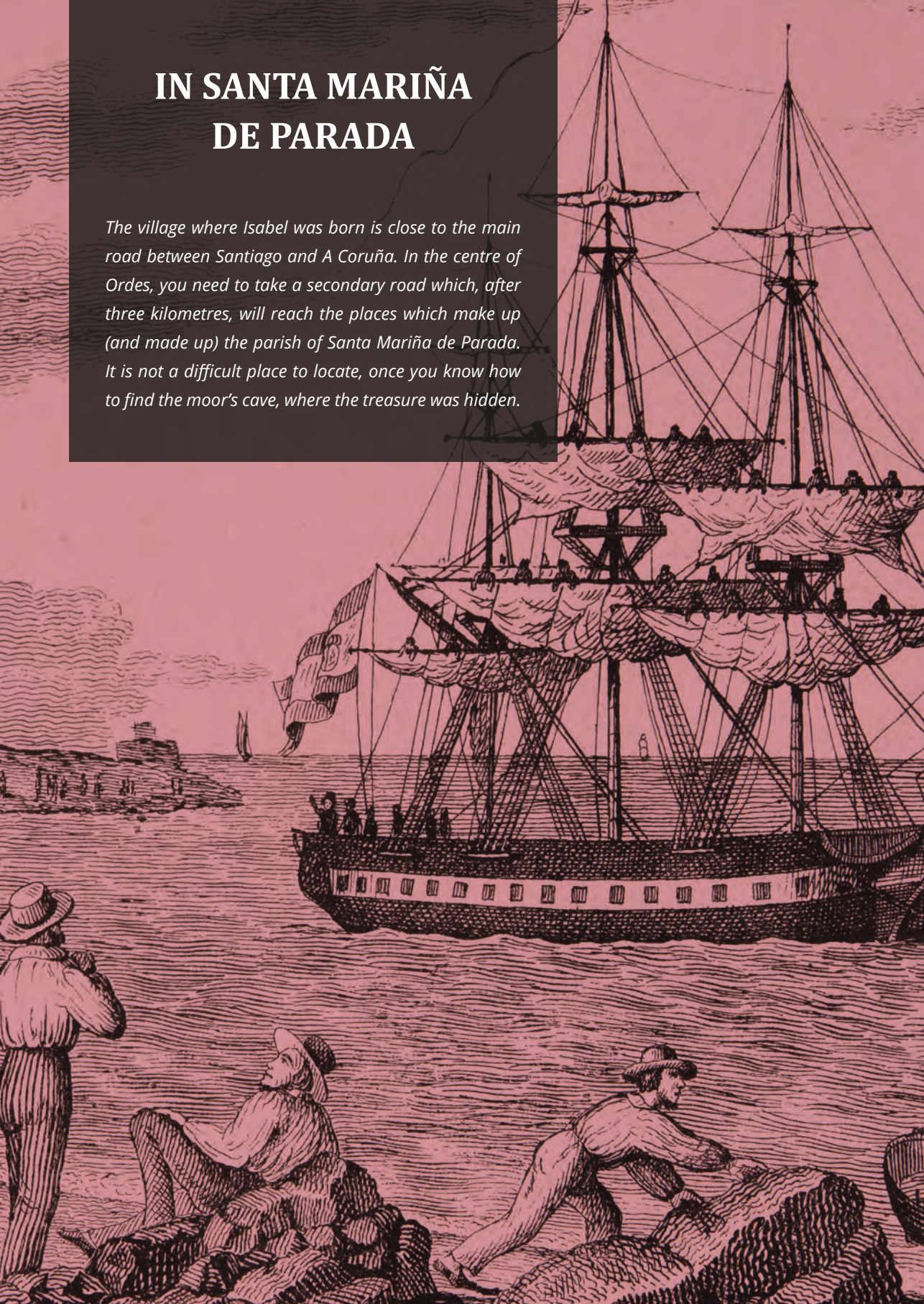
A Coruña, 1819. Topographic map. Felipe Gianzo. © España, Ministerio de Defensa, Centro Geográfico del Ejército [original title: Plano del Puerto Habilitado, Ciudad Alta y Baja de La Coruña].



- 1.- Charity Hospital (Calle Hospital).
- 2.- Royal Consulate (Calle Panaderas).
- 3.- Home of Teresa Herrera (Panaderas).
- 4.- Home of Manuel Díez Tavanera (Rúa Nueva, 22).
- 5.- Home of Gerónimo Hijosa, where *Isabel Senda* was a maid (Real, 36).
- 6.- Home of Pedro del Barco (Real, 25).
- 7.- Home of Vicente Antonio Posse Roybanes (Franja, 14).
- 8.- Home of Francisca Sendal (Papagayo, 6).

IN SANTA MARIÑA DE PARADA

The village where Isabel was born is close to the main road between Santiago and A Coruña. In the centre of Ordes, you need to take a secondary road which, after three kilometres, will reach the places which make up (and made up) the parish of Santa Mariña de Parada. It is not a difficult place to locate, once you know how to find the moor's cave, where the treasure was hidden.



ISABEL'S FAMILY

Maternal grandparents

(unknown)

Paternal grandparents

Pablo Zendal (Sta. Mariña de Parada)

María Varela (S. Martiño de Oroso)

Mother

Ignacia Gómez (Sta. Mariña de Parada)

1788: 3 real burial

"No will made owing to poverty"

Father

Jacobo Zendal (Sta. Cruz de Montaos)

1800: 6 real burial

"No will made owing to extreme poverty"

Siblings

Bernarda (...)

Isabel (...)

Juan (1774)

María Antonia (1776)

Joseph (1778)

Died at birth

Francisca Antonia (1779)

Joseph and Cathalina (1782, twins)

Died at birth / Died at 11 months

Joseph (1784)

Nephews/Nieces

(Domingo Vázquez Raña / Bernarda Zendal Gómez)

Isabel Jacoba (1790)

Antonio (1792)

Juana (1795)

Bernardo and Manuela (1798, twins)

The girl died at 15 months

Antonio (1800)

Died at 11 months

Jacobo del Espíritu Santo (1803)

The oldest parish register preserved in Santa Mariña de Parada (“whose records start on February twenty-sixth, seventeen seventy-three”) records all parishioners baptised up to 31 December (the limit of this research, although the book continues until 1828). Herein appear the baptisms of six of the nine Zandal Gómez siblings; **Juan** [2], **Maria Antonia** [3], **Francisca Antonia** [5], **Joseph and Cathalina** [6] and **Joseph** [7]; also of the seven nephews and nieces: **Isavel Jacoba** [8], Antonio, **Juana** [9], Bernardo, Manuela, Antonio and Jacobo del Spíritu Santo]¹⁷. Also left in this volume was an exceptional document: along with the **certificate of inspection** [10] made by the bishop on 19 August 1781, we find the **memorial** of the people who received the Blessed Sacrament **of Confirmation** [11]. The Death Register (1773-1859) —which records the deaths of another brother, **Joseph** [4] and of the mother, **Ygnazia** [12] and father, **Jacobo** [13]— completes the list of documents kept in the parish directly related with the biography of the Balmis Expedition’s nurse.

An analysis of the information from the parish Baptism and Death Registers allows us to gather a dozen or so facts, as well as a handful of pieces of shakier evidence.

» The first certainty is that there is no resident in the parish of Parada with the surname *Celdam*. On the contrary, the Zandal/Cendal families are well established in the village.

The Galician Surname Map would confirm that the surname *Celdam* is non-existent in Galicia, but it would also reveal (for the self-criticism of those of us who call ourselves researchers) that the geographical distribution of the family name *Cendal* still occupies the same territory as 200 years ago: the 91 “occurrences” recorded in 2016 have their origin in the contiguous municipalities of Ordes and Oroso, whence one branch moved towards Santiago, and another to A Coruña, the two closest large cities. Exactly the same as during the childhood of the future rectoress-nurse¹¹.

» The second piece of evidence (towards the end of the memorial of confirmations) is the presence, for the one and only time, of one Isabel Zandal Gómez, in her native parish and surrounded by her mother, father and three siblings.

» These two strands of wicker, interweaved with Benito’s birth record, help to make a basket capable of withstanding any dissenting argumentative *tempest*: the first nurse in history on a public healthcare medical mission was from Ordes, and a single mother to boot.

» The oldest known record of Isabel's first surname is *Zendal*. Thus it was written by the parish priest, Cayetano Maza, in the baptism records of Jacovo and Ignacia, and also by Antonio García Barveito (the priest who substituted the permanent priest) in the baptism of Isabel Jacoba, the first granddaughter of the Zendal-Gómez family. Even so, it is worth highlighting that both a second substitute (Manuel Bernardo Seoane) and the new priest (Manuel Antonio de Rozas) would use the form *Cendal* for Domingo Vázquez and Bernarda Cendal's six other children. It would not seem to be a question of attributing the fact that Manuel Antonio de Rozas wrote, in the baptism certificates, that Jacobo's grandchildren are *Cendal* and that the grandfather, on his death certificate, was *Zendal*, to the parish priest's intriguing eagerness. The preference for "c" instead of "z", or for the groups "ss" or "tt", as occurs with "i" and "y" or "j" and "x", points towards a language in which, even for the cultured elites, the grammar and spelling rules were still in a state of flux.

» Three of the nine Zendal-Gómez siblings would die very young, reflecting an early infant mortality rate in the region of 33%. This figure did not differ significantly from that for the parish, 27.5%: of the 374 children born between 1773 and 1803, a total of 103 died before the age of three; and among these, 73 children never reached their first birthday¹⁸.

» There is a two-year-gap between both the birth of the Zendal Gómez siblings and of Domingo and Bernarda's children, a period that was not exceptional, as that was the typical time between pregnancies for the period. In the Confirmation Memorial, Jacobo and Ignacia's children are listed from eldest to youngest: Isabel (...), Juan (1774), María Antonia (1776) and Francisca (1779). Bearing in mind this two-year period between pregnancies, there is a clear clue for understating the lack of a baptism certificate for the rectoress-nurse: Isabel may have been born halfway through 1772 and the oldest book in Santa Mariña dates back to 1773. To confirm this clue, we have the case of Bernarda, who according to her daughter Juana's baptism certificate, was "resident and native" of the municipality of Parada. But there is no record of Isabel's sister's baptism either. What could possibly explain this? Around 1796, when Isabel gave birth to Benito, Bernarda already had three children, and it could logically be assumed that she was older than Isabel, making it impossible for her baptism to be registered in a book which started in 1773. The explanation of Bernarda's absence from the confirmation ceremony could well be related to a serious illness that had kept her bedridden or that, while she was little over 10 years old, she could have been working as a maid in a nearby, well-to-do house.

» Confirmation into the Christian faith reveals that Isabel spent her childhood in Parada. And her adolescence, too? Confirming this would be an uphill struggle. The fact that Bernarda and Domingo's first daughter was baptised Isabel Jacoba makes the idea of her

being named after the two heads of the Zendal-Gómez family very tempting: Jacobo would continue to be the master and Isabel, after her mother's death in 1788, his right-hand woman. There is, however, a weak link in this chain of arguments: the grandfather was the *ynsolidum* godfather (i.e., the sole godfather), which renders Isabel's presence in the village doubtful.

Whichever way we look at it, the name of the first daughter/granddaughter, as this is not a trifling matter, entails a moment of reflection. Why did the girl's parents, having chosen the grandfather's name, not also opt for the grandmother's name, which would not have been a bad way of honouring the deceased? Did Isabel Jacoba take the names of the best man and maid of honour at her parents wedding? Had Isabel recently left the village, and the first-born niece was named after her to honour a sister who had left to make her way in the world, and who, given the situation of the country at that moment, would quite possibly never return?

» The Zendal-Gómez siblings' baptism certificates shed some light on the family's origins: the mother was from Parada, the father was from Santa Cruz de Montaos (Ordes), the paternal grandfather from Parada, and the paternal grandmother from San Martín de Oroso. There is no reference whatsoever to the maternal grandparents, despite Ignacia Gómez being a native and resident of Parada... unless the absence of any reference is indeed the clearest evidence.

During Bishop Fondevilla's inspection visit on 19 August 1781, he established an innovative regulation concerning the management of baptism registers: the records would have to include "the names and the parishes of the maternal and paternal grandparents of each child baptised". Henceforth, parish priests systematically complied with the provision, starting with Cayetano Maza, that very summer. The exception made by the priest in the case of the twins, Joseph and Cathalina, and repeated in that of Joseph, omitting only the maternal grandparents, seems very strange. Might this suggest that Isabel's mother did not know her parents, or that she was the child of a single mother? This fact is very attractive as it would help to understand Isabel's biography, as a single mother. To help us stay calm and not go overboard with our initial impression, we need to show the content of a document held in the General Archive of Simancas, relating to the inhabitants of Santa Mariña. This document appears in "*Libro Nuevo Personal de Legos*", as part of the *Verifications*, prepared in 1764 to update the tax information gathered for the Catastro of Ensenada census (1752). Here it is recorded that one of the inhabited houses is that of "Manuel Gómez, labourer, married, forty-six years of age; he has three minor children of ten and eight and three daughters"¹⁹. Almost 20 years later, among the 262 inhabitants mentioned in the

confirmation ceremony, the only trace of the surname Gómez was Ignacia, her children and Sebastián Corvelle's maid.

The Confirmation Memorial is deserving of lengthy in-depth inspection.

» Firstly, it must have been an exceptional event: between February 1773 (when the parish register starts) and December 1803 (the limit of the research) 19 August 1781 was the only occasion, in 30 years, on which an ecclesiastical authority travelled to the parish to administer this sacrament. Proof that it was not known when this could happen again is the confirmation of Francisca Zendal Gómez, when she was barely two years old. Given the singularity of the ceremony, Bernarda's absence could only be attributed to grounds that were non-negotiable.

» Among the 60 inhabited dwellings in Santa Mariña at the time of the *Catastro of Ensenada*, and the 53 attending the confirmation ceremony, there is a fall in the population that makes the future situation of the parish obvious: the Floridablanca Census (1787) and the Madoz Dictionary (1845), show that, while the populations in Montaos and Oroso (lying alongside the highway from Santiago to A Coruña) had almost doubled since 1752, Parada was struggling to maintain the same level²⁰.

» Foundlings are were no strangers to daily life in Santa Mariña; there was a boy under the protection of the parish's manor house (with three servants); the family of Joseph do Souto and Antonia Bazquez was also raising a foundling girl. This María Luisa was, almost certainly, close to Isabel: between the Zendal-Gómez and Souto-Bázquez families the relationship was close, as if there were blood ties. Joseph and Antonia are Joseph and Cathalina's godparents, and Joseph is also the godfather of Isabel's youngest brother. The Souto-Bazquez family had 12 children (6 of whom died at a very early age): the godparents of Jacobo, their eldest son, are Isabel's parents, who were also the godparents of the Souto-Bazquez's fourth and fifth daughters²¹.

» In the Memorial appears a man who opens up the possibility of getting closer to the first surnames taken by the foundlings: this was María Zendal's husband, who went by the name of Pedro, and who had been under the protection of the Foundlings House of the *Hospital de los Reyes Católicos* in Santiago. In the records of the baptism certificates of four of his daughters, he is identified with the surname *Rey*, but in the baptism of the fifth daughter, his surname is given as *de la Yglesia*; the two twin boys are said to be legitimate sons of "Pedro *Rey* or *Iglesia*". Clearly, without parents to give them their surnames, foundlings take the name of institutions that (charitably) fund their upbringing²².

Isabel's parents' death certificates provide definitive clues as to the family's social background.

The poor were given charitable burials in tombs owned by the parish (all tombs were the same size, and their cost depended on how close they were to the main altarpiece and the centre of the nave). The information from the certificates does not enable us to conclude that either Ignacia or Jacobo, simply because they were poor, did not have a penny to their name and that they received paupers' burials. There is, however, a clear clue about their financial status: "no will or testament" is directly related with not having two pennies to rub together to pay for a mass for their souls. Without a mass or a religious act, Isabel's parents would have to travel to the hereafter without a hand to guide and protect them on their final journey. This was not the case with María da Raña, Bernarda Zandal's mother-in-law, who had hired three highly renowned guides: she paid for a 2-real mass to the Pilgrim Virgin and a 4-real mass to Saint Peter and the Souls. Andrés Zandal moved on to the next life accompanied by an entire line of sherpas: he paid 90 reales for 30 masses in the Chapel of Souls in Santiago; he honoured Our Lady of the Abandoned, Saint Peter and Saint Anthony with their corresponding 4-real masses, and the collection box of "Glorioso San Campio" with a 5-real mass²³.

Parada's own priest, Cayetano Maza, left instructions for 110 masses for the benefit of his soul, for which he set aside 340 reales and six *ferrados* (equivalent to 72 kilos) of rye; he left provision that "on the day of his funeral and ceremony, his agents should give to paupers the alms deemed appropriate, forgiving those parishioners who, on his demise, may have debts derived from fees, pledges, offerings, lambs and fowl"²³.

Following the thread of these religious acts offers solid ground for contextualising the daily life of a poor family in the village, and also the need to emigrate that could have arisen among some of its members.

» Although they were poor, the Zandal Gómez family were not marginalised: there were strong bonds of solidarity with the family of Joseph do Souto and Antonia Bázquez (sister of Domingo, Bernarda Zandal Gómez's husband). Joseph may not have been a heavyweight in the village, but neither was he the last in line: his father was the mayor of Parada when the Castastro of Ensenada was conducted. Just as monarchs resort to their children to forge alliances, expand frontiers and build empires, Jacobo and Ignacia sought godparents to safeguard their children's future.



» The community spirit that governed village life would also play an essential role in fostering the social inclusion of poor families. There were contracts in which the owners of oxen leased for sharecropping received annual compensation in cash or grain (wheat or rye), but “the principal aim of this agreement or pact is more for other amicable or private agreements [of mutual assistance in times of intensive work] than for the utility or profit that may arise for them”²⁴.

» The parish priest’s provision reflects the old habit, among the powerful, of associating better eternal rest with providing some sort of relief for the poor of the parish. It also shows that Cayetano was not particularly strict when demanding the timely payment of his economic rights, which, perhaps, only further highlights the impossibility for farmers from Santa Mariña to lead lives free of unrest and unease.

» A bird’s-eye view shows that the parish is dominated by scrub land (53% of the surface area) and farmland (43%); oak groves account for 2.3% of the area; meadows 1% and market gardens 0.4%. With such a land distribution, growing cereal (wheat, rye, corn or millet) was the primary concern of all families. They would eat home-grown cabbage, beans, apples, chestnuts and some honey (as this is a cold land with scant flora for bees to gather pollen)²⁵.

» Parada was under the dominion and jurisdiction of the Count of Altamira. “Through vassalage”, the Manor House received one *real* per year from each widow; also, the so-called “luctuosa” (amount in cash corresponding to the best four-legged animal owned by the family) from the heirs of each head of household who passed away. The parish priest took his tithe (tenth part) from each sheaf of wheat, rye, corn, millet and flax. The priest would also takes the *primicias* (tax on cattle), paying 5 *ferrados* of rye (60 kilos) and a hen from families with their own ox, and 2½ “*ferrados*” of rye and half of a hen, from those who ploughed with someone else’s cattle. For the offering (required for the religious service, ranging from wine and wax to the vestments for mass), every inhabitant had to fork out 12 kilos of rye; widows and widowers 6 kilos; every married woman 10 eggs, and widows 5. Every head of household (with arable land) would provide the archipriest of Cornado with 4 kilos of rye on account of the vote to the Apostol Santiago. In this fiscal bullfight, there are still two more matadors: provincial taxes (Parada paid the *sis*a —originally, a fiscal amount derived from charging legal excise on the weight of products— with the lease of the community tavern), as well as the ordinary and extraordinary contributions demanded by the Crown²⁶.

If dark clouds loomed overhead in the field of taxes, the issue of land ownership was fraught with the threat of storms. "It is fair to say that both outright owners (9.73%) and lessees (4.75%) were small in number, while the majority rented their farmland (70.6%). Those cases in which the holding is transferred for a third or half of the profits account for 11.5%."²⁷ Which is the same as saying that vassalage, the *luctuosa*, tithes, pledges, offerings and vows to Santiago were only part of the final dissipation of the inhabitants of Parada's work. The lion's share of the produce gathered had to be earmarked for the owners of the land that they worked. These were the socio-economic conditions in which the daughter of a "family in extreme poverty" was brought up. In other words: for those who lived somewhere between misery and destitution, was the hardship of many other neighbours a relief, or did it compound their own individual poverty?



Church of Parada, devoted to Santa Mariña. © José Caruncho.

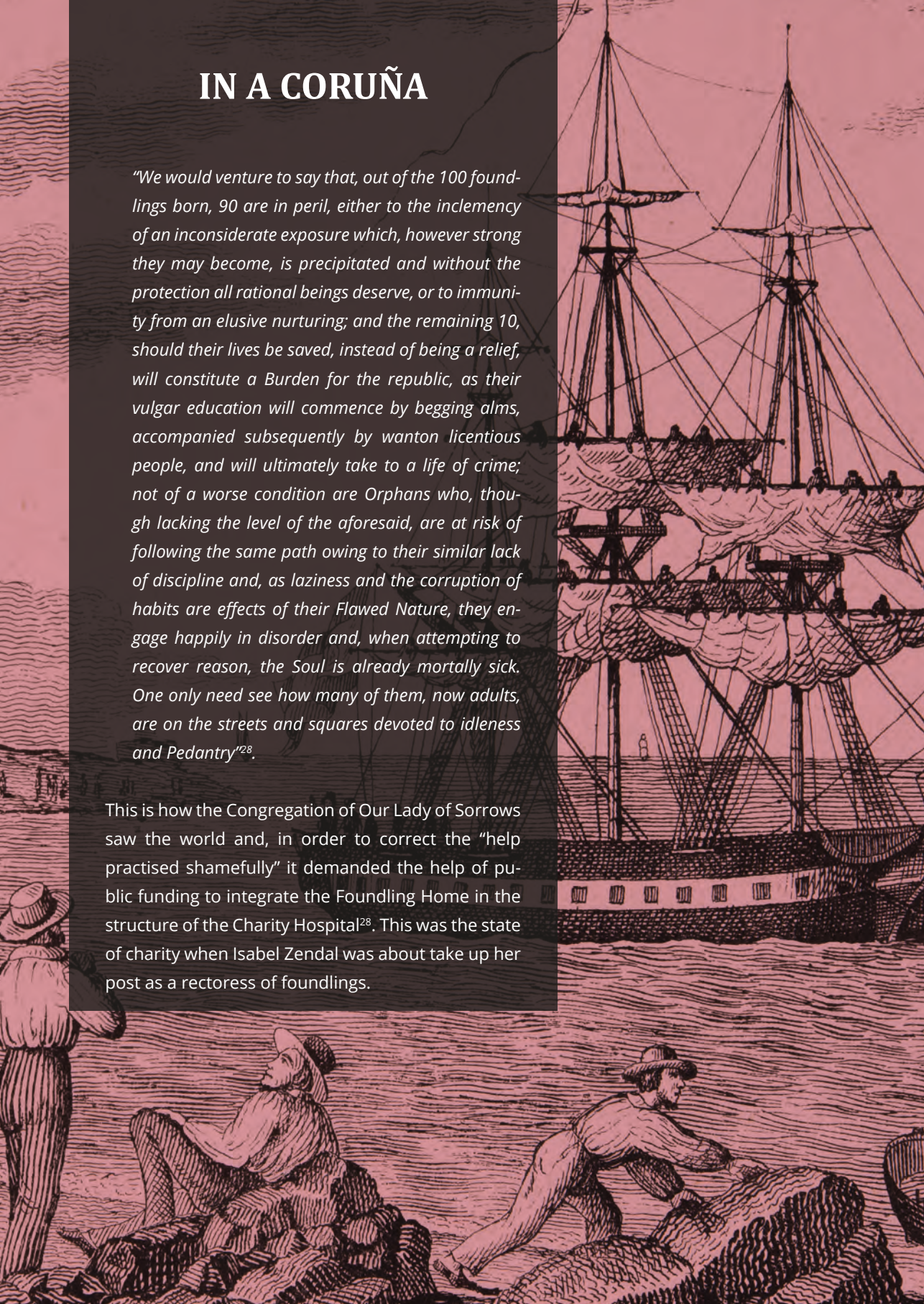


Parada-Ordes (general view), home village of the rectoress-nurse. © José Caruncho.

IN A CORUÑA

"We would venture to say that, out of the 100 foundlings born, 90 are in peril, either to the inclemency of an inconsiderate exposure which, however strong they may become, is precipitated and without the protection all rational beings deserve, or to immunity from an elusive nurturing; and the remaining 10, should their lives be saved, instead of being a relief, will constitute a Burden for the republic, as their vulgar education will commence by begging alms, accompanied subsequently by wanton licentious people, and will ultimately take to a life of crime; not of a worse condition are Orphans who, though lacking the level of the aforesaid, are at risk of following the same path owing to their similar lack of discipline and, as laziness and the corruption of habits are effects of their Flawed Nature, they engage happily in disorder and, when attempting to recover reason, the Soul is already mortally sick. One only need see how many of them, now adults, are on the streets and squares devoted to idleness and Pedantry"²⁸.

This is how the Congregation of Our Lady of Sorrows saw the world and, in order to correct the "help practised shamefully" it demanded the help of public funding to integrate the Foundling Home in the structure of the Charity Hospital²⁸. This was the state of charity when Isabel Zendal was about take up her post as a rectoress of foundlings.



The children of the Foundling Wheel²⁹

Between 26 May 1793 and 25 December 1803, a total of 1,081 children entered the Foundling Home in A Coruña, which meant an average of 2 children per week for a population of around 20,000 habitants (15,000 in A Coruña and 5,000 for its area of influence).

Of the 991 foundlings on whom data are available, 659 were taken to Santiago, owing to the shortage of funds which, from time to time, the Charity Hospital suffered from. This pilgrimage began in 1795, but, between 1798 and 1803, the exodus was virtually absolute. A total of 332 foundlings remained under the direct protection of the Home.

Of the 991 children, 899 were *left* on the foundling wheel (prior to August 1798, the expression used was “was found/ was cast”); seventy-eight were born in the Hospital (in the common area or in the room set aside for that purpose), 13 had been abandoned in the open (paths, doors of churches, wealthy houses or on the windowsill of the Foundling Home) and one arrived from the prison, where her mother was incarcerated.

Within 48 hours, any of those 519 boys and 472 girls could be being breastfed by a wet nurse from A Coruña, or dropped off at the *Hospital de los Reyes Católicos* in Santiago. Here, we need to point out that there is not one single book entry showing that the Home had wet nurses or used goat milk to feed the babies (as commonly occurred in better provisioned foundling homes). On the other hand, there was a constant monthly outflow in “pharmacy expenses”: baby food (for the first days of life, chicory and rhubarb were highly popular ingredients) eaten by the foundlings shipped off to Santiago and, therefore, would be no different from the baby food for those foundlings who, in the Hospital’s good years, stayed in the vicinity of A Coruña³⁰.

Thirty reales was the wet nurses’ monthly salary during the babies’ first three years of life. This amount was reduced to 20 reales a month for the following three years. In theory, at the end of the first three years, families could send foundlings back to the Home, but they usually stayed until they reached 7 years of age. Or forever. Compared to the 9 children returned at the age of three, 40 children were adopted by the families who were bringing them up.

Here we find a heart-warming piece of information: 14 foundlings brought up in the area around A Coruña were recovered by the mother or by the genetic parents. However, there is also a bitter side: 221 out of 991 children were left with signs that indicated a real desire to take them back in the future. Coloured ribbons on their wrists. Medals, gospels, reliquaries or rosary beads. Also, handwritten notes: "I am beautiful and I have no parents. Only my mother knows the day of my birth, I do not. Do not lose this note as one day it will be demanded"/ "I have been baptised. Antonia is my name, place me to a breast and you will see how I feed"). All of these labels had the same message: "this is a sign, one day the child will be sought".

Of the 332 children in the care of the Foundling Home in A Coruña, the deaths of 245 foundlings (73.7%) were recorded. Of the total number of deaths, 198 (80.8%) died during their three first years of life, and 32 of them during their first 10 days. Coffins of a similar size would also be needed for the 5 children who died on their way to the Foundling Home in Santiago.

Among the causes of death, there are only 4 cases of syphilis (venereal disease), which would seem to preclude prostitution as the primary reason of abandonment. Rather more light is shed by the 11 children born in Secret Delivery Rooms, refuges for "protecting a lady's virtue" and for the more "well-to-do". There are also confidential documents relating to "being from a fragile woman", "owing to human fragility and not immorality", "having illicit fun" or "being from a clean but spoilt person"; nonetheless, an unrelenting majority of these manuscripts point towards financial reasons: "there is a great deal of hardship", "owing to illness", "owing to having other young children", "to being poor", "to being a single mother with another child" and a hundred other versions of the tales of woe.

Carers of foundlings³¹

Between July 1798 and 27 November 1803, four women would pass through the Home's rectory while, during the same period, the post of "wheel keeper" was almost exclusively in the hands of the same employee.

"To Dionisia Fernández, who is responsible for collecting the foundlings left on the wheel, taking them to be baptised, and taking care of them when not being breastfed or taken to the Foundling Home of the Royal Hospital in Santiago, I paid 40 reales." "To Xaviera Ansotegui³², responsible for helping the 21 foundlings in this hospital in everything they need, I paid 50 reales." These two book entries date from 1798, and they are the first ones relating to payments for taking care of foundlings. It is also stated that the "wheel keeper"

(the woman responsible for the foundling wheel), receives an extra pound of bread (for her herself and her daughter) and the “rectoress” receives the same bonus.

Here it should be noted that the post of “*wheel keeper*” ceased to exist on 21 November 1798 –when Dionisia leaves the House– and the duties were assumed by Rosa Fernández, the Hospital’s cook (and also the wife of the institution’s purchasing manager), in the new position of “doorwoman”. According to the accounting records for January 1799, she received a pound of bread a day “as reward for the extraordinary work of collecting the foundlings left on the wheel, an assignment she is performing correctly”.

Xaviera Ansotegui was the rectoress until 3 June 1799, “when she was dismissed”, six months after she gave birth to a child: “from December the 4th, the day she gave birth, to the end of the month” she received 14 pounds of meat, 14 quarts of wine, 28 ounces of chocolate, her daily pound of *peneira* bread (made from flour and bran) and her entire salary. Between 4 June 1799 and 22 February 1800, “when she was dismissed”, the rectoress was Luisa López, whose monthly salary was her daily bread and 50 reales. The same amount was given to the woman “who carried out those duties on a temporary basis, from 24 February until 23 March.”

From the accounts for **March 1800** [14], we can tell that there was a new girl in the office: as of the 24th of the month, when she was “taken on”, the Home’s rectoress was the future nurse on the Balmis Expedition. In contrast with the brief tenures of her three predecessors, Isabel Zandal Gómez would take care of the foundlings until three days before the Balmis Expedition’s departure for the Americas.

During the first three months, it must have been difficult for Isabel to get to grips with the tasks of her position. Among the records for “clothing expenses” there is a significant entry in **June 1800**[16]: a resident foundling was rewarded with a piece of cloth for a doublet and a long dress for helping the rectoress take care of the foundlings. This was the first and only case of such an accounting entry.

When Isabel’s replacement had to be selected from among 4 candidates (a widow, a single woman, a nurse from the Hospital and a resident foundling), the one who garnered most votes was Christina González, “who has been in the Hospital for a long time as a resident foundling”³³.

This matter of the rectoress is worthy of study in greater detail.

» It is noteworthy that, between March 1800 and November 1802, those responsible for the book entries relating to the foundlings (Joseph Bernardino Vaamonde and Juan Fran-

cisco de Navarrete) were not capable of filling in the space that they had left for the rectoress's surname: throughout these two long years, we have usually found that after the position (rectoress) and the name (Isabel), there is a blank space (for the surname), followed by the dots and lines which, in any accounting entry, prevent the subsequent entry of any unwanted notes.

Intuition would seem to suggest that the work of both of these accountants (members of the Congregation of Our Lady of Sorrows and working unselfishly, as all of the brethren responsible for the management and administration of the Charity Hospital) would not have been remunerated, and to keep the accounts of the Home, they would not need to be close to the foundlings. And for two long years, could it really be that case that nobody found the right moment to ask any of the members of the Hospital's Board of Governors, any worker, or even Isabel herself, what her surname was? Laziness? Moral misgivings? Why do all other employees and previous rectoresses appear with their names and surnames?

Isabel's surname would not appear in the accounts book during the period (December 1802 – November 1803) when the future nurse coincided with two new accountants, Josef Pelayo Mira and Manuel Acha. However, these men knew everything about Isabel: both surnames (although they used the second one), that she was the rectoress, that she was a mother and that she was unmarried. As accountants, they would record the half pound of bread she received for her son. Being responsible for the Foundling Register Book, they had had Isabel *on file* since she was the godmother of a boy born in the Secret Delivery Room, and of a girl left on the Home's foundling wheel³⁴.

» There is a second issue (or perhaps the primary one, in terms of importance) which it is worth reflecting on. The title of rectoress is much flashier than the salary, which could not have been very high when her 50-real salary was topped up, every month, with a daily pound of *peneira* bread (a dark bread, made with flour and bran).

In April 1801 [16], Isabel fell ill and, for 9 days, her absence was covered by "a Woman named Mariana Ximenez". This temporary ailment may not served to reveal the financial fragility of the post of rectoress, but the truth is that, as of the following month, in **May 1801** [17], Isabel would go on to receive a pound of **peneira** bread a day for her son (born in 1796, he would already have a good set of teeth) "to whom this aid has been granted by the providence of the Prefect". Within a few months, as of **August 1801** [18], her salary would also be supplemented (a matter which must have been related with the consideration her work merited) with half a pound of meat a day.

In order to get a better idea of the gulf between the post's showy title and the actual remuneration, we should stress that the rectoress was not averse to picking up the needle herself: in **December 1802** [19] she received an extra eight reales "for some bedsheets she had sewn the previous month"; from **February 1803** [20] she would be paid a fixed sum of 16 reales a month for "mending the children's everyday clothing"; in **May 1803** [21] she earned an extra 14 reales for making "shirts for the girls" with twenty rods (old measurement of length, roughly equivalent to a yard) of canvas.

Comparing the rectoress's monthly salary with those of the other workers, the post could not have done much to boost its incumbent's socio-economic standing: the priest at the Charity Hospital earned 150 reales; the institution's purchasing manager earned 120; the laundry woman pocketed 100 and the cart driver, who used to take the barrels of water to the Hospital, earned 85. Teachers were paid 4 reales per month per student, to teach the boys to read and write and the girls how to sow; the Hospital cook earned 24 reales; the half-dozen transporters the hospital employed to take the children to Santiago (during the Coruña Hospital's long years of financial crisis) were paid 30 reales per child, but if they had to take two children at the same time, they were paid 48 reales³⁵.

» There is a third matter which needs to be addressed: the merits for and constraints on becoming a rectoress of Foundlings.

Initially, the members of the Charity Hospital's Board of Governors were used to voting anonymously (appointments to the Congregation of Our Lady of Sorrows were decided with black and white beans). Taking into account the selection of Christina González as rectoress of the Foundling Home, we can safely conclude that the social status of the candidate selected was irrelevant. Even if they were single mothers or resident foundlings. What did matter was their ability to care for abandoned children. As Isabel was from the same parish as the Congregation of Our Lady of Sorrows, and living in a town of some 15,000 inhabitants, it is inconceivable that Hospital's Board of Governors did not have boxes overflowing with spoken reports on the human qualities of Benito Celdam's mother.

Christina González (born in 1741; married to Blas Ximénez, from Granada, "of whom she is not aware if he is alive", her deceased parents from San Fins de Brións) was admitted to hospital three times in 1794 (for 31, 30 and 15 days)³⁶. Despite her age, her illnesses and her uncertain marital status, the hospital governors must have appreciated her ability in caring for foundlings: in May 1799 she was entrusted with taking a young girl to Santiago: this Juana was left on the foundling wheel the night of the 27th, baptised on the 28th, and on the 29th she was already in the Hospital de los Reyes Católicos in Santiago³⁷.

Without any intention of relating Isabel's sick leave, in April 1801, with weak health, as a consequence of the hardship endured in a poor house, nor are the illnesses of the Zandal sisters a matter to be skimmed over in passing.

During the future nurse's time in A Coruña, Antonia was admitted to the paupers' hospital four times, for a total of 45 days³⁸. Her first admission, from 20-29 August 1796, coincides with Isabel's son Benito's first month of life. It would not be too difficult to imagine that Antonia took advantage of this admission to visit her sister and nephew. Having come to care for the mother and child, this display of affection and solidarity between sisters may not have left Francisca, another sister, who had been living in A Coruña since 1795 (which will be explained below) in such a good light. Antonia's four admissions were all in July and August. Was she leaving the village precisely at the time when there was most work in the fields, abandoning her father and two brothers in the family home? If the reasons for her visits to the Hospital were to shirk her duties, she was nothing like Benito's mother.

There is no record of Isabel's having visited the Charity Hospital's infirmary at any time during the months of pregnancy and the birth, or during her illness when she was the rectoress. As we shall go on to learn, one of the attitudes that touched Francisco de Balmis, the Director of the Expedition, the most was the determination of Isabel ("who lost her health entirely") to never abandon the children on the expedition.

Life in the Home³⁹

When Isabel took up the post of rectoress, the governors of the Charity Hospital (and of its Foundling Home) already had seven years' experience behind them. The Coruña Home was no island of charity: Ferrol and Santiago had their respective Foundling Homes, and from these the administrators of the Hospital in A Coruña would take snippets. That being said, nor does Isabel seem to have been an obedient woman, head bowed, unable to act on her own initiative or always waiting to receive orders. It is inconceivable that, in the daily routine of the Home's governance, there could not have been a handful of good ideas attributable to this woman from a family of poor labourers, who forges a life and work opportunities in the city, even as a single mother, and who, on four-year, intercontinental mission, performs her tasks to the complete satisfaction of her employer, who was none other than a highly irascible physician. As Javier Moro notes (*A flor de piel*; Seix Barral, 2015), summarising the character with which all historians portray the director of the Balmis Expedition, "the only person Balmis has a good word about is Isabel Zandal".



Survival must have been the rectoress's watchword. During the initial hours, taking care of the foundlings so they could survive the physical impact of clandestine abandonment. Whether they were left on the foundling wheel or handed in at the home (picked up from the streets by the townsfolk or parish mayors), the first precaution was to check their health and, if necessary, send for Francisco Cónsul Jove (the Charity Hospital's physician) or Josep Agostino (the surgeon), or the priest, which was the darkest option: a baptism of need with "helping water" when the child "was on the cusp of death", "could not live" or "had no need of a wet nurse". They had to be bathed immediately (warm water, wine and soap) and swathed ("everything he came in was old", "she was left naked"). The next morning (the vast majority of infants were abandoned at night) the first thing to do was to take them to San Nicolás parish church, to be properly baptised. The first 24-48 hours of the foundlings concluded with their being handed over to a wet nurse.

No more than 30 children were under the direct care of the rectoress: a few of them would be around three years old (they were left at the Home at a tender age or returned by the wet nurse, after the first breastfeeding period), but the majority would have already reached seven years of age, and they returned to the Foundling Home to be trained, in the 6 or 7 years that this second stay could last, to enter the world of work.

Although one book entry from July 1799 makes mention of "six *Doctrina Christiana* books for the foundlings to learn to read", all the other entries show that teachers were paid for teaching the boys to read and write and the girls to knit and sew. These teachers received 4 reales per month per student, although the girls' teacher also received half pound of bread and quart of wine, and the boys' teacher received 30 reales for copying the previous 6 months' accounts. Catholic doctrine was not the only source of learning, there are various references of the purchase of books for early readers. Other payments reveal that some children must have been advanced for their age and thus deserving of their own inkwell and quill.

The boys' training period came to an end when they were called (or placed) to local workshops as apprentices, because they were adopted, or because they chose to forge their own future: some foundlings, at 13 or 14 years of age, left the Home to join the army as drummer boys. For girls, the alternatives for leaving were either to be adopted or to serve as maids. The most talented in handicraft could find employment at the Spinning School, funded by the Royal Consulate. There are at least two explicit examples of foundlings cherishing good memories of their time at the Home: one man and one woman notified the institution of their respective marriages⁴⁰.

They may not been the height of fashion, but consistent monthly entries for foundlings' clothes show that this was a significant issue.

At the Foundling Home everything was sewn; virtually no ready-made garments were purchased. All children given to be breastfed had their own trousseau, and those who lived in the Home would even have looked smart. Nappies, shirts, hats –one of the few things that were bought – and blankets, for the smaller ones. The older children were kitted out with shorts, shirts, jerkins, doublets, waistcoats, trousers and jackets (made of blue cloth); petticoats, underskirts, long dresses, jackets; anoraks; scarves and cloth caps or headscarves of medium-quality canvas. The cloths were wool, linen and cotton and the fabrics ranged from beaver fur (very soft to the touch) for some shawls, to printed calico for long dresses plain canvass for cloth caps. The covers for the straw-filled pallets of the beds were made of strong, striped cloth; the sheets were made of canvas or medium quality linen (9 spans by 5 ½) which, when frayed, were recycled and used as nappies; sheepskins were bought to act as bedspreads.

The cutting of the fabric, bought by the yard, and dressmaking was entrusted to a tailor who, from time to time, would come to work in the Home. He was paid nine reales a day, but his needle could not have been idle for long when, among the clothing expenses, we find the purchase of four candles for tailor's services.

Cold gets in through the ears, but these children wore caps; it could also get in through the feet, but the foundlings wore shoes. A shoemaker used to go to the Foundling Home and, depending on the size of the shoe, he was paid 4, 7, 8 or reales per pair; as a bonus for this work, he also received half pound of bread and a quart of wine a day.

Armed with their wooden spoons, the foundling sat down at the dining room table to three square meals a day, receiving the portions shared out by the rectoress.

For breakfast, bread soup, and for lunch and dinner there would be stew (with beef, ham, mutton, or bacon) with vegetables, accompanied by potatoes, chickpeas, beans, rice, barley or semolina. The older children would receive three quarters of a pound of bread a day, and the younger ones half a pound.

To get a better idea of the taste and flavour of this this daily diet, there is a list of extra products that were brought into the Home's kitchen: salt, oil, vinegar, fresh butter, lard, saffron, red wine, Malaga wine, old wine, a small number of eggs, lemons, cinnamon, sugar, sponge cakes, chocolate, truffles and almonds (with sugar, for making *horchata*, a drink

made with tiger nuts). It should be noted that the vegetables were home-grown: both the paupers' hospital and the Foundling Home had their own vegetable gardens.

For the foundlings and the rector, the main religious celebrations were moments of gastronomic exaltation. At Christmas 1800, the children feasted on apples cooked in wine; Yuletide 1801 saw Isabel receive a hamper (valued at 4 reales) of sweets, fruit and goodies with which rich families used to regale their household servants at this time of the year. On **Christmas Eve 1802** [22] there was a great party: the menu included fish and a pound of sugar, a further pound of cinnamon, 22 quarts of wine for boiling apples and "to be drunk by the children and rectoress". During Lent, the Home paid Isabel's bull in order to be able to eat meat. In 1803, on the Octave of Resurrection (June), between them all, the rectoress and children polished off 10 quarts of wine, and on the Day of the Dead, 12 kilos of chestnuts.

The children's comfort would already have been one of the House administration's principal targets, but the first months of Isabel's tenure would coincide with considerable refurbishment inside the building.

In May, the area up to that time occupied by the foundlings was divided into two rooms, for boys and girls; in June, the roof was re-tiled and a lantern was installed for lighting; in September, four gratings were fitted "for the same number of windows as the Foundlings' room has, to prevent them from falling into the street". The beds were repaired and seven new benches and two planks of wood for footrests were brought to the children's school. Later on, a *fanega* (55 litres) of lime was used to whitewash the foundlings' quarters.

The residents' hygiene was no frivolous matter for the Hospital administrators. When, owing to bad weather, the laundry woman was unable to collect the dirty clothes, soap was bought and the laundry was done inside; the ceremonial clothes worn by babies wear during baptism at San Nicolás were also washed in house. The Home did not exactly smell of roses... because that would have been impossible: lavender used to be brought in by the bale, 5 kilos at a time.

With regard to hygiene, Isabel had good reason to be particularly vigilant: the mattresses and bedding of foundlings suffering from scabies had to be washed, and iron tongs had to be bought to pull out the roots of ringworm that had affected the children. Alarming situations to reconcile with more everyday concerns: taking some children, with their heads shaven (each haircut cost 1 real) and others with their hair well brushed, and we must not

forget to change the clay chamber pots, brooms for sweeping the foundling wheel and the rooms, as well as the mouse traps.

When they fell ill, one of the remedies was to tackle the problem with better food: white bread, an extra helping of meat (mutton stew), chocolate and wine. One book entry from June 1801 reads: “110 pounds of meat eaten under doctors’ prescription, owing to the majority of the foundlings being indisposed.” On other occasions, traditional medicine was resorted to: there are payments (2 reales per treatment) for “raising depressed children’s arms” (a traditional remedy), and the consumption of 8 quarts of eau-de-vie for giving a child a rub, while for other child only a quart of wine was required. And there were various times when the remedy, without ceasing to be traditional, had its aristocratic side: there are monthly payments of 30 reales to wet nurses who would take foundlings out to “get some fresh air”.

The ten days between 25 September and 5 October were exceptional ones for the municipal physician, Posse Roybanes, who, although a staunch advocate of the smallpox vaccine, had never had the opportunity to work with the fresh virus. He took advantage of the situation to learn the vaccination technique on the front line from Francisco de Balmís in person. On the 23rd, an individual referred to as “Minister García” (agent at the service of the mayor) earned 60 reales for “urging some wet nurses to bring the children to be vaccinated”. Throughout the two long months that the Expedition spent in A Coruña, keeping the vaccination chain active was paramount: it was the only guarantee of having fresh virus for vaccinating the first pair of foundlings who would carry the smallpox vaccine, in their arms, to the Americas. Over those 10 days, the ten wet nurses who “were there to vaccinate the breastfeeding children” received stellar payment in kind, with rather uncommon fare: bread, eggs, lard, wine and sardines.

Pinpointed thanks to the speech of A Coruña

At a time when spelling was essentially down to the sole discretion of priests and scribes, one feature of writing was to reproduce the phonetics of oral speech. In the region of Ordes they may have doubted whether to write a name, surname, place or object with a “z” or a “c”, but they would never have transcribed the sound of the letter “s” with c/z. This means that, in this region, they did not use the dialectal variant called *seseo*, by way of which the unvoiced interdental phoneme /θ/ is produced as a sibilant [s]. One of the senior scribes in A Coruña was Manuel Balthasar de Pazos. He was responsible for the Foundling Register Book and secretary of the Charity Hospital’s Board of Governors; he was also the

secretary of the board at the Royal Consulate. In the record for foundling **no. 673** [23] mention is made that the godmother is Ysabel Zendala and that for **no. 720** [24] it is Ysabel Zendala y Gómez; that for the foundling girl **no. 742** [25] the godmother is Ysabel Cendala y Gomez; that for foundlings **no.759** [26], **no. 780** [27], **no. 802** [28] and **no. 848** [29] it is Ysabel Gomez. Historians, enthusiasts of genealogy and emigrants seeking the baptism records of members of their families that could offer the possibility of dual nationality are all well aware that, back then, sons always took the father's first surname, but girls could be identified by either the father's first surname or the mother's. This is what Josef Pelayo Mira and Manuel Acha, the brothers replacing Pazos, did in the Foundling Register Book: the godmother of foundling **no. 860** [30] is Ysabel Gómez; in the entry for foundling **no. 875** [31] it is explained, once and for all, who the godmother in these nine baptisms is: "Ysabel Gómez, single, Governess of this Hospital's Foundling Home." The fact that she was a single mother is not specified, nor is it necessary. "Since May 1801, the rectoress has been receiving half pound of bread a day for her son"; information which Mira and Acha would also indicate in December 1802, when they assumed responsibility for the Foundling Home's accounts.

Manuel Balthasar de Pazos (the man who wrote Zendala/Cendala), now acting as the Secretary of the Hospital's Board of Governors, certifies the fact and signs the minutes of the meeting for **27 November 1803** [32]: "...the remaining votes were taken by Christina González, who was thus appointed and admitted as a rectoress, under the same conditions as her predecessor, Ysabel Sendala y Gómez".

The writing of Isabel's surname with an "s" leads us to conclude that the practice of *seseo* was used in the speech of A Coruña at the time. This intuition becomes hard fact when in the **census of 1794** [33], the inhabitants of 36 Calle Real appear as Gerónimo Hinojosa, Honorary War Commissioner and prior of the Royal Consulate, who lives with his wife and two children, his cashier, four personal maids, on black male slave and one black female slave; and with this family in the same house, lives a "a maid, of 23 years of age, called Ysabel Senda".

"Are you saying that this maid is Ysabel *Sendala*, the future rectoress of the Foundling Home and nurse on the Balmis Expedition?"

"Does it sound so far-fetched?"

"Don't jump head-first into the pool without looking..."

"The pool is full and I've got a life jacket!"

"Let's hope it's not full of rusty nails!"

"Put your hand on your heart and answer honestly: Is *Senda* a well-known word? Can you think of a word with a similar meaning that you would write with 'z' or 'c'? Is *Zendal* a well-known word? Without looking it up in the dictionary, would you know that it means 'a very fine silk fabric'? If *Zendal* were a popular word, would the parish of San Nicolás have written that Benito was Isabel *Celdam*'s son? What else would the civil servant in charge of the A Coruña census have done but transcribe the surnames as they were pronounced, and according to his knowledge of the language?"

"Don't you think that assuming that *Senda* and *Sendala* are the same surname is a bit of a short cut?"

"It's no short cut at all! There is bridge that connects these two versions of the same surname: The 1795 census, residents of the parish of San Nicolás. At number 6 Callejón de Papagaio, sharing her home with other two families, lives Francisca *Sendal*⁴¹. Writing Isabel's sister's surname with an 's' would seem to suggest that, in the 1794 census, the civil servant transcribed with the sibilant pronunciation of A Coruña, the only word that sounded familiar to him: *Senda* ('path' in English).

There's one last question, that of the farewell: What have you got to say about this maid being 23. That means that she was born in 1771, Isn't that enough to explain that her baptism record can't possibly appear in a parish register that started in 1773?"

"Anyone can do historical research like that!"

"Sometimes the cards are marked at source, which is effectively the archives! The only complete census in existence for those years is that of 1794. There are no partial censuses of the district in Calle Real after 1781 (when the future nurse was still living in Parada), owing to which, there is no way of knowing how long Ysabel *Senda* had been working for Hijosa prior to 1794, or how long she subsequently stayed on as a maid. Nonetheless, the 1795 census of the parish of San Nicolás (the next one is from 1811) reveals that Isabel was not an inhabitant of that parish, owing to which, the natural conclusion is that, that year, she was still in the service of Hijosa. Given that Calle Real is in the parish of San Jorge and that, when Benito was born his mother was living in San Nicolás, common sense would suggest that in 1796 she would have already left the house of city's richest merchant."

"The only logical thing is what the brain tells the heart: filter all that information properly before even considering issuing a tentative yes!"

"At this moment of reflection, a scientific truth is just what the doctor ordered: between *Zendal*/*Cendal*/*Sendal* and *Zendala*/*Cendala*/*Sendala*, there is no difference." The tradition of employing, for women, the feminine version of a masculine surname arises from a typically Galician way of identifying the family of origin. Thus, *Zendala* reveals that she is the daughter of a man named *Zendal*, as *Guillina* does for

a Gillín, *Juncala* for a Juncal and Galana for a *Galán*. Nor is this practice exclusive to rural areas: Teresa Herrera, the founder of the Charity Hospital, was baptised with the second surname of Pedroso (the maternal grandfather's surname), nonetheless, she was buried with the surname of everyday street speech: *Pedrosa*⁴². Here, it is worth pointing out this practice is not exclusive to Galicia, nor is it a modern trend. Around 400 years ago, a certain Miguel de Cervantes wrote, in the words of the protagonist of a rather famous novel of his: I was mad, but now I am sane: I was Don Quixote of La Mancha and now I am, as I have said, Alonso *Quijano*...I bequeath my entire estate, closed doors, to my niece, Antonia *Quijana*...⁴³."



Galicia, 1790. José Cornide © Biblioteca Real Consulado.



Monument-tribute to the children of the vaccine and Isabel Zendal, at the Parrote in A Coruña. Acisclo Manzano, 2003. © José Caruncho.



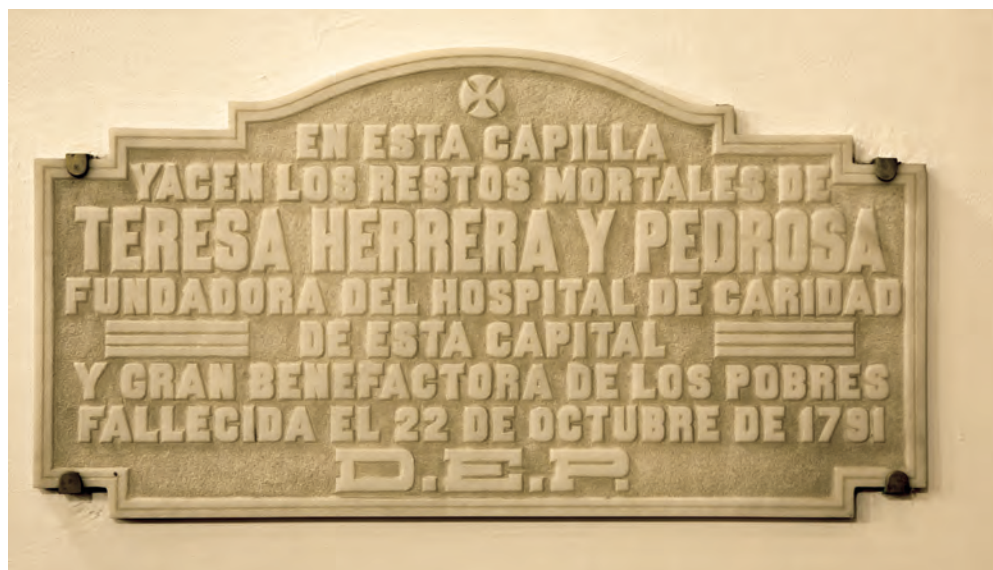
Church of San Nicolás, main façade. A Coruña. © José Caruncho.

The saint is the patron of abandoned children and in that parish foundlings were baptised under the protection of the Charity Hospital.



Rúa "Isabel López Gandalia", in the old quarter of the city of A Coruña. © José Caruncho.

From 1971 to December 2017, the plaque dedicated to the rectoress-nurse has had surnames which do not coincide with the Galician archives.



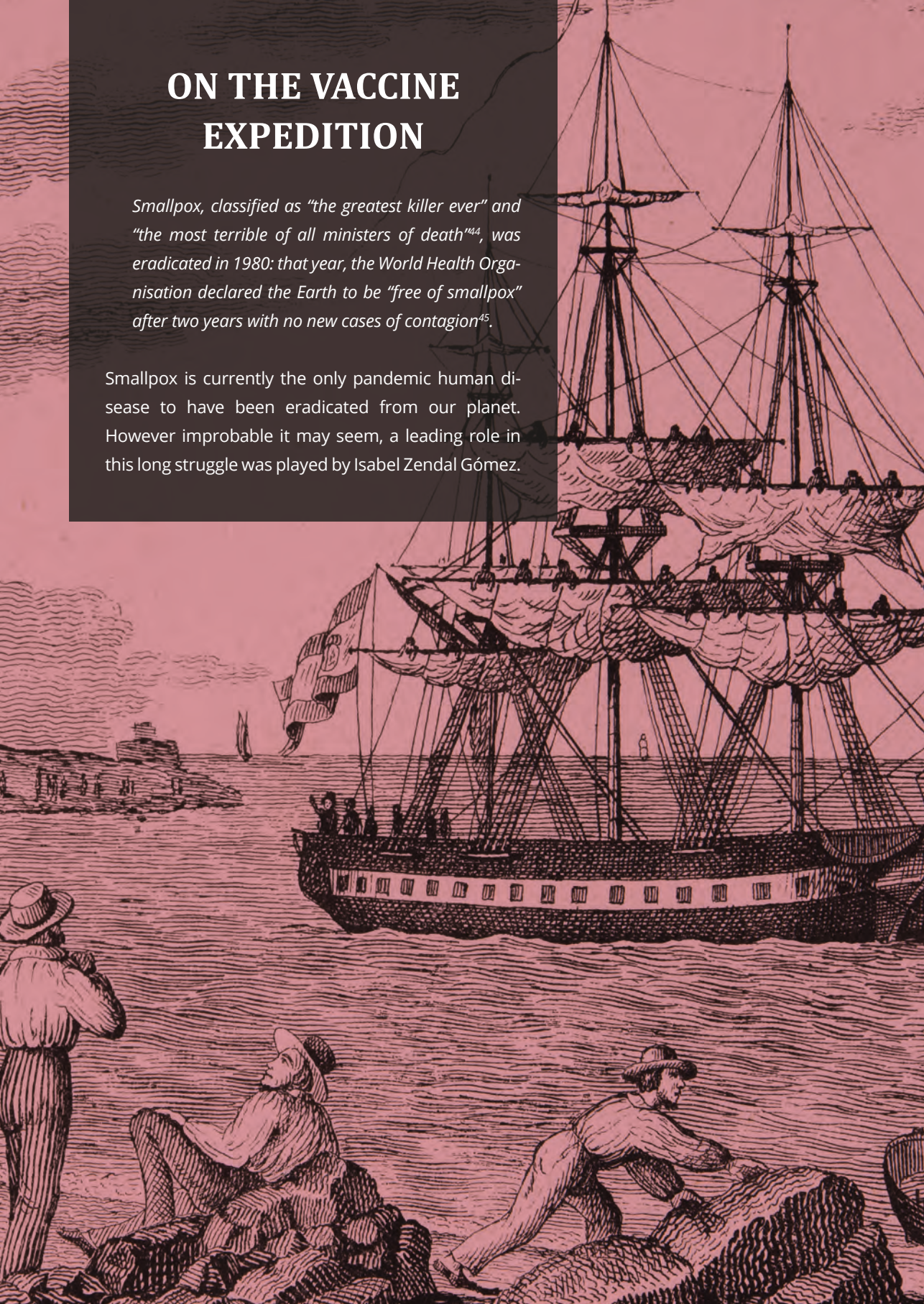
Tomb of Teresa Herrera. Chapel of the Royal and Venerable Congregation of the Divine Holy Spirit and Our Lady of Sorrows, in the Church of San Nicolás. A Coruña. © José Caruncho.

The Congregation has its own chapel in the parish church, where the founder of the Charity Hospital is buried.

ON THE VACCINE EXPEDITION

Smallpox, classified as “the greatest killer ever” and “the most terrible of all ministers of death”⁴⁴, was eradicated in 1980: that year, the World Health Organisation declared the Earth to be “free of smallpox” after two years with no new cases of contagion⁴⁵.

Smallpox is currently the only pandemic human disease to have been eradicated from our planet. However improbable it may seem, a leading role in this long struggle was played by Isabel Zenda Gómez.



Royal Authorisation

On 22 November 1803, the Charity Hospital's Board of Governors agreed to issue public edicts calling for candidates for the post of rectoress of the Foundling Home, as the post was to become available immediately⁴⁶. Five days later, and after "being sworn in", Christina Gómez was selected to replace the recently appointed nurse for the Balmis Expedition.

The **Royal order of 14 October 1803** [34] had changed Isabel Zendal's life, in a radical way. "H.M. allows the Governess of the Foundling Home of this city to form part of the expedition —destined to spread the inoculation of the vaccine in the Indies— as a nurse. In order that, during the voyage, she concern herself with the care and cleanliness of those Children who embark thereon, and to stem the repugnance felt by certain parents on having to entrust their offspring to those nurses (male nurses that had already been selected by Francisco de Balmis), without the comfort of an honest woman." In the missive that the Minister of Justice, Josef Antonio Caballero, sent to the chairman of the Hospital's Board of Governors, Ygnacio Carrillo y Niebla, Dean of the Collegiate in A Coruña, the financial conditions of the contract are also established: 3,000 reales by way of "allowances" for her incorporation and payment in the Indies of and annual salary of 500 pesos, "counted from the day they embark, and half on their return, which shall be paid by the Treasury".

A letter from the King is by no means an everyday occurrence. Analysing such a letter calmly would seem to be the thing to do.

» Carlos IV agrees to a prior, joint proposal from the maximum authority of the Hospital and the director of the Balmis Expedition.

» The Expedition set sail from the port of A Coruña with the foundling children. Clearly, once in the Americas, Balmis was counting on resorting to stable families, and not having to depend on children abandoned by their parents. Accordingly, the support of an "honest" woman was needed to thus "stem the repugnance felt by certain parents on having to entrust their offspring" to exclusive care of male nurses.

» "Honest" means "righteous", and for those involved in the decision-making process, this implied that a woman, being a single mother, was righteous if she adhered to the princi-

ples of upright, wholesome behaviour. It is inconceivable that Carrillo and Balmis would risk their careers by hiding from the King that the selected woman's "flower" was already somewhat "withered".

» At that time, without social security or retirement pensions, there was always a son/daughter who assumed the responsibility of assuring his/her parents they would be well looked after in their old age (either because they had never married, or they had married gone on to live in the family home). For the same reason, having a child out of wedlock did not provoke so much social alarm or affect one's personal prestige either: Galician society could assume it as a kind of protection against the deprivation of unmarried mothers who also had no family to provide them with shelter in their later years. Nonetheless, this issue of assimilating "honesty" and "honour" is what has led historians and novelists to presume that Isabel was either a widow with a son, or Benito's adoptive mother.

» Instead of going into the nurse's pocket, the 3,000 reales of the authorisation went into the fund for covering the costs of transport, board and lodgings for the expedition members.

» Five hundred pesos a year is equivalent to 10,000 reales. As rectress, Isabel was paid 600 reales a year (50 reales per month). If, to this disproportionate difference in salary, we add the fact that she was allowed to travel with her son, we have a highly human explanation for the reasons behind her emigration to the Americas. There is no need to add that her parents had already died, that in the village there was nothing to inherit, or that the rectress's salary would never be enough to allow her to escape from the life of the low paid.

» Receiving, once back in Spain, half of her salary as the Expedition nurse was a different story: it was effectively a pension of 5,000 reales a year. This would ensure a good future for her and her son, even in the city of A Coruña itself. It is doubtful, however, that that was the dream that Isabel had in mind. She chose to receive her salary in full while in the Indies, but the payment would have been sufficient for her to be able to receive part of it there and save the remainder, in Galicia, in a secure fund, until her return, or to cover the essential needs the direct family she had left in Spain. Which is what the other members of the expedition would do.

"In the city of A Coruña, on the eighth day of October eighteen hundred and three, before me, Scribe of the City Council, and as a witness, appears Antonio Pastor, resident in this city and Doctor's Assistant on the Smallpox Vaccination Expedition, and he declared the following: he authorises, to the full extent of the law, that Ms. Josepha Mataix [the wife of his uncle, Francisco de Balmis], resident of Alicante, be paid a monthly allowance, from the

salary of the testator, for her own decency and comfort.” The power of attorney that Francisco Pastor “doctor’s assistant in the Smallpox Vaccination Expedition” provides in favour of “Mr. Salvador Pastor [his father], resident in Alicante”, was written on the same date, with the same terms and with the same aim as the previous one. These two documents bear the signatures of the testators, Antonio Pastor/ Francisco Pastor, and of the scribe and witness, Manuel Acha de Patiño⁴⁷.

» Without being certain of how long beyond 1811 Isabel’s life in Mexico spanned³, no categorical affirmations can be made. Even so, intuition would suggest that she never returned to Spain, because she left with no intention of ever going back. Her future and, above all, that of her son Benito, could be built on more solid foundations if they stayed abroad: a salary of 10,000 reales or a lifelong pension of 5,000 reales was 16 or 8 times more, respectively, than her annual income as rectoress of the Foundling Home. And her past life was not a liability: before them they had a clear path to aspire to recognition and a socio-economic position which, perhaps, they could never have enjoyed in A Coruña.

Mission accomplished

Around 1796, Edward Jenner (a British country doctor, 1749-1823) ascertained that the only people immune to smallpox were farmers infected with *vaccine* (a term derived from *Variolae vaccinae* (i.e. smallpox of the cow) owing to purulent pustules appearing on the cows’ udders). By transferring cowpox pus to his fellow countrymen, he demonstrated that this lymph was the antidote to the deadly smallpox.

Six years after Jenner’s discovery, Carlos IV dictated that the Royal Philanthropic Expedition be organised to take the vaccine to the then Spanish territories in the Americas and Asia: around the turn of the 19th century, a violent epidemic of smallpox in the overseas territories was depriving the Crown of workers and taxpayers.

The members of the Royal Philanthropic Expedition would be Francisco Xavier de Balmis, a surgeon from the Royal Chamber, as the director; Joseph Salvany, surgeon at the Royal Site of Aranjuez, as deputy director; Antonio Gutiérrez and Manuel Grajales (assistant surgeons); Francisco Pastor and Rafael Lozano (doctor’s assistants); and as nurses Basilio Bolaños, Pedro Ortega, Antonio Pastor, Ángel Crespo, along with the only woman to participate in the Expedition, Isabel Zendal Gómez.

The world’s first vaccination campaign got under way on 30 November 1803 in A Coruña, on the corvette “María Pita”. After a stopover in the Canary Islands, the expedition party

arrived in Puerto Rico (February 1804) and sailed down to Caracas where the Expedition split into two groups: Salvany (accompanied by Grajales, Lozano and Bolaños) sailed to Colombia to embark on the odyssey of carrying the smallpox vaccine from Cartagena (May 1804) to the southernmost islands of Chile (January 1812). While the Balmis group (Gutiérrez, his nephews, Francisco and Antonio, Ortega, Crespo and Isabel) sailed to La Habana to disembark in Veracruz (July 1804). After vaccinating people from Guatemala and inland Mexico, the group set sail from Acapulco for the Philippines, arriving in April 1805. While his team were still vaccinating people around the island, Balmis returned to Spain on his own (August 1805). He took advantage of stopovers in Canton, Macao and Saint Helena to spread the vaccine and, on arriving back in Madrid, Carlos IV personally congratulated him on such a glorious medical achievement.

We may be in the palace, but something does not smell quite right. While Francisco Balmis was being virtually crowned as the emperor of Philanthropy, the expedition members who had accompanied him to Philippines were still vaccinating among indigenous tribes that had risen up against the Crown, and this group (with the exception of Pedro Ortega, who died in the island) would not arrive back in Mexico until 1807. The ceremony to honour the Director of the Exhibition may have been dazzling, but not dazzling enough to conceal the fact that Joseph Salvany died vaccinating people in 1810 (Cochabamba, Bolivia), and that his team did not stop vaccinating until 1812 by then in southern Chile.

More than ten years fighting against smallpox on a daily basis with humanitarian vaccinations (free for all social groups) makes one think that the Royal Philanthropic Expedition's medical odyssey was, and still is, this country's most valuable contribution to the history of humankind. In the words of the discoverer of the vaccine himself: "I don't think that such an honest and vast example of philanthropy will be seen ever again"⁴⁸.

Far and above the hundreds of thousands of people vaccinated, the true merit of the Expedition lay in the fact that they proved, in the eyes of the entire world, that the immunological method par excellence against contagious illnesses was preventive vaccination: infecting healthy individuals with a diluted dose of the very illness to be confronted. A good way of gauging the historical significance of the Royal Philanthropic Vaccination Expedition is to imagine a medical-humanitarian mission to combat AIDS spending ten years travelling and distributing the vaccine freely around the world and which, as a result, had laid the foundations for eradicating the disease from the planet. This was literally the seed the Spanish Royal Philanthropic Smallpox Vaccine Expedition planted over 200 years ago, through the Vaccination Boards set up in every place they visited. This was not just any seed: it was against smallpox, the most lethal disease in the history of humankind. In case

these figures cannot be demonstrated, there is a popular saying that attests to its terrifying lethality: “children do not belong to their parents until they have overcome smallpox”. There is only one true *vaccine*: that first fluid extracted by Edward Jenner from cows infected with smallpox. None of what we refer to today as *vaccines* come from cows, nor do they have anything to do with the original cowpox pus. The fact that the global community considers vaccines to be “Medicine’s greatest achievement”⁴⁹ and the World Health Organisation, in 1980, declared the Earth to be “a smallpox-free zone” are two realities that are inseparable from the words of the father of Mexican medicine: “The Vaccine Expedition remains unparalleled, and primacy in the scientific application of a new and wonderful preventive procedure, on a worldwide level, lies with its members”⁸.

The children of the vaccine⁵⁰

The “to be or not to be” of Balmis’ plan was based on the continuity of the vaccination chain. Among all the components of the Expedition (including the ship, the sailors and the captain, from the medical director to the most junior nurse), the only irreplaceable link in the chain was the foundlings: they were the vaccine. And without the vaccine there would have been no expedition, neither Royal nor Philanthropic.

Of the 22 children who carried the vaccine from A Coruña to the Americas, 4 came from the Paupers’ Home in Madrid: *Andrés Naya*, *Domingo Naya*, *Antonio Veredia* and *Vicente Ferrer*.

From the Foundling Home of Hospital de los Reyes Católicos in Santiago, five children participated in the expedition: *Juan Antonio*, baptised on 22 January 1797 in Santa María de Xiá-Friol, five days later he was handed over to Santiago’s Foundling Home and ten days later he would be breastfed in San Mamede de Rivadulla. The entry record for Jacinto states that: “on June the 6th, 1797 a foundling child, who had been left on the wheel the previous evening between 9 and 10, swathed in an old blue cloth, was baptised on his right hand, tied to his wrist, a little blue ribbon; he is quite chubby”. One month later he was given to be raised in Santiago de Pardosa-Forcarei. *Gerónimo María* had arrived from the Foundling Home in Ferrol, where he had been baptised on 1 October 1797 and moved to Santiago on the 4th. Three weeks later he had a wet nurse in Isidro de Montes- Campo Lameiro. *Florencio*, left on the wheel on 25 March 1799, was entrusted to a woman from Santo Tomé de Salto-Oza: “the woman had gone to the Royal Hospital to leave a foundling who had died, and in his place, and she took Florencio”. *Juan Francisco*, handed over to the Foundling Home on 27 April 1799, came from Santa María de Ferreira-Coristanco, of a known mother known and father unknown; the day he entered he was taken by a woman

from San Estebo de Cos-Abegondo, who had come to return the girl she was rearing, and who had passed away.

If we include *Benito*, Isabel's son, 12 children participating in the Expedition were under the protection of the Charity Hospital in A Coruña. *Clemente de la Caridad* was left on the wheel on 20 November 1794; the next day he was baptised, and on the following one, he was being reared in Santa María de Oleiros. *Francisco Antonio* was one of the only two foundlings who lived with his natural mother (when he was 7, and for the eight months prior to joining the Expedition); he was born on 26 February 1795 and, the day after, the same individuals who brought him to the Foundling Home took him to Santa María de Sada, where his mother also lived. *Manuel María* was baptised in the parish of San Nicolás in A Coruña on 15 October 1796; two days later, he already had a wet nurse in San Pedro de Nós, the same place where *Cándido de la Caridad*, left in the wheel on 1 October 1797, was reared. *Martín* was one of the four children resident in the Home when selected to join the Expedition; he had been taken to the Foundling Home on 16 June 1798 by the parish mayor of San Martín de Dorneda "who, along with his wife, when he saw that the child was going to be sent to Santiago, asked for them to be allowed to rear child for this Hospital, at no expense whatsoever, until funding could be found to pay for breastfeeding"; he was returned to the Home on 28 February 1803. Also resident in the Home was *Josef Manuel María*, left on the wheel on 7 March 1800 and reared, during the first three years, in Sada by a family who were in frequent contact with the mother of *Francisco Antonio*. Also reared in the same village was Josef, left on the wheel on 18 March 1803. After three years of external upbringing, *Tomás Melitón* left for the Americas after just one month in the Foundling Home; found on the wheel on 7 March 1800, he was reared in Santiago de Arteixo from the 11th of that month. *Pasqual Aniceto*, left on the wheel on 16 April 1800, was, as of the next day, breastfed by a woman from the village of San Pedro de Crendes. There was one member of the Expedition, given to be reared in San Tirso de Oseiro, whose parents expressed their firm desire to recover him: "At about 4 o'clock in the morning a child was left in the wheel with a paper that says: Coruña, 12 May 1800. This boy was born on the aforesaid day and has not been baptised; his name is *Vicente María Salee y Vellido*; anticipating that he be reared under the assumption that he will be collected, contributing with the corresponding alms for this holy Hospital." *Josef Jorge Nicolás de los Dolores* entered the Foundling Home when he was two, as a consequence, it would seem, of an unexpected worsening in the family's situation; "owing to his age, he remained at the Foundling Home", thus becoming the fourth foundling to be incorporated into the expedition.

The nurse

The science of the time only knew of three traditional methods for transporting the vaccine to territories where the antidote did not exist: sending white pustules protected between two pieces of glass sealed with wax and carried in cotton yarn; travelling with infected cows to those suffering from an epidemic; and transporting the vaccine using human carriers.

As opposed to the initial proposal of shipping infected cows to New Spain, Balmis imposed his idea of transporting the vaccine “alive” by making a human chain: the links of this chain would be foundlings who had not been in contact with the illness, given that if they were naturally immune, the vaccine would not take hold and the transmission chain would be broken. An initial dose of cow lymph would be injected in the arms the first pair of children (a necessary precaution needed in case the antidote did not take hold in one of the children). When the carriers’ pustules were at the pus-containing stage (around ten days later), this pus would be transferred to a new pair of foundlings. And so on, from one arm to another, with 11 pairs of foundlings, the vaccine made its way throughout the three-month voyage to the Americas.

The expedition director’s preference for foundling children was based on practical grounds. Direct vaccination from smallpox-infected cows was perfect when the animal was in the cowshed and the population to be vaccinated could go there. Almost 100 years after the Expedition, this was the method employed in A Coruña by Dr Rodríguez (as his name appears on sign of the street named after him) and Doctor Pérez Costales (patron of the young Pablo Ruíz, whose second surname was Picasso, throughout the four years the painter’s family lived there): “Jenner Centre for Animal Vaccination. Director: José Rodríguez. Direct vaccination from the heifer. Poor people, free”. / “Ramón P. Costales Animal Vaccination Institute. Working successfully for two years, vaccinating the poor for free”⁵¹. Nonetheless, the immobility of cows was not a good fit with an expedition in constant movement. The objective and working method was to take the vaccines to as many places as possible; that the population would have to go in search of the expedition and its cows did not form part of the strategy. Besides, on a 160-ton corvette, it would be nigh on impossible to accommodate the number of cows which would be needed to vaccinate all those people, bearing in mind that, neither the four members of Salvany’s party nor the six members of Balmis’ party would be travelling together as a group: in each of the two parties, they were constantly organising independent sub-expeditions to cover as much territory as possible.

Ensuring that the Expedition had sufficient reserves of vaccine against smallpox depended on preventing uncontrolled contagion among foundlings: this could happen during day or night, sailing on calm or rough seas, while they were playing or fighting; the children could also render the vaccine-containing pustules useless through their natural reaction to their itchiness. The only expert hands for dealing with the foundlings were those of the rectoress, Isabel. That was why she was taken on as a nurse; she was directly responsible (both on land and at sea) for the care, support and cleanliness of the vaccine-bearing foundlings.

There should be no doubt as to the proper medical attention given by the exhibition's medical team to the children carrying the vaccine from Madrid to A Coruña. Six of those children returned to the Foundling Home whence they came having concluded their vaccine-bearing mission. "When he was on his way to Madrid, Camilo Maldonado, a child who went to A Coruña with Balmis" died in Lugo, on 14 December 1803⁵². But what was the cause of his death? There is one sure clue: "Camilo Maldonado, age 12, from Guadalajara, son of Tomás and Manuela López, was taken to the Charity Hospital of A Coruña's infirmary on the 23rd with scabies. He is one of the children brought to this port from Madrid in order to carry the vaccine to the Americas. On November the 9th of the same year, he departed to Madrid in a poorly state, after lunch"⁵³.

If fatal contagion occurred on dry land, where more and better means for preventive and palliative care were available than at sea, it is hardly surprising that Francisco Balmis made mention of the "continuous illnesses" that the children in Isabel Zandal's care suffered.

All historical documents relating to the Philanthropic Expedition refer to the intensity of the director's feelings for the *mission* for which he was ultimately responsible. In parallel to his unlimited devotion, historians make no attempt to hide his bad temper, always willing to quarrel, not only with the members of the expedition and, as the good man he was for holding his tongue, also with those authorities that failed to provide him with the beasts of burden (both financial and administrative) he needed to pull the cart of the Expedition, or which simply made the wheels of the cart disappear.

About to conclude his fieldwork as an expeditionary and unable to hold back the his cry of anguish, this harsh man spoke of the work of the team had travelled to the Philippines (making special mention of Isabel Zandal Gómez) in the following terms: "Allow me, Your Excellency, the relief of my tears, which I cannot help but shed when thinking of the distinguished merit of these poor people and how much they have strived to serve His Majesty. Poor, sick and in need of rest, often even of that required, they have pardoned neither fatigue nor risk to serve our August Sovereign. That pitiful Rectoress who, owing to

her excessive work and the different climates that have been subjected to, lost her health completely: a tireless worker day and night, she has shown all the tenderness of the most sensitive Mother with the 26 children under her care, in the same manner as she had done from A Coruña and on all the voyages, and she has taken full care in their continual illness: owing to which, Sir, I decline to recommend them further, in fear of offending His Excellency's great compassion, may your perception allow you to understand how much they have worked, the scant time that has been employed, and the meagre salary they have enjoyed"⁵⁴.

The 26 children mentioned are those who were picked up in Mexico to carry the vaccine pus from Acapulco to Manila. There were 21 children carrying the vaccine from A Coruña to Puerto Rico. From Puerto Rico to Venezuela, the task fell into the arms of 3 three children, and from Caracas to La Habana, the vaccine was transported by 6 children: From Cuba to Mexico the vaccine was transported by "a young drummer from the Cuban Regiment" and "three black girls from Santiago", purchased from their owner and "then sold again for a loss of 350 pesos"⁵⁵. All of these children, and all those who were needed to spread the vaccine around the hinterlands of Mexico and the Philippines, were cared for "tirelessly, day and night" by a Galician woman from Ordes, daughter of poor farmers and single mother.

*History owes you one, Ysabel!
And your country, another one!*

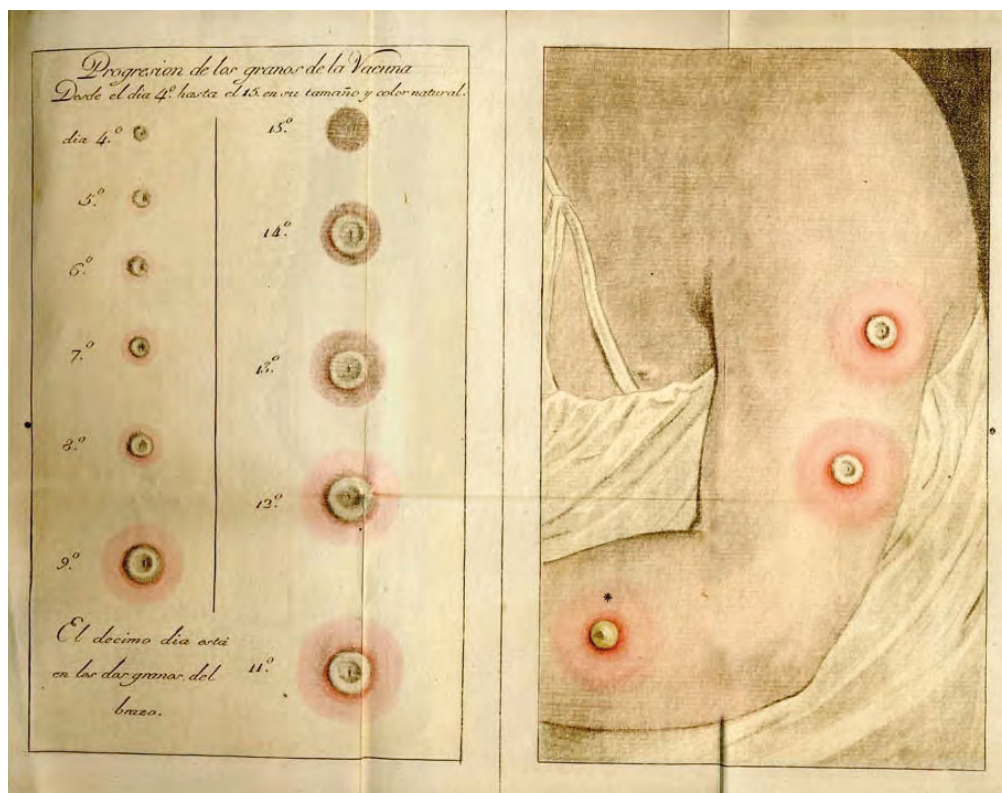
For being the arms and backbone
of Galicia's greatest philanthropic contribution
to the history of Humanity



"Vaccines for everyone" Exhibition. Bicentenary of the Balmis-Salvany Expedition. A Coruña, 2003. © Domus, Scientific Museums of A Coruña.



Anti-Vaccine Propaganda. James Gillray. London: published by H. Humphrey St. James's Street; 1802. Collection of Carlos González Guitián [original title: The Cow Pock —or— the Wonderful Effects of the New Inoculation!].



Progression of vaccine pustules. Engraving. José Ximeno Carrera. In: Moreau de la Sarthe, Jacques-Louis, "Tratado histórico y práctico de la Vacuna"; translated by Francisco Xavier de Balmis. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1803. Carlos González Guitián Collection.

From Galicia to Nova Galicia



© Rubén Ventureira

- Joint route
- Balmis Expedition
- Salvany Expedition
- Grajales & Bolaño Expedition
- Return of Isabel Zendal
- Return of the *María Pita*



The itineraries of the RPVE

1/ 30 November 1803. The RPVE commences, setting sail from A Coruña on the corvette, *María Pita*.

2/ 9 December. Santa Cruz de Tenerife. Leaves on 6 January 1804.

3/ 09 February 1804. Puerto Rico.

4/ 20 March 1804. Puerto Cabello (Venezuela).

5/ 08 May 1804. The RPVE splits up, definitively, into two parties. The party led by Salvany would travel through South America, from Cartagena de Indias to southern Chile; after vaccinating in Caracas, Balmis' party would sail from La Guaira to Cuba on the *María Pita*.

6/ 28 May 1804. Havana.

7/ 25 June 1804. Sisal-Yucatán (México).

8/ 24 July 1804. Veracruz (the *María Pita* returns to A Coruña, arriving on 6 January 1805).

9/ 09 August 1804. Mexico City.

10/ 08 February 1805. Balmis' party, on board the *Magallanes*, set sail from Acapulco to the Philippines. He reaches Manila on 16 April 1805.

11/ 02 November 1805. From Manila, Balmis returns alone to Spain. He takes advantage of the wait on the Macao-Lisbon route to vaccinate in Macao (September, 1805) and Canton (October, 1805).

12/ 07 February 1806. Balmis leaves Macao.

13/ 17 June 1806. Balmis leaves the island of Saint Helena, where he also performs vaccinations.

14/ 14 August 1807. Balmis reaches Lisbon (one month later, he will be received by Carlos IV, at the Court in Madrid).

15/ 14 August 1807. The Philippines group reaches Acapulco, having set sail from Manila on 19 April.

16/ 21 July 1810. Salvany dies.

17/ January 1812. Two members of the Salvany party (Manuel Grajales and Basilio Bolaños) reach the archipelago of Chiloé, previously known as New Galicia. The final stopover of the RPVE (on their way back, they reach Lima in May 1812).

Postscript 1

Until 2013, nobody knew about Isabel's life in Galicia, except for her position as rectoress of the Foundling Home in A Coruña⁵⁶. Nor was this part of her biography known in Mexico; but there, her work as the Expedition nurse is held in highest human and professional esteem: since as far back as 1975, the Mexican government has been awarding the national *Isabel Cendala y Gómez Prize* to the most outstanding work in the field of nursing. The Nursing School in the State of Puebla has borne the name of *Isabel Cendala* for the last 20 years.

After the 200 years that it has taken us to identify her, in her village and with her family, now is not time to let the pendulum swing the other way and drown Isabel in a cauldron of recognition. If we want Galician participation in the RPVE (Teresa Herrera-Charity Hospital-Congregation of Our Lady of Sorrows / crew of the "María Pita" / Posse Roybanes / foundlings / Isabel Zandal) to be part of our collective memory, why not start preparing teaching units in order to take our Galician forebears to the education system?

If they want to lay public funding on the table... there are a thousand documents in danger of disappearance from the archives, all of them related with the period and with the Galician who participated in the Vaccine Expedition. Without those archives there would be nothing left to be transmitted to future generations. Without those archives, there is no, nor would there be, any National Memory.

Postscript 2

This research is the result of the work of unforgettable women. Without them, I would be stranded in the proverbial doldrums.

Sister Pilar Bello. The woman who said "If you really want to film a report featuring foundlings..."; the person who told me about the participation of the Galician woman in the Vaccine Expedition. When, in 2003, the Milagrosa School closed its doors and the Sisters of Charity abandoned the city, Sister Pilar donated the two books they had found in the basement (Volumes 1 and 2 of the Charity Hospital's Foundling Register) to the Archives of the Provincial Council. With them, we can reconstruct the world of foundlings between 1793 and 1803. Without them, locating those foundlings from A Coruña who participated in the Expedition would have been impossible. There is more: the first time the world learned about the first biographical steps of seven of the foundlings on the exhibition was from the hand

of María Pilar Bello Varela, thanks to her degree thesis (*La Inclusa de La Coruña y las Hijas de la Caridad. [The Foundling Home in La Coruña and the Sisters of Charity]* Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, Escuela Superior de Expertos en Formación de Adultos. Salamanca, 1997).

Rosalía Mera. When not even those in the know had any evidence of the importance of the Galician presence in the Expedition, she paid for the four months of research that enabled Joaquín Pedrido and Antonio López to work, in A Coruña, with the provincial archive (foundling register) and municipal files (local census, local Health Board, correspondence and minutes books of the Charity Hospital's Board of Directors); in Santiago, with the sacramental books (baptism/marriage/death certificates) of the four parishes in A Coruña at that time and with the foundling registers kept in the University Archive.

Carmen de Miguel. In 2004, she commissioned a historical study of the RPVE and Galicia, which was intended to be the screenplay for a film, from Continental Productions, to be directed by Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón.

Mariola Suárez (and along with her, all the individuals working in the Galician archives). She was an invaluable guide for finding the information we needed within the endless reams of documentation kept in the A Coruña Municipal Archive. It was only thanks to her intervention that Gabriel Quiroga took on the restoration of the 1st and 2nd minutes books of the Charity Hospital's Board of Governors in the Archive of the Kingdom of Galicia.

NOTES



1- Essential publications by foreign authors:

Díaz de Yraola, Gonzalo: *La vuelta al mundo de la Expedición de la Vacuna*. Madrid: CSIC, 2003 (facsimile of the 1948 edition).

Smith, Michael: *The 'Real Expedición Marítima de la Vacuna' in New Spain and Guatemala*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1974.

Ramírez Martín, Susana: *La salud del Imperio. La Real Expedición Filantrópica de la Vacuna*. Madrid: Fundación Jorge Juan, 2002.

Tuells, José-Ramírez, Susana: *Balmis et Variola*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2003.

Michael Smith, with his contributions about Mexico and the Philippines, split the history of the RPVE into two: before and after its publication. Susana Ramirez is an unexcelled source for learning about Joseph Salvany and his team's odyssey around South America. Associated with José L. Duro, José Tuells is still involved in active research into the history of the smallpox vaccination; their joint articles are habitually published in the journal *Vacun* (Elsevier. -Doyma)

- Groundbraking publications by local authors:

Parrilla Hermida, Miguel: *El contrato de fletamento de la corbeta María Pita*. "Revista", Instituto José Cornide de Estudios Coruñeses, 1974-75 (n^{os} 10-11): 203-209.

Parrilla Hermida, Miguel. *Los médicos militares y la REFV*. Ejército; 1976 (n^o 437): 11-21; at: www.ejercito.mde.es/publicaciones/revistaejercito/

Meijide Pardo, Antonio: *El Doctor Posse Roybanes y la introducción de la vacuna contra la viruela en Galicia*. Medicina Galaica, 1982; (n^o 18): 23-30.

Artaza Montero, Manuel: *El Doctor Pose Roibanes. La Junta del Reino de Galicia y la vacunación antivariólica*. Medicina Galaica. 1987; (n^o 39): 24-25 / Medicina Galaica, 1988; (n^o 40): 13-20.

Meijide Pardo, Antonio: *Se cumplen dos siglos de la fundación del Hospital de Caridad por Teresa Herrera*. "A Coruña, paraíso del turismo", 1991.

Fernández Fernández, Carlos: *Antiguos Hospitales*. A Coruña: Vía Láctea, 1995.

Galdo, Fausto-G. Guitián, Carlos: *La viruela en la historia de A Coruña*. A Coruña: Vía Láctea, 1996.

More recent, but essential for understanding the period in which Galician protagonists of RPVE lived in, are the works by José Navas-Arsenio: *Libertad y Victoria*. A Coruña: Arenas Publicaciones, 2004; by Alfredo Vigo Trasancos: *A Coruña y el Siglo de las Luces (1700-1808)*. Santiago: USC, 2007; by Luís Valiño Rodríguez: *Por vida de tres reyes (1759-1833)*. A Coruña: Espacio Cultura Editores, 2015.

Carlos Fernández is essential for learning about Vicente Antonio Posse Roybanes: *Un brigantino en los inicios de la lucha contra la viruela*. Anuario Brigantino, 2007 (30): 249-262

/ *Posse Roybanes, la lucha contra la viruela y el primer plan de vacunación de Galicia (1806)*. Anuario Brigantino, 2012 (35): 209-224 / 1804: *la primera alerta por intoxicación alimentaria por mejillones en Galicia*. Cadernos de Atención Primaria, 2014 (20): 111-112.

2- Municipal Archive of A Coruña (MAC). Box 1054; repository: Population; census of 1794.

3- López, Antonio: *El capitán de la vacuna*. La Opinión de A Coruña, 29-11-2015; Sunday supplement, 1-5.

4- López, Antonio: *Un héroe civil en el olvido*. La Opinión de A Coruña, 23-9-12; Sunday supplement, 1-4.

5- López, Antonio: *Cuando la peste llamó a las puertas de A Coruña*. La Opinión de A Coruña, 4-11-2012; Sunday supplement, 1-4

6- Artaza Montero, Manuel: *El Doctor Pose Roibanes. La Junta del Reino de Galicia y la vacunación antivariólica*. Medicina Galaica. 1987; (nº 39): 24-25 / Medicina Galaica, 1988; (nº 40): 13-20.

7- Meijide Pardo, Antonio: *Se cumplen dos siglos de la fundación del Hospital de Caridad por Teresa Herrera. "A Coruña, paraíso del turismo"*, 1991.

8- Bustamante, Miguel: *La primera enfermera en la historia de la salud pública, Isabel Cendala y Gómez*. Salud Pública de México, 1975; (vol, VIII, nº 3): 353-363.

Miguel Bustamante, the Mexican doctor and historian, was the person who—in 1950, at the Panamerican Health Care Congress, held in Washington—coined the phrase “the first healthcare nurse on an international mission”, in reference to Isabel Zandal Gómez.

9- Smith, Michael: *The 'Real Expedición Marítima de la Vacuna' in New Spain and Guatemala*. The American Philosophical Society; Philadelphia, 1974; Isabel Gómez y Cendala, p. 8, 20, 33, 49, 60, 64, 65, 67 and 68.

10- Ramírez, Susana-Tuells, José: *Doña Isabel, la enfermera de la Real Expedición Filantrópica de la Vacuna*. Vacunas, 2007; 8(3): 160-166.

11- Instituto da Lingua Galega: *Cartografía dos apelidos de Galicia*; at: <https://ilg.usc.es/cag>.

12- Nieto Antúnez, Pastor: *La expedición Balmis para la difusión de la vacuna antivariólica*. Revista [Instituto de Estudios “José Cornide”], 1966; (volumen II): 135-138.

13- Nieto Antúnez, Pastor: *La rectora de la Casa de Expósitos de A Coruña, excepcional y olvidada enfermera en la expedición Balmis*. Instituto “José Cornide” de Estudios Coruñeses; A Coruña, 1981.

14- MAC. Box 1566; repository: Social Welfare; Book 1 of the chaplain of the Charity Hospital’s register of medical admissions and discharges (1795-1808).

15- La Opinión de A Coruña, 9 March 2013, published as a leader.

16- MAC. The godparents were a married couple who lived at 18, Rúa dos Álamos: the husband was a 40-year-old carpenter for Correos Marítimos; the wife was 30, and they lived with a 16-year-old son and a 14-year-old maid. Box 1054; repository: Population; census of 1794.

17- Historical Diocesan Archive of Santiago (HDAS). The other nephews and nieces (no facsimiles): Antonio (1792), Bernardo y Manuela (1798), Antonio (1800), Jacobo del Espíritu Santo (1803). Santa Mariña de Parada: Book 1 Baptisms (1773-1828); s. P015927.

18- HDAS: data prepared by the author based on the Book of Baptisms and the Book of Deaths, between 1773 and 1803. Santa Mariña de Parada: Book 1 Baptisms (1773-1828); s. P015927; Book 7 (Deaths, 1773-1859), s. P015933.

As children used to die so frequently, 90% of deaths appear as marginal notes in the book of baptisms.

19- General Archive of Simancas (GAS). Repository: Institutions of the Former Regime; Directorate General for Revenue, Batch 1; docket for Santa Mariña de Parada: 1202,3.

20- Spanish Archives Portal (PARES): Catastro of Ensenada, Santa Mariña de Parada; at pares.mcu.es/Catastro, the “general responses” to the Catastro, can be accessed through “buscador de localidades”.

Census of Floridablanca, Parada (jurisdiction of Folgoso): Galicia, volume IV; p. 3599-3937. Diccionario Madoz [facsimile], Parada (jurisdiction of Folgoso): Galicia, volume V; p. 967.

21- HDAS: Ygnacia and Jacobo, godparents of Jacobo (1775) and of Antonia and Ygnazia (1780); Joseph and Anttonia, godparents of Joseph and Cathalina(1782); Joseph, godfather of Joseph (1784). Santa Mariña de Parada: Book 1 Baptisms (1773-1828); s. P015927.

22- HDAS. Rey/Yglesia-Zendal family: Francisca (1780), Joaquina (1782), Thomás and Joseph (1785) Antonia (1786) and Ramona (1789). Santa Mariña de Parada: Book 1 Baptisms (1773-1828); s. P015927.

23- HDAS: María da Raña (1796) /Andrés Zendal (1806) / Cayetano Maza: Book of Deaths (1773-1859), Santa Mariña de Parada; s. P015933.

24- PARES: from the response to question 18 on economic yield of oxen leased for sha-recropping, for the preparation of the Catastro of Ensenada, in Santa Mariña de Parada.

25- PARES: from the response to questions 10, 11 and 19 of land registry questionnaire.

26- PARES: from the response to questions 2, 15 and 24 of land registry questionnaire.

27- Sandoval Verea, Francisco: La jurisdicción de Folgoso a finales del Antiguo Régimen: un estudio de historia local, p. 84-85. Degree thesis, 1999. Library, Faculty of Geography and History, University of Santiago de Compostela.

Those figures are taken from the Calle-Hita census of 1708, relating to parishes from territorial demarcation of Folgoso, of which Santa Mariña de Parada formed a part.

28- MAC: document from the Congregation of Our Lady of Sorrows, explaining the need for a paupers' hospital and a foundling home and requesting public financial help. Box: 1680; repository: Charity Hospital; correspondence (1785-1815); folder 2.

29- Provincial Archive of A Coruña (PAC): all figures relating to the foundlings were prepared by the author, the source thereof being the Book 1 (1793-1799) and Book 2 (1800-December 1803, the investigation finishes) of the Foundling Register; box: 4140.

The information on 90 foundlings is missing as a number of sheets are missing from the registry books. For example, "the pages in this book that are missing were taken by the French when they were in this Home", marginal note on sheet 2 of Book 2 Foundling Register, which starts on 1 January 1800.

MAC: the notes on pharmacy spending and remuneration for wet nurses are from Book 1 of Foundlings Cash Administration Accounts (see note 31).

30- Historical Archive University of Santiago (HAUS). *Cartilla o Método que se observará en la Inclusa del Gran Hospital Nacional de Santiago para con sus expósitos*: admission of foundlings, p. 4; repository: Hospital Real, General; docket 23; file 840.

31- MAC: adhering to the chronology of dates, names, salaries and other book entries indicated come from Book 1 (July 1798- September 1801) or Book 2 (October 1801- December 1803) of the Foundlings Cash Administration Accounts; box 1584; repository: Charity Hospital.

32- PAC: the rectoress, Xaviera, acting as godmother in foundlings' baptisms is identified as the wife of Gregorio de Córdoba; Book 1 Foundling Register.

33- Facsimile no. 32.

34- Facsimiles no. 30 and no. 31.

35- MAC: salaries and payments in kind are always present in the monthly accounting 1st and 2nd Book of the Foundlings Cash Administration Accounts. Since September 1802, "it is envisaged that servant' salaries will not appear in these accounts, or in successive ones (payments in cash to the rectoress, the chaplain, the cook, water carrier, door woman disappeared) owing to the Board's having agreed that, as of the 1st of September, they shall be paid by the treasurer".

36- MAC. Christina González: payslips nos. 197, 222 and 260; box 1566; repository: Social Welfare; Book 1 of the chaplain of the Charity Hospital's register of medical admissions and discharges (1795-1808).

37- PAC: foundling no. 567; box 4140; Book 2 Foundling Register.

38- MAC. Antonia Zendal: payslips nos. 167, 300, 309 and 449; box 1566; repository: Social Welfare; Book 1 of the chaplain of the Charity Hospital's register of medical admissions and discharges (1795-1808).

There is a fifth admission for Antonia, no. 1714, but in 1816: on this occasion she was hospitalised for 35 days owing to an ulcer. Book 2, the register of medical admissions and discharges (1808-1818).

39- MAC: the data used in the four sections (education, clothing, food and personal hygiene-illnesses) which make up "Life in the Home " are taken from Books 1 and 2 of the Foundlings Cash Administration Accounts; box 1584; repository: Charity Hospital.

40- PAC. *Drummers*: entry no. 165 (Francisco, 1795) and no. 298 (Juan Joseph de la Caridad, 1796). *Marriages*: entry no. 16 (Juan, 1793) and no. 51 (Ventura Josepha, 1794). Box 4140; Book 1 Foundlings Register (1793-1799).

41- MAC. Census of the parish of San Nicolás, 1795: box 1054; repository: A Coruña City Council; Population.

42- HDAS. Baptism certificate of Teresa Herrera (1712): San Xurxo parish, A Coruña; Book 4 of baptisms (1693-1714).

Teresa Herrera Pedrosa is the name written on the marble tombstone, in the *Capela das Dores*, in San Nicolás parish church, A Coruña.

43- Cervantes, Miguel de: *Don Quijote de la Mancha*; chapter LXXIV; on how don Quijote fell ill, on the will he made, and his death.

44- Hopkins, Donald R: *The greatest killer*; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983.

45- Galdo, Fausto-G. Guitián, Carlos: *La viruela en la historia de A Coruña*. A Coruña: Vía Láctea, 1996; p. 114-116.

46- MAC; minutes for 22 November 1803; box 1564; repository: Charity Hospital; Book 2 (1802-1812) for Minutes of the Board of Governors.

47- Archive of the Notaries' Association of A Coruña (historical section). General Protocols Archive (1803): Protocol 7413; notarial documents of Manuel Acha Patiño; p. 20 and 20 rev. Regarding the difficult nature of Francisco de Balmis, Professor José Tuells explained (in a conference organised by the association Asociación Isabel Zendal, A Coruña, 23/2/2017) that the director of the Expedition had made out 4 wills, wherein he could be identified as both single and married, and in which he named both his maid and his wife as his heirs. Along these lines of convoluted behaves, it would seem that Balmis resorts to the power of attorney from his nephew, Antonio Pastor, to provide his wife with a deferred monthly allowance.

48- *Andean Studies: New Trends and Library Resources: Papers of the Forty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials*; University of California, Los Angeles, 27-31 May 2000; p. 46.

49- National Geographic, 4 February 2014; en: www.nationalgeographic.com.es.

50- Complete files on the foundlings, with their identities and remuneration for the wet nurses, and documentary sources in: Pedrido, Joaquín-López, Antonio: *Los héroes vuelven a casa*; La Opinión de A Coruña, 3-9-2006, Sunday supplement, 1-6. / López, Antonio: *Los 21 expósitos que vacunaron América*, La Opinión de A Coruña, 27-11-2016, Sunday supplement, 1-6.

51- Faginas Arcuaz, Ramón: *Guía Indicador de La Coruña y de Galicia para 1890-91*; A Coruña; imprenta de Vicente Abad, 1890; p. 358 and 364.

52- Ramírez Martín, Susana: *La salud del Imperio. La Real Expedición Filantrópica de la Vacuna*; Madrid: Fundación Jorge Juan, 2002; p. 113.

53- MAC: entry record 395 (males); box1566; repository: Social Welfare; Book 1 of the chaplain of the Charity Hospital's register of medical admissions and discharges (1795-1808).

54- General Archive of the Indies. Royal Philanthropical Vaccine Expedition: Indiferente General, 1158 A; letter from Francisco de Balmis to José Antonio Caballero [Minister of Justice]; Macao, 30 January 1806; f. 1182 rev.-1183.

55- Ramírez Marín, Susana: *El niño y la vacuna de la viruela rumbo a América*; Revista Complutense de Historia de América, 2003 (vol.29): 77-101.

56- Before April 2013, there were no written texts or oral communications, regarding Isabel, which used the surname Zendal, quoted Santa Mariña de Parada, mentioned the family she came from or revealed that she was a single mother; nor can we find any research that sets her single status in the context of "spontaneous" mothers or provide details on her work as rectoress. This terrain was first ploughed in two reports written by Antonio López and published in the newspaper, A Opinión de A Coruña: *La rectora Isabel, al descubierto*, 28-4-2013; Sunday supplement, 1-4 / *La madre de todas las vacunas*, 30-11-2014, Sunday supplement, 1-4.

FACSIMILES TRANSCRIPTIONS



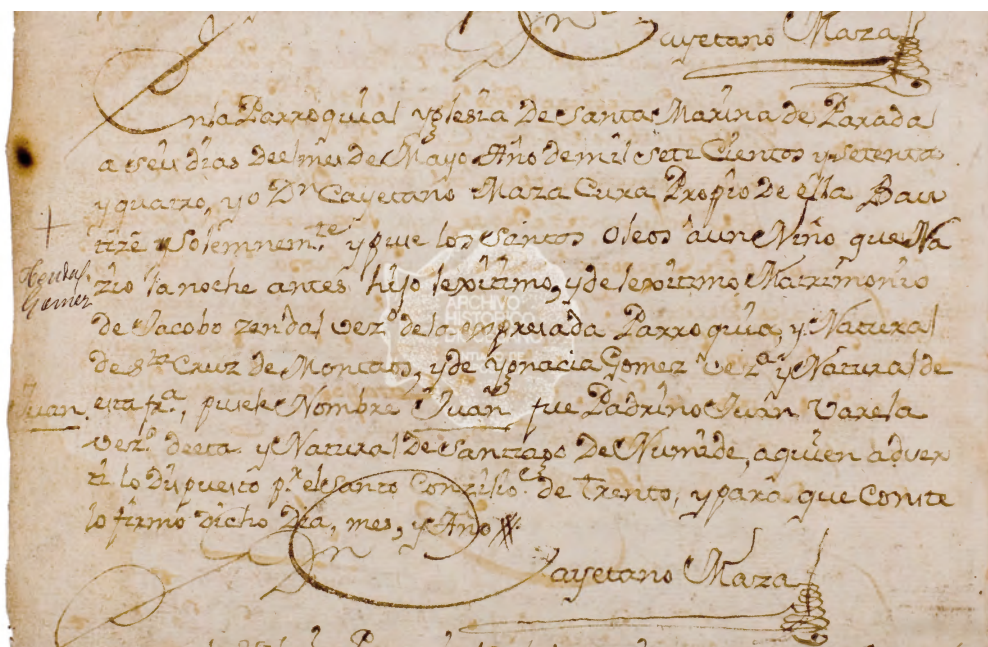
Benito } Folgueyra
 En treinta y uno de Julio de mil setez^{os} noventa, y seis de
 D^r Dⁿ Lorenzo Antonio Folgueyra Rector de la Parroquia de
 Sⁿ Nicolas de la Coruña baptizè solenem^{te} y puse los
 S^{tos} oleos a un Niño que nacio à las tres de la mañana, hijo
 natural de Ysabel Celdam Gomez, soltera, nat^a de S^{ta} Ma
 ría de Parada y vez^{na} de esta Parroq^a de Sⁿ Nicolas; pusele p^r
 nonbre Benito; fueron sus padrinos Benito Lopez
 y Liberata Perez, vez^{os} de esta Parroq^a, q^{nes} no supieron decir
 los nonbres y apellidos de los Abuelos Maternos ni menos
 de el Padre de el baptizado; adbertiles el parentesco espiritu^{al}
 mas obligaciones y como Rector lo firmo —
Lorenzo Ant^o Folgueyra

[1] Bautizo de Benito

[folio 299 v]

En treinta y uno de Julio de mil setez^{os} noventa y seis, Yo, el
 Dr Dⁿ Lorenzo Antonio Folgueyra, Rector de la Parroquia Ygl^a
 de Sⁿ Nicolas de La Coruña, baptizè solenem^{te} y puse los
 S^{tos} oleos a un Niño que nacio à las tres de la mañana, hijo
 natural de Ysabel Celdam Gomez, soltera, nat^a de S^{ta} Ma
 ría de Parada y vez^{na} de esta Parroq^a de Sⁿ Nicolas; pusele p^r
 nonbre Benito; fueron sus padrinos Benito Lopez
 y Liberata Perez, vez^{os} de esta Parroq^a, q^{nes} no supieron decir
 los nonbres y apellidos de los Abuelos Maternos ni menos
 de el Padre de el baptizado; adbertiles el parentesco espiritu^{al}
 mas obligaciones y como Rector lo firmo.
 Lorenzo Ant^o Folgueyra.

Historical Diocesan Archive of Santiago (HDAS). Parish of San Nicolás-A Coruña.
 Series: Sacramental Books; Book 12; Baptisms 1788-1798; signature P009061.



[2] Bautizo de Juan

[f. 3v]

En la Parroquial yglesia de Santa Marina de Parada,
a seis dias de el mes de Mayo, Año de mil setecientos y setenta
y quatro, yo, Dⁿ Cayetano Maza, Cura Propio de ella, bau
tize solemnem^{te} y puse los Santos oleos â un Niño que na
zio la noche antes, hijo lexítimo y de lexítimo Matrimonio
de Jacobo Zandal, vez^o de la expresada Parroquia y Natural
de S^{ta} Cruz de Montaos, y de Ygnacia Gomez, vez^a y natural de
esta fr^a; pusele Nombre Juan; fue Padrino Juan Varela,
vez^o de esta y Natural de Santiago de Numíde, a quien adver
ti lo dispuesto p^r el Santo Conzilio de Trento, y para que conste
lo firmo dicho Dia, mes y Año.
Cayetano Maza.

HDAS. Parish of Santa Mariña de Parada (archbishopric of Santiago / Ordes-A Coruña).
Series: Sacramental Books; Book 1; Baptisms 1773-1828; s. P015927.

En la yglesia Parroquial de Sta Marina de Parada
a treinta dias del mes de Marzo Año de mil setecientos y se-
tenta y seis, yo Dⁿ Cayetano Maza Cura y Rector Propio

De dha Parroquia bautizé solemnemente y puse los San-
tos oleos a una Niña, que Nazio la Noche antes hija lexiti-
ma y de lexítimo Matrimonio de Jacobo Zendal y de Ygna-
cia Gomez, pusele Nombre Maria Antonia, fueron
Padrinos Lucas Varela, y Maria Villaverde todos vez-
os y Naturales de esta p^a. Solo el Padre Natural de Sta Cruz
de Montaos. Advertiles lo dispuesto p^r el S^{to} Concilio de Trento
y p^a que Conste lo firmo dichos Día, mes y Año.

Cayetano Maza

[3] Bautizo de María Antonia

[fs. 6v y 7]

En la yglesia Parroquial de S^{ta} Marina de Parada,
a treinta dias de el mes de Marzo, Año de mil setecientos y se-
tenta y seis, yo, Dⁿ Cayetano Maza, Cura y Rector Propio

de dha Parroquia, bautizé solemnemente y puse los San-
tos oleos a una Niña que Nazio la Noche antes, hija lexiti-
ma y de lexítimo Matrimonio de Jacobo Zendal y de Ygna-
cia Gomez; pusele nombre Maria Antonia; fueron
Padrinos Lucas Varela y Maria Villaverde, todos vez^{os}
y Naturales de esta fr^a, solo el Padre Natural de S^{ta} Cruz
de Montaos. Advertiles lo dispuesto p^r el S^{to} Concilio de Trento
y p^a que Conste lo firmo dichos Día, mes y Año.
Cayetano Maza.

HDAS. Parish of Santa Mariña de Parada (archbishopric of Santiago / Ordes-A Coruña).
Series: Sacramental Books; Book 1; Baptisms 1773-1828; s. P015927.

En quince del Mayo de el Año de mil e tres Cientos y ve-
 tenta y ocho e medio república de nro de la ysl. de Aragón
 al de el Marina de Barada aun Barrolo hijo Legitimado
 de Jacobe Zendal, y de ymacia Gorr

Don Joseph de el Oficio de nro, y p. que Constan
 en el día de nro, y año. 11
 Don apertano Mazal

[4] Defunción de Joseph

[f. 9v y 10]

En quinze de Mayo de el Año de mil setecientos y setenta y ocho, se dio sepultura dentro de la ygl^a Parroquial de S^{ta} Marina de Parada a un Parvulo, hijo lexítimo de Jacobo Zendal y de ygnacia Gom.....

.....Joseph*. Dijosele el officio Rezado, y p^a que conste en dho dia, mes y año.
Cayetano Maza.

*Information disappeared, owing to the loss of the original support. Taking into account the habitual wording of the period, in the lost fragment, it should say: "Pusele nombre Joseph" [I named him Joseph].

AHDAS. Parish of Santa Mariña de Parada (archbishopric of Santiago / Ordes-A Coruña).
Series: Sacramental Books; Book 7; Deaths 1773-1859; s. P015933.

Cayetano Maza
 En la Yglesia Parroquial de Sta Marina de Barxada a
 veinte y ocho dias del mes de Agosto Año de mil novecientos
 y setenta y nueve yo Dⁿ Lucas de Castro Presbítero y

y Vez^o de Sta Parroquia de Orden de Dⁿ Cayetano Maza
 Cura Propio de ella Bautizo es en esta y que los Santos
 tolerancia para que nazio la noche Antezedente fué legitimada
 y de Legítimo Matrimonio de Jacobo Zendal a Vez^o de la
 Catedral y de Leonor Gómez Vez^o y Natural de Sta Cruz del Monte
 de Barxada y Natural de Sta Cruz del Monte
 de Barxada y de Yonacia Gómez Vez^o y Natural de Sta de Barxada
 Ant^o de Pareda Nombre Francisca Antonia fue Padrino Juan
 Chico de Barxada Vez^o y Natural de la expresada de
 Barxada quien advierte lo siguiente por el Vto Concilio
 de Trento, y p^a que Conste lo firmo Con D^{ho} Cura
 en dho dia mes y Año. Lucas de Castro
 Cayetano Maza

[5] Bautizo de Francisca Antonia

[fs. 17v y 18]

En la yglesia Parroquial de S^{ta} María de Parada, â
veinte y ocho dias de el mes de Agosto, Año de mil sietecientos
y setenta y Nuebe, yo, dⁿ Lucas de Castro, Presvitero y

y vez^o de dha Parroquia, de orden de dⁿ Cayetano Maza,
Cura Propio de ella, bautize solemnemte y puse los Santos
oleos a una Niña que Nazio la noche antezedente, hija lexitima
y de lexitimo Matrimonio de Jacobo Zendal, vez^o de la ex
presada de Parada y Natural de S^{ta} Cruz de Montaos,
y de Ygnacia Gomez, vez^a y Natural de esta de Parada.
Pusele nombre Francisca Antonia; fue Padrino Fran
cisco da Fonte, vez^o y Natural de la expresada de
Parada, a quien adverti lo dispuesto por el S^{to} Concilio
de Trento, y p^a que conste lo firmo con dho Cura
en dho dia, mes y Año.
Lucas de Castro / Cayetano Maza.

AHDAS. Parish of Santa Mariña de Parada (archbishopric of Santiago / Ordes-A Coruña).
Series: Sacramental Books; Book 1; Baptisms 1773-1828; s. P015927.

+
 Catedral
 Gumer
 Joseph.
 mario
 Catedral
 Gumer
 Cathalina
 mario en 25
 febrer 83.
 Cathalina
 +

En la Parroquia y Iglesia de Santa Marina de Parada a.
 diez y nueve dias del mes de Marzo año de mil setecientos ochenta y tres yo Don Manuel Garcia Varela Conlicencia de
 Don Cayetano Maracura propio de ella Bautize solemnemente y puse los santos nombres aun niño y niña
 que nacieron la noche antecedente hijos legitimos
 y del legitimo matrimonio de Jacobo Zendal y de Joana
 Garcia Gomez Vecinos de la expresada de Parada, a cuyo pa-
 terno Pablo Zendal y Maria Varela, esta natural de San
 Martin de Oroso, y aquel de la expresada de Parada. puse el
 nombre al niño, que nacio el primero Joseph, y quien
 Cathalina fueron Padriros Joseph do Santos y Antonia Varques sus hijos
 Vecinos de esta Parroquia. y a la niña puse el nombre Catharina
 mario en 25 febrer 83. fueron Padriros Fernan Rodriguez, y Cathalina Loren
 de sus hijos Vecinos de esta fra. aqui en la de xti el pater
 nesco espiritual y lo demas que precieue en el concilio de tren-
 to y para que conste con dhocura en dho dia me firmo y supra.

Don Cayetano Maracura
 Manuel Garcia Varela

[6] Bautizos de Joseph y Cathalina

[f. 24v]

En la Parroquial yglesia de Santa Marina de Parada, â diez y nueve dias del mes de Marzo, año de mil setez^{os} ochenta y dos, yo, Dⁿ Manuel Garcia Varela, con lizencia de Dⁿ Cayetano Maza, cura propio de ella, Baupsize solenemente y puse los Santos ôleos a un niño y una niña que nacieron la noche antecedente, hixos lexitimos y de lexitimo matrimonio de Jacobo Zendal y de Ygnacia Gomes, vecinos de la expresada de Parada; âbuelos paternos, Pablo Zendal y Maria Varela, esta natural de San Martin de Oroso y aquel de la expresada de Parada; puseles nombre al niniño, que nacio el primero, Joseph, de quien fueron Padrinos Joseph do Souto y Antonia Vasques, su Muger, vecinos de esta Parroquia, y a la niña pusele nombre Catharina; fueron Padrinos Fermin Rodrigues y Cathalina Rosende, su Muger, Vecinos de esta f^{ra}, a quienes âdverti el parentesco espiritual y lo demas que previene el Concilio de Trento y para que conste, con dho cura, en dho dia, mes y año ut supra. Cayetano Maza / Manuel García V^{ra}.

En el margen izquierdo, debajo de Joseph, "murio"; debajo de Cathalina, "murio en 28 de febro de 83". Garcia (media firma)

AHDAS. Parish of Santa Mariña de Parada (archbishopric of Santiago / Ordes-A Coruña). Series: Sacramental Books; Book 1; Baptisms 1773-1828; s. P015927.

[7] Bautizo de Joseph

[f. 31]

En la Parroquial ygl^a de S^{ta} Marina de Parada, a diez y ocho dias de el mes de Abril, año de mil setecientos y ochenta y quatro, yo, dⁿ Cayetano Maza, Cura Propio de ella, Bautizè solemnemente y puse los santos oleos â un Niño que Nacio el dia antes, hijo lexítimo de Jacobo Zendal y de ygnacia Gomez, vez^{os} de esta Parroquia; Abuelos Paternos, Pablo Zendal y Maria Varela, esta Natural de Sⁿ Martín de Oroso y aquel de la expresada de Parada; pusele Nombre Joseph; fueron Padrinos Joseph do Souto, vez^o de Parada, y Andrea Mouro, vez^a de Oroso, a quienes adverti lo dispuesto p^r el Santo Concilio de Trehento, y p^a que conste lo firmo dichos dia, mes y año.

Cayetano Maza.

AHDAS. Parish of Santa Mariña de Parada (archbishopric of Santiago / Ordes-A Coruña).
Series: Sacramental Books; Book 1; Baptisms 1773-1828; s. P015927.

En la Parroquial Iglesia de Santa Clara de Paro
 da a diez y ocho dias del mes de Agosto del año de mil
 setecientos y noventa; yo D.ⁿ Antonio Garcia Barrio cura
 sacador en esta dha Iglesia a D.ⁿ Caetano Morra Cura pro
 pío de ella, y Con su l.^a y expreso Consentimiento, Juan
 Jacobo Zandal; abuelos paternos de un niño q.
 nació la noche antecedente fuera legitimo y de legitimo
 matrimonio de Domingo Targuez y de su muger Beatriza
 Zandal; abuelos paternos de un niño q.
 da Raña, Maternos Jacobo Zandal y Ignacia Gomez
 pusele Nombre, Juan Jacobo, fue un padrino y solidario
 Jacobo Zandal, todos ellos vecinos de esta Refeida Parro
 quia, adueni al padrino el primerico espiritual y
 mas obligaciones que ha contraxido segun manda
 el Ritual Romano y para que conste lo firmo en
 supra.

Antonio Garcia Barrio

[8] Bautizo de Isavel Jacoba

[f. 49v]

En la Parroquial Yglesia de Santa Mariña de Parada, â diez y ocho dias del mes de Agosto del año de mil setecientos y noventa, yo, Dⁿ Antonio Garcia Barveito, escudador en esta dha Yglesia a Dⁿ Caetano Maza, Cura propio de ella y con su liz^a y espreso consentimiento, Bauticè solemnemente y puse los Santos Oleos â una niña q^e nació la noche antecedente; hixa lexitima y de lexitimo matrimonio de Domingo Vazquez y de su muger Bernarda Zendal; abuelos paternos, Bernardo Vazquez y Maria da Raña; Maternos, Jacobo Zendal y Ygnacia Gomes; pusele Nombre Ysavel Jacoba; fue su padrino ynsolidum Jacobo Zendal; todos ellos vecinos de esta referida Parroquia; adverti al padrino el parentesco espiritual y mas obligaciones que ha contraido, segun manda el Ritual Romano y para que conste lo firmo ut supra.

Antonio Garcia Barveito.

AHDAS. Parish of Santa Mariña de Parada (archbishopric of Santiago / Ordes-A Coruña). Series: Sacramental Books; Book 1; Baptisms 1773-1828; s. P015927.

+
Valpica
Cendal

Juana

En la Iglesia Parroquial de esta p^a de Santa Ma-
ria de Parada, y en el día siete del mes de Maio del
año de mil setecientos y noventa y cinco Yo D^o Ma-
nuel Bernardo Seoane Cesa Conomo de ella, ba-
ptice solemnemente y puse los Santos a una niña q^a na-
cio el mismo día hija de legitimo matrimonio de Do-
mingo Varquez, y Maria Bernarda Cendal veci-
nos, y naturales de ella; Pusele nombre, Juana; Ab-
elos Padres; Benito Varquez, y Maria da Sta-
na; Mateiros; Jacobo Cendal, e Ygnacia Pon-
tambien vecinos de esta dicha p^a; fueron Padri-
nos Jacobo do Santo, y Juana do Santo de la referi-
da vecindad; aduestiles el parentesco espiritual y mas
obligaciones, y lo firmo.

Manuel Bernardo Seoane

[9] Bautizo de Juana

[f. 66]

En la Yglesia Parroquial de esta f^{ra} de Santa Marína de Parada y en el día siete del mes de Maio del año de mil setecientos y noventa y cinco, Yo Dⁿ Manuel Bernardo Seoane, Cura Economo de ella, baptice solemnemte y puse los Santos â una niña qe nacío el mismo día, hija de legitimo matrimonio de Domingo Vazquez y Bernarda Cendal, vecinos y naturales de ella; Pusele nombre Juana; Abuelos Paternos, Benito Vazquez y María da Raña; Maternos, Jacobo Cendal é Ygnacia Gomez, tambien vezinos de esta dicha f^{ra}; fueron Padriños Jacobo do Souto y Juana do Souto, de la referida vecindad; advertiles el parentesco espiritual y mas obligaciones y lo firmo.
Manuel Bernardo Seoane.

AHDAS. Parish of Santa Mariña de Parada (archbishopric of Santiago / Ordes-A Coruña).
Series: Sacramental Books; Book 1; Baptisms 1773-1828; s. P015927.

Visita de Plano de 1761
En la fha de 5.^{ta} de Mayo de 1761 a las
diez y nueve de agosto del año de mil Setecientos
y uno: El Titm. 4.^{to} D.^{no} Juan Porfirio

[illegible]

Loopo & James

Dr.^{do} m. del obpo. miv.

Don Fernando Cortes y Velazquez

[10] Visita de 1781

[fs. 20v y 21]

En la fra de S^{ta} Marina de Parada, a
diez y nueve de agosto del año de mil set^{os} y och^{ta}
y uno: El Yllm^o S^r Dⁿ Juan Var^a Fon-

devila, del Cons^o de S.M., obpo de Tanes Aux^r
y Visita^{or} Xn^l de este Arzpdo de Santiago: Havi-
endo reconocido los assientos ante^s de Bautizados
q^e principian en este libro con el de Cayetano,
hijo de Juan de Castro y Su mug^r Manuela
da Riba y los q^e Conti^e el viejo desde la ultima
visita, q^e fenecen al f^o Setenta y nueve b^{ta},
con el de Andrea, hija lex^{ma} de Fran^{co} Garcia
y de Maria Viqueyra los aprueba q^{to} hà lug^r
y Manda q^e el Cura prosiga en la misma
Conformidad, adelantando en las partidas sigui^{es}
el Nr^e y Vecindad de los Abuelos Paternos y Ma-
ternos de cada bautizado, y al margⁿ de ellas,
el dia, mes y año en q^e sucede morirse alguno,
autorizado con su media firma, dejando p^a
ello y q^e no se Carcoma lo escrito con el trans-
curso del tpo, margenes mas Capaces y Sufici^{es},
asi al principio como fin de las llamas; foli-
ando las de todo este libro p^r letra, Sin embar-
go de estar ya de guarismo, p^a Su m^{or} Seguri^d
y precaucion; egecutando lo mismo con los
de las otras dos Clases; y Spre q^e acaezca na-
cer dos Niños de un parto, explique en la
respectiva partida qual de ellos salio prim^{ro}
a luz, p^r lo q^e puede importar. Assi lo m^{do} y
firmò Su Yllm^a, de q^e doy fe.

El obpo de Tanes.

Pr m^{do} del obpo, Fernando Gontan y Var^a.

AHDAS. Parish of Santa Mariña de Parada (archbishopric of Santiago / Ordes-A Coruña).
Series: Sacramental Books; Book 1; Baptisms 1773-1828; s. P015927.

Memorial delas personas de esta Parroquia
 que Recuieran el Santo Sacramento dela Confir-
 macion. ad ministrandole En la yglesia de ella. el
 Vltimo Señor Dⁿ Juan Varela Fendeula Obpo de
 Tanes, y Bisitador d^o de este Arzobispado de ss.
 En la Bisita que hizo En este año demull. Setenta y
 tres y ochenta y uno; y son los siguientes: Dominga
 p^a mujer de Pedro Bieites, Juliana, Maria, Francisca,
 sus hijos, Nicolas Copomuro; Thomas Biqueria Tho-
 me Sanchez y Anxela da papa sus Cuados =
 Juan. Antonio, Maria, y Joseph. hijos de Rafael
 Genovende y Manuela Bieites =
 Fran^c Bieites, fran^c Cancela Sumug^a; Casertano, Juan y
 Sebastian sus hijos; y Domingo Sarguer su Cuado =
 Juan y Juana Veneia hijos de Antonio y Andria de
 prutes, Antonio Acavron. Andria Sarguer y Anto-
 nio de marta Cuados =
 Sebastian Calus hermano de Sebastian deloite, Caser-
 na y Ciencia Otiras del Lobre. y Domingo Veneia hi-
 jo de otas =
 Manuela don^a, Antonio, Domingo y Pedro Otiras
 de Pablo don^a. y Remarda Tuncal =
 Fran^c Garcia. Maria Sumug^a, Susana, Henriquez
 y Rosa sus hijos =
 Fermín Otiro de Tomas al R^o =
 Juan Tuncal hijo de Mateo Tuncal =
 Lorenzo Tuncal. Juan hijo de Matrocaruta Bota-
 y Antonio por Cuado =
 Lorenzo Sebastian. y Maria hijos de Joseph
 de que y Matrocaruta Botana =
 Juan, y Fernando hijos de Lorenzo Cortal y fran-
 lamazares =
 Vones don^a, Juan, Andria, Antonio, Benito
 Antonia sus hijos y de Antonio Castenda y fran-
 Peras Cuados =
 Antonio Caluño y Fernando su hijo y de tra-
 xauullin =
 Maria Blanco Juana, Andria, Thomas, Maria,

[11] Memorial da Confirmación

[fs. 21v, 22 y 22v]

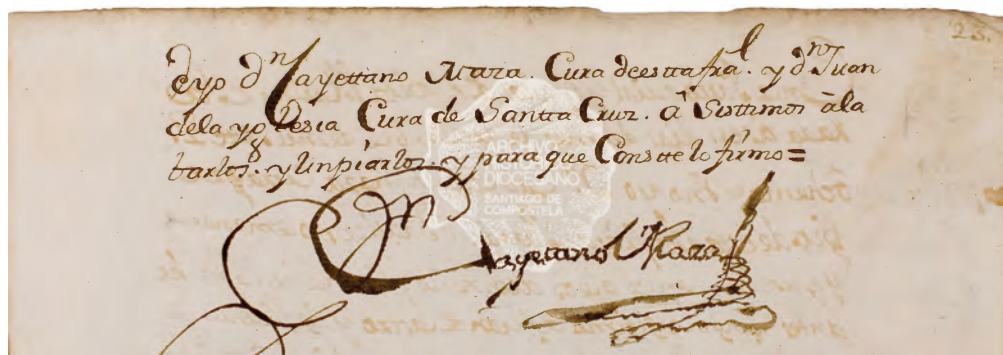
Memorial de las personas de estta Parroquia
que recibieron el Santo Sacramentto de la Confir-
mazon, administrandole en la yglesia de ella el
Yll^{mo} Señor dⁿ Juan Varela Fondevila, Obpo de
Tanes y Bisittador X^{al} de este Arzobispado de Ss^{to},
en la Bisitta que hizo en este año de mill setezien-
ttos y ochentta y uno, y son los siguientes= Dominga
frs, muger de Pedro Bieittes; Juana, Maria, francisca,
sus hixos; Nicolas, exposito; Thomas Biqueira, Tho-
me Sanchez y Anxela da fraga, sus criados=
Juan, Anttonio, Maria y Josseph, hixos de Rafael
de rrosende y Manuela Bieittes=
Fran^{co} Bieittes; Fran^{ca} Cancela, su mug^r; Caiettano, Juan y
Sebasttian, sus hixos, y Domingo Vazquez, su criado=
Juan y Juana Soneira, hixos de Anttonio y Andrea de
fonttes; Anttonio Marzoa, Andres Vazquez y Antto-
nio da matta, criados=
Sebasttian Calvo, hierno de Sebasttian de Listte; Caietta-
na y Lorenza, Hixas del Listte, y Domingo Soneira, hi-
xo de otro=
Manuela do rrio; Anttonio, Domingo y Pedro, Hixos
de Pablo do rrio y Bernarda Juncal=
Fran^{co} Garcia, Maria, su mug^r; Susana, Hesttevan
y Rossa, sus hixos=
Fermin, hixo de Tomassa R^{ez}=
Juan Juncal, hixo de Matteo Juncal=
Lorenzo Juncal; Juan, hixo de Margaritta Bott^a
y Anttonio rres, criado=
Lorenzo Sebasttian y Maria, hixos de Joseph
de eyre y Margaritta Bottana=
Juan y Fernando, Hixos de Lorenzo Cordal y fran^{ca}
Lamazares=
Ygnes do rrio; Juan, Andres, Anttonio, Benttura
Anttonia, sus hixos y de Anttonio Casttenda, y fran^{ca}
Pereiro, criada=
Anttonio Calviño y Fernando, su hijo y de Ma-
ria guillin=
Mariña Blanco; Juana, Andres, Thomasa, Maria,

sus hijos y de Santiago fernos. y Pablo Blanco
 hijo de Andres =
 Antonio del rio y Juana fernos Sumug. Joseph
 y Andres hijos de Pablo fernos. y Andrea son.
 Jacobo R^{er}. Juana del rio Sumugex, Joseph. Juan y
 Maria sus hijos. y Dominga guilera Cuada =
 Roque hijo de Joachin Sarria. y Maria Calus cuada =
 Pedro y Casto, Manuela Sumug, Ana Maria vihuos.
 Roma, Manuel hijos de Roberto y Casto, y Joseph
 neuviado =
 Paula y Julian hijos de Juan y ro sende =
 Antonio de nama, Maria y Anxela sus hijos
 Pedro do Souco. Dominga Benexia Sumug, Ma-
 ria Silvestra vihuos. y Florentio Durraa Cuado =
 Gregorio. Maria Antonia. y Maria Juan. hijos de
 Gregorio de Casto. y Roma do Souco =
 Juan del rio. Anxela vihuos Sumug. Pablo y To-
 achin sus hijos =
 Juan de Casto, Antonio, ve Bastian. Maria Ana.
 Caetano, Bernarda, Matheas. y Luisa sus hijos y de
 Manuela vihuos =
 Antonio Biqueira. Maria Ana, Cecilia, Ca-
 tano, Paula. y Juan vihuos y de Ant^a. Biecas
 Fran^{co}. Biqueira. y Manuela travende Sumug.
 Pedro. Biqueira. y Antonia Braus Sumugex. y
 Juan Biqueira hijo del Pedro =
 Ambrosio Biqueira Maria Biecas Sumugex.
 y Antonio vihuos =
 Cecilia Biqueira. y Antonio vihuos =
 Juan Biqueira, Thomas, Pedro. y Joseph a-
 sus hijos y de Antonia de mecouso. y Catalina Cordal
 hija de Thomas Cordal =
 Maria, Joseph, Bernarda y Antonio hijos de
 Antonio Durraa. y Maria Carola =
 Maria Bottana, Antonia. y ve Bastian vihuos
 y de Domingo Marroa =
 Juan Marroa. Dominga Marroa Sumug, Manuela
 y Maria sus hijos =

sus hixos y de Santtiago ferreiro, y Pablo Blanco,
hixo de Andres=
Antonio del rrio y Juana ferreiro, su mug^r; Josepha
y Andres, hixos de Pablo ferreiro y Andrea son^a=
Jacovo R^{ez}; Juana del rrio, su muger; Josseph, Juan
y Maria, sus hixos, y Dominga guillina, criada=
Roque, hixo de Joachin Garzia, y Maria Calvo, criada=
Pedro de Casttro; Manuela, su mug^r; Ana Maria, su hixa;
Rossa, Ysavel, hixas de Ysidoro de Casttro, y Joseph
rres, su criado=
Paula y Julian, hixos de fran^{co} rrosende=
Antonio da rrama; Maria y Anxela, sus hixas=
Pedro do Soutto; Dominga Bezerra, su mug^r; Ma-
ria Silvesttra, su hixa, y florenzio da rraña, criado=
Gregorio, Maria Anttonia y Maria fran^{ca}, hixos de
Gregorio de Casttro y Rossa do soutto=
Juan del rrio; Anxela rrigueiro, su mug^r; Pablo y Jo-
achin, sus hixos=
Juan de Casttro; Antonio, Sebasttian, Maria Antt^a,
Caiettano, Bernarda, Matthias y Luisa, sus hixos y de
Manuela rrigueiro=
Antonio Biqueira; Maria Antt^a, Cezilia, Caie-
tana, Paula y Juan, sus hixos y de Antt^a Bieittes=
Fran^{co} Biqueira y Manuela ttasende, su mug^r=
Pedro Biqueira y Anttonia Bravo, su muger, y
Juan Biqueira, hixo del Pedro=
Ambrosio Biqueira; Maria Bieittes, su muger,
y Antonio, su hixo=
Cezilia Biqueira y Anttonia, su Hixa=
Juan Biqueira; Thomas, Pedro y Jossepha,
sus hixos y de Anttonia de rrecouso, y Cattalina Cordal,
hixa de Lorenzo Cordal=
Maria, Jossepha, Bernarda y Antonio, hixos de
Antonio da rraña y Maria Varela=
Maria Bottana; Anttonia y Sebasttian, sus hixos
y de Domingo Marzoa=
Juan Marzoa; Dominga Marzoa, su mug^r; Manuela
y Maria, sus hixos=

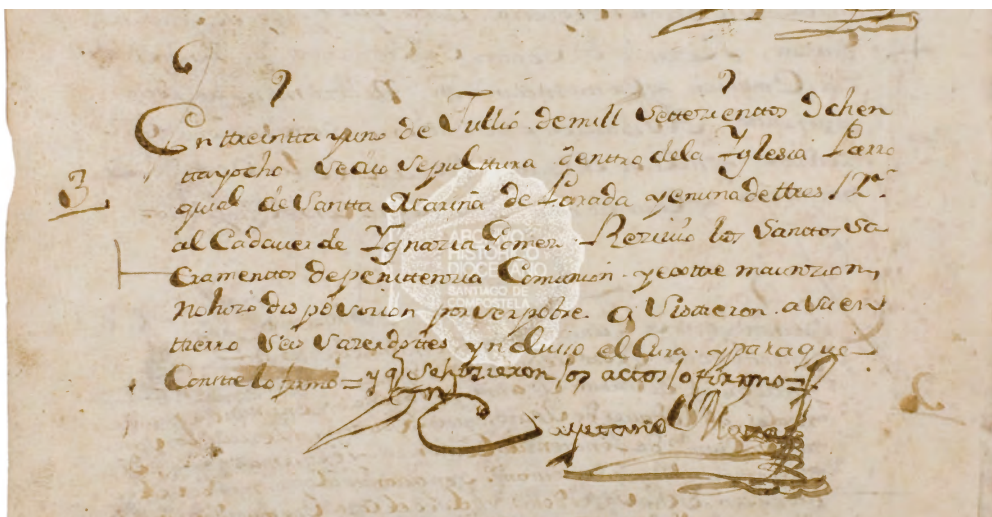
María Araxoa, Juan, Pedro, Bernardo, y Juan^{ca}
 sus hijos. y de Juan Seneira:
 Santiago dauara y Maria Seneira sumug.
 Juan, Dominga, Juan^{ca} y Domingo hijos de Pablo.
 dauara. ey rael Conde=
 Benito do Couto, Antonia dauara sumug. Miguel
 y Joseph sus hijos=
 Juan, Biaro. Dominga Biqueira sumug. Andres
 y Ph^o sus hijos=
 Lucas Varela. y Juan^{ca} sumug. Mathias y Ramon hijos
 de Juan Varela. y Maria de Villaverde. Manuel y Mar-
 garita hijos de Lucas Lamazares y Maria Villaverde=
 Matheo do Couto Juan rixoso. y de Juana R^o y Al-
 uarte da grella Cuado=
 Juana y Planco muer de Andres Zendal, Maria,
 Antonio y Pablo hijos del Andres y Margarita Seneira
 de Aroua=
 Jacinto Zendal Yonazia Gomez sumug. y rael, Juan,
 Maria, y Francisca sus hijos=
 Joseph do Couto Antonia Parquer sumug. Juana,
 Jacinto, Maria y Maria Luiza Cuado. ex p^orita y a-
 quellos sus hijos=
 Manuela Parquer hija del Benito. y Maria Varela
 Pelais. y Clara. hijos de Juan da fonte. y Maria do
 Causo=
 Sidro Zendal hijo de Antonio. y de Juana va do Bau:
 Pedro dela yglesia y Maria Zendal sumug. y Francisca
 sus hijos=
 Antonia del Villau. Luis Benteaa, Andrea, Juana,
 Maria sus hijos y de Ph^o Povzas. y Antonio Bogas
 Cuado=
 Pedro Carlon y Teresa. Sidoria. hijos de Caetano Santea.
 y de Anxela donxo=
 Juan Nogareda. Antonia lamazares sumuger, Ma-
 ria, Joseph, y Antonio sus hijos=
 Maria hija de Antonio Couelle y Joseph Blanco:
 del Bastian Couelle hijo de Faun y Antonia
 da fonte. Joseph var. y Maria Sem Cuados de este.
 Gregorio Zendal. muger de Gregorio Couto, rael
 fender sus obreros.
 De todas las que fue Padino. Dⁿ Lucas de fates.

Maria Marzoa; Juan, Pedro, Bernardo y fran^{ca},
sus hixos y de Juan Soneira=
Santiago da rraña y Maria Soneira, su mug^r=
Juan, Dominga, fran^{ca} y Domingo, hixos de Pablo
da rraña e ysavel Conde=
Benitto do Soutto; Anttonia da rraña, su mug^r; Miguel
y Jossepha, sus hixos=
Juan Biaño; Dominga Biqueira, su mug^r; Andres y
Ph^e, sus hixos=
Lucas Varela y fran^{ca}, su mug^r= Matthias y Ramon, hixos
de Juan Varela y Maria de Villaverde= Manuel y Mar
garitta, hixos de Lucas Lamazares y de María Villaverde=
Mattheo do Soutto; Juan, su hixo y de Juana R^{ez}, y Al
vertte da grela, criado=
Juana Blanco, muger de Andres Zendal; Maria,
Anttonio y Pablo, hixos del Andres y Margaritta Soneira,
difuntta=
Jacovo Zendal; Ygnazia Gomez, su mug^r; ysavel, Juan,
Maria y francisca, sus hixos=
Josseph de Soutto; Anttonia Bazquez, su mug^r; Juana,
Jacovo, Maria y Maria Luisa, estta expositta, y a-
quellos, sus hixos=
Manuela Bazquez, hixa del Benitto y Maria Varela=
Pelaio y Clara, hixos de Juan da fontte y Maria do
cavo=
Ysidro Zendal, hixo de Anttonio y de fructuosa do Barr^o;
Pedro de la yglesia y Maria Zendal, Su mug^r, y francisca,
su hixa=
Anttonia de Billav^e; Luis Benttura, Andrea, Juana,
Maria, sus hixos y de Ph^e Louzao, y Anttonio Boga,
criado=
Pedro Carlos y Teresa Sidoría, hixos de Caiettano Garzia
y de Anxela do rrio=
Juan Nogareda; Anttonia Lamazares, su muger; Ma
ria, Josepha y Anttonio, sus hixos=
Maria, hixa de Anttonio Corvelle y de Jossepha Blanco=
Sebasttian Corvelle, hixo de Favian y Anttonia
da fontte = Josseph Var^a y Maria Gom^z, criados de este=
Gregoria Zendal, muger de Gregorio Coutto; Ysabel
fernandez, su sobrina=
De ttodas las que fue Padrino dⁿ Lucas de Casttro.



Yo dñ Cayetano Maza, Cura de esta fra' y dñ Juan de la yglesia, Cura de Santta Cruz, âsistimos â la barlos y linpiarlos y para que Conste lo firmo= Cayetano Maza.

AHDAS. Parish of Santa Mariña de Parada (archbishopric of Santiago / Ordes-A Coruña).
Series: Sacramental Books; Book 1; Baptisms 1773-1828; s. P015927.



[12] Defunción de Ygnazia Gómez

[f. 19]

En tteinta y uno de Jullio de mill settezienttos ochenta y ocho se dio sepultura dentro de la Yglesia Parroquial de Santa Mariña de Parada y en una de ttes R^s al Cadaver de Ygnazia Gomez. Rezivio los Sanctos Sacramentos de penitencia, Comunión y extremaunzion. No hizo disposizion por ser pobre. Asistieron a su entterro seis sazerdotes, yncluso el Cura y para que Constte lo firmo, y q se hizieron los actos, lo firmo.
Cayetano Maza.

AHDAS. Parish of Santa Mariña de Parada (archbishopric of Santiago / Ordes-A Coruña).
Series: Sacramental Books; Book 7; Deaths 1773-1859; s. P015933.

Inferior
Ponce
H
 Dentro de la Iglesia Paroquial desta fe-
 loria de S^{ta} Maxima de Parada y en una de S^{ra}
 Reales que es enrelas desta Clave, lateaxena
 amano Derecha al entrar porla Puerta princi-
 pal sedio Sepultura al Cadaver de Jacobo Ter-
 dal Viudo que murió el día diez y siete de Mayo
 de 1700 del año presente de un mill y ochocientos
 y Sepulto al Vigiente. Recibió todos los Santos
 Sacram^{tos} y asistieron a su entierro quatro
 Señores Sacerdotes Incluso el Párroco. no
»

32.
»
 Nroa disposicion porca quan? Sobre de dolencia y
 que conste lo firmo dia ut supra #
 Manuel Antonio de Noras
#

[13] Defunción de Jacobo Zendal

[fs. 31v y 32]

Dentro de la Yglesia Parroquial de esta fele
gresia de S^{ta} Marina de Parada y en una de seis
Reales que es, entre las desta Classe, la tercera
a mano Derecha al entrar por la Puerta princi
pal, se dio sepultura al Cadaver de Jacobo Zen
dal, viudo, que murió el dia diez y siete de Mar
zo del año presente de un mill y ochocientos
y sepultó al siguiente. Recivio todos los Santos
Sacram^{tos} y asistieron a su entierro quatro
Señores Sacerdotes, Yncluso el Parroquo. No

Hizo disposicion por ser quasi Pobre de solemnidad y
que conste lo firmo dia ut supra.

Manuel Antonio de Rozas.

AHDAS. Parish of Santa Mariña de Parada (archbishopric of Santiago / Ordes-A Coruña).
Series: Sacramental Books; Book 7; Deaths1773-1859; s. P015933.

Cuenta que damos nosotros ^{el} Joseph Bernar
dino Saamonde, y Juan Fran.^{co} de Navarrete,

Hermanos Celadores Celerratos y Regentes de este Hosp.
de Caridad, del Caudal q^e hemos cumplido des.^{ta} pri-
mero hasta treinta y uno inc. del mes de Mayo
último, en los gastos originados en el Ramo de
Expositos, del citado Hospital, lo que con arreglo a
lo acordado en Junta de 6 de Junio de 1798 es en
la forma siguiente.

R. de vellón.

170 ¹ / ₂ .	Libras de Carne a 66 m. libra,		
	consumidas con Hosp. Expositos, des. ^{ta} 1. ^a hasta 31 inc. de Mayo q ^e por disposición de los facultativos, estubieron medicinandove, los q ^e existen en esta Inclusa, a razón de 5 ¹ / ₂ Libras al día.	0320-32	
73 ³ / ₄	De Tamon a 4 ¹ / ₂ x. libra y a razón de un Quarteron diario.	0034-30	
73 ³ / ₄ .	De Lavandos, a 20 m. el Quateron.	0058-8.	
		<u>0374-2</u>	0374.
	<u>Día 7.</u>		
1 ¹ / ₂ .	Fixado de la Sal.	0004-26	
	<u>Día 10</u>		
1.	Quarta arrova de Aceite.	0024	
	<u>Día 14.</u>		
12.	Cuchara para los Niños.	0001-34.	
	<u>Día 22.</u>		
1.	Quarta arrova de Aceite.	0022.	
	<u>Día 27.</u>		
5.	Olla de Barro.	0003-26.	
		<u>0429-32</u>	
	<u>Instrumentos</u>		
8.	Libras de Pan, consumidas con la Rectora y el de 24. inc. de Mayo q ^e fue admitida, hasta fin de el a 36 m. cada una.	0008-46.	
279.	Idem con 17. Expositos a Razón.		

[14] Marzo 1800

Cuenta que damos nosotros dⁿ Josseph Bernar
dino Vaamonde y dⁿ Juan Fran^{co} de Navarrete,

Hermanos Celadores Ecclesiast^o y Seglar de este Hospⁱ
de Caridad, del Caudal q^e hemos suplido des^e pri-
mero hasta treinta y uno inc^{es} del mes de Marzo
ultimo, en los gastos originados en el ramo de
Expositos del citado ospital, lo que con arreglo à
lo acordado en Junta de 6 de Junio de 1798 es en
la forma siguiente

R^s de vellon

170 ½	Libras de carne, à 66 m ^s libra, consumidas con dhos Expositos, des ^e 1 ^o hasta 31 incl ^{es} de Marzo q ^e , por disposicion de los facultativos, estubieron medicinandose los q ^e existen en esta Ynclusa, à razon de 5 ½ libras al día.....	0320 - 32	
7 ¾	De Jamon, à 4 ½ r ^s libra y à razon de un Quarteron diario.....	0o34 - 30	
7 ¾	De Garvanzos, à 20 m ^s el Quart ^{on}	0o18 - 8	
		0374 - 2	0374
	<u>Dia 7</u>		
½	Ferrado de Sal		0o04 - 26
	<u>Dia 10</u>		
1	Quarta arrova de Azeite		0o24
	<u>Dia 14</u>		
12	Cucharas para los Niños		0o01 - 14
	<u>Dia 22</u>		
1	Quarta arrova de Azeite		0o22
	<u>Dia 27</u>		
1	Olla de Barro		0o03 - 26
			0429 - 32
	<u>Aumentos</u>		
8	Libras de Pan, consumidas con la Rectora Ysabel des ^e 24 ince de Marzo q ^e fue admitida hasta fin de èl, à 36 m ^s cada una	0o08 - 16	
279	Ydem con 17 Expositos à razon		

	0008-16.	0429-32
de 1/2 libra al día cada uno de los		
46 y al de una el otro p. vez ma-		
yor de Edad.	0295-14	
8. Idem con dos Exporitos, des?		
1. hta 3. y 24 que mueren.	0008-16	
43 1/2 Idem. con otros dos des. 13. y		
24. q. fueren debultos a esta		
Inclusa hasta fin de el.	0014-30	
68 1/2 Idem. con las Copas del Atm		
exo, a 14. onzas de axias.	0072-7	
	0328-29	0398-29.
<u>Salarios.</u>		
De los 52. Salarios del Pa-		
dre Capellan D. Melvete Bar-		
quez, corresponden a este ramo	0038-25 1/2	
De los 50. a. men. cuale.		
q. goza la Rectora, y corres-		
pondió a Isabel		
24 inc. de Marzo q. fue adm.		
tida hasta fin de el.	0011-22.	
De los 24. q. tiene al mes la		
Cocinera Rosa Fernandez	0006	
De los 4. q. tiene al día el		
Comprador Cuervo Fúez.	0062	
De los 100 q. goza al mes		
la Lavandera Josepha Barq.	0050	
De los 80 q. se dan al		
Carretero q. trae el agua	0040	
Por el importe de la		
Libra de Pan de Peniza, que		
goza al día D. Cuervo Fúez.		
re, por las razones expuestas		
en las Cuentas anteriores	0032-28.	
Por el Salario de Sox. g.		
goza al mes, la Rectora, y	0041-7 1/2	0828-27.

		<u>0008 - 16</u>	<u>0429 - 32</u>
	de ½ libra al dia cada uno de los		
	16 y al de una el otro, p ^r ser ma-		
	yor de Edad	0295 - 14	
8	Ydem con dos Expositos, des ^e		
	1 ^o hta 3 y 24 que murieron	0008 - 16	
13 ½	Ydem con otros dos, des ^e 13 y		
	24 q ^e fueron debueltos à esta		
	Ynclusa hasta fin de èl	0014 - 10	
68 1/5	Ydem con las Sopas del Almu		
	erzo, à 44 onzas diarias	<u>0072 - 7</u>	
		0398 - 29	0389 - 29

Salarios

	De los 5 r ^s diarios del Pa-		
	dre Capellan, d ⁿ SilvestreVaz-		
	quez, corresponden à este ramo	0038 - 25 ½	
	De los 50 r ^s mensuales		
	q ^e goza la Rectora y corres		
	pondio à Ysabel		
	24 inc ^e de Marzo q ^e fue admi		
	tida hasta fin de èl	0011 - 22	
	De los 24 q ^e tiene al mes la		
	Cocinera Rosa Fernandez	0006	
	De los 4 q ^e tiene al dia el		
	Comprador Eusebio Freire	0062	
	De los 100 q ^e goza al mes		
	la Lavandera Jossepha Vazq ^z	0050	
	De los 80 q ^e se dan al		
	Carretero q ^e trahe el agua	0040	
	Por el importe de la		
	Libra de Pan de Peneira que		
	goza al dia dho Eusebio Frei-		
	re, por las razones expuestas		
	en las Cuentas anteriores	0032 - 28	
	Por el salario de 50 r ^s q ^e		
	goza al mes la Rectora y		
		<u>0241 - 7 ½</u>	<u>0828 - 27</u>

		<u>0241 – 7 ½</u>	<u>0828 – 27</u>
	hemos dado à la q ^e interinam ^{te}		
	desempeñó este encargo des ^e 24 de		
	Febrero hta 23 de Marzo	<u>0o50</u>	
		0291 – 7 ½	0291 – 7 ½
	<u>Gasto de Lactancia</u>		
	En 1º y 5 de Marzo pague à 41 Nodri-		
	zes q ^e lactan igual nº de Expositos		
	1.070 r ^s en esta forma		
	A las q ^e Lactan Los Exposi-		
	tos 269, 271, 275, 290, 292,		
	296, 298, 299, 306, 308 y 309, à ra		
	zon de 20 r ^s mensuales	0240	
	A las q ^e Lactan el 321, 322,		
	326 y 329, dese 1º de Febrero hasta		
	15, 17, 25 y 28 del mismo q ^e cumplie-		
	ron los 3 a ^{os} , à 30 r ^s y des ^e ellos hta		
	fin de mes à 20	0107	
	A las q ^e Lactan el 332, 333,		
	336, 339, 341, 342, 343, 346, 347,		
	348, 354, 356, 359, 362, 363, 366, 371,		
	373, 432, 469, 505, 635, 637 y 643,		
	à 30 r ^s mensuales cada una	0720	
	A las que lactan el 654 des ^e 28		
	hta fin de Febrero, ydem	<u>0oo3</u>	
		1.070	1.070
	<u>Gasto Extraord^s</u>		
	A la Muger q ^e fue a la Feligresia de S ⁿ		
	Pedro de Nos, à buscar la Nodriz para		
	el Exposito nº 654 le hemos pagado	0oo6	
	<u>Gasto de ropas</u>		
11	Varas de Lienzo p ^a Pañales, à 8 r ^s	0o88	
	Echura de los 11 Pañales	0o05 – 6	
3	Varas de Bayeta p ^a Bayetas, à 16 r ^s	0o48	
	Echura de las 6 Bayetas	0oo2 – 28	0194 – 28
			2.390 – 28 ½

Remisión de Expositos		22300.-28½
à Santiago.		
En 7. de Marzo à Nova So-		
mez por llevar el 655.....	2030	
En 15. à Dominga Sison pt.		
llevar el 658.....	2030	
En 24 à Josepha de la Peña		
por llevar el 660. y el 661.....	2048 }	0108.
Casto de Botica.		
Por el importe de la Papilla consumi-		
da en el mes de Marzo, con los 4. Expositos		
Remitidos à Santiago, segun consta		
del Recibo del Boticario D. Antonio de		
la Fuente, q. he entregado al Sr. Contador		
D. Bartolome Carril.....	2020	
Importa la antecedente Cuenta Dos mil &	22518.-28½	
quientos diez y ocho x. veinte y ocho m. de vellor;		
cuya Cantidad hemos suplida y nov deve reintegrar		
el Sr. D. Ramon Sapata tesorero de los Caudales de		
este Hospital, Comprovada q. sea esta Cuenta, por		
su Contador el Sr. D. Bartolome Carril. Comuñda		
8 de Abril de mil y ochocientos.....		
José Bernandino	Juan Fran. de Navarrete	
Vrmo	Celador	
Comprovada		
Cuenta que damos novotior D. Joseph Bernandino		
Vaamonde, y D. Juan Francisco de Navarrete,		

			<u>2.390 – 28 ½</u>
Remision de expósitos			
à Santiago			
En 7 de Marzo, à Rosa Gomez, por llevar el 655	0o30		
En 15, à Dominga Liston pr			
llevar el 658	0o30		
En 21, à Jossepha de la Peña			
por llevar el 660 y el 661	0o 48	0108	
<u>Gasto de Botica</u>			
Por el importe de la Papilla consumida en el mes de Marzo con los 4 Expositos remitidos à Santiago, segun consta del Recivo del Boticario, d ⁿ Antonio de la Fuente, q ^e he entregado al S ^r Contador d ⁿ Bartolome Carril			
			0o20
			<u>2.518 – 28 ½</u>

Importa la antecedente cuenta Dos mil quinientos diez y ocho r^s veinte y ocho m^s de vellon, Cuya Cantidad hemos suplido y nos deve reintegrar el S^r dⁿ Ramon Sapata, thesorero de los Caudales de este Hospital, comprovada q^e sea esta cuenta por su contador el S^r dⁿ Bartolome Carril. Coruña 8 de abril de mil y ochocientos.
 Josef Bernardino Vaam^{de} / Juan Fran^{co} de Navarrete, celador
 Conprovada

Municipal Archive of A Coruña. Box: 1584. Repository: Charity Hospital. Book 1, Foundling Cash Administration Accounts (July 1798-September 1801).

Cuenta que damos nosotros D. Joseph Bernardino Vamonde, y D. Juan Francisco de Xavarez, como Alcaides Celadores Eclesiásticos, y Seglar de este Ospital de Caridad, del Caudal que hemos suplido desde quince

hasta treinta inc. de Turno ultimo en los gastos originados en el Ramo de Expositor del citado Ospital, lo que con arreglo a lo acordado en Junta de 6. de Turno de 1793. es en la forma siguiente.

Del Día 3. al 30. inc.

R. de vellor

180. Libras de Carne consumidas con los Expositos q' en la en dho osp.		
y estar medicinandose por disposición de los facultativos.	0349-4	
1. De Tarrón a 14 y 26 m.	0035-26.	
1. De Lavarron a 20 m. el Quat.	0017-22	
20. De Azucar para cacharar a 7.	0540	
2. De Pepas para ydem a 4.	0006.	
1. De Almendras p. ydem a 2 m.	0012-12.	
5. Quatillo de Viro a 3 m.	0005.	
6. De Leche a 24 m.	0004-8.	
1. Arropa de Aceite p. las Lamparas.	0048.	0648. - 14

Día 7.

Por Lavas los suenos y ropas de las Camas de los Expositos q' en la ha estado curando la Salina.

0007. - 46.

Día 30.

1. Coseba de Palma.	0001. - 14	
	0627. - 40	

Sumatorio.

30. Libras de Pan de Peneiza, consumidas con la Directora, las 4. de ellas a 1 lib. 50 a 12 m. 4. a 38 m. 2. a 34. 5. a 32. y las 4. rest. a 34 m.	0033-24	
135. Idem con los Expositos n. 16. 42. 51. 71. 72. y 93. a razón de 3. Quatillo cada uno al día, y al precio de lib. 1. las 13. Lib. de ellas: al de 12. 15. al de 38. 48. al de 34. 38. y al de 32. las 22. restantes.	0151-23	
240. Idem con los de los n. 120. 123. 125. 142. 151. 163. 165. 167. 168.	0885. - 13.	

[15] Xuño 1800

Cuenta que damos nosotros, dⁿ Joseph Bernardino Va amonde y dⁿ Juan Francisco de Navarrete, como Hermanos Celadores Eclesiastico y Seglar de este ospital de Caridad, del Caudal que hemos suplido desde prim^o

hasta treinta inc^e de Junio ultimo en los gastos originados en el ramo de Expositos del citado ospital, lo que con arreglo à lo acordado en Junta de 6 de Junio de 1798 es en la forma siguiente

		R ^s de vellón	
Des ^e el Dia 1 ^o al 30 inc ^{es}			
180	Libras de Carne consumidas con los Expositos q ^e existen en dho osp ^l y están medicinandose por disposición de los facultativos	0349 - 14	
7 ½	De Jamon, à 4 r ^s y 26 m ^s	0o35 - 26	
7 ½	De Garvanzos, à 20 m ^s el Quart ^{on}	0o17 - 22	
20	De Azucar para orchatas, a 7 r ^s	0140	
2 ½	De Pepitas para ydem, à ... r ^s	0oo6	
1 ¾	De Almendras p ^a yd ^m , à 7 r ^s y 2 m ^s	0o12 - 12	
5	Quartillos de Vino, à 34 m ^s	0oo5	
6	De Leche, à 24 m ^s	0oo4 - 8	
½	Arrova de Azeite p ^a las Lamparas	0o48	0618 - 14
Dia 7			
Por lavar los Gergones y ropas de las Camas de los Expositos q ^e se les ha estado curando la sarna		0oo7 -16	
Dia 19			
1	Escoba de Palma	0o01 - 14	0627 - 10
Aumentos			
30	Libras de Pan de Peneira consumidas con la Rectora; las 4 de ellas à 44 m ^s , 10 à 42 m ^s , 4 à 38 mrs, 3 à 34, 5 à 32 y las 4 rest ^{es} á 34 m ^s	0o33 - 24	
135	Ydem con los Expositos n ^{os} 16, 42, 51, 71, 72 y 95, à razon de 3 Quarter ^{es} cada uno al dia y al precio de 44 m ^s as 18 Lib ^s de ellas; al de 42, 45; al de 38, 18; al de 34, 31 ½ y al de 32 las 22 ½ restantes	0151 - 23	
240	Ydem con los de los n ^{os} 120, 123, 125, 142, 151, 163, 165, 167, 168,		
		0185 - 13	

172: 265: 283: 323: 332: 336. y 343.	3185...13	3627...30
à raison de $\frac{1}{2}$ libra diaria cada uno, y al respecto de 48. mrs las 32 de ellas: al de 42. las 80: al de 38. las 32: al de 34. las 56. y al de 32. las 40 restantes.	3269-22.	
30- Idem con el Exposito 362. des. 1.º de Junio, q. lo devolvió el alma que lo Sactava, hasta fin de el à los mismos precios y por el mismo orden q. las 30. consumidas por la Sactava.	3033-24	
30- Idem con las Sopas del Almuero, à raison de 3. lib. diarias à causa de q. con el motivo de q. los Expositos van creciendo en años, y en numero, no llegaban las 48. onzas q. se davan antes p.º el efecto de.	3034-4	
39- Idem con la Exposita Tanga Rey (alias de Sigas) desde 1.º de Junio hasta 20. exc. del mismo q. cubió à la Exfamecia, las 4. de ellas à 48. m. 5. à 42. 4. à 38. y las 6. restantes à 34.	3021-28	
5.º De Carne consumidas con la misma des. 20. hñ 30 inc. 18 del mismo mes.	3030-24.	
8.º De Pan Blancos Idem las 34 de ellas à 36. m. y las otras 4. à 38.	3009.	
5.º Quatrillos de Vinno.	3005-16 3636-29	3636-29
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Salarios.</u> De los Ex. diarios q. goza el Padre Capellan D.º Silvestre Vazq. corresponden à este Ramo.</p>		
	3037-17	30264-5

		<u>0185 – 13</u>	<u>0627 – 10</u>
	172, 265, 283, 321, 332, 336 y 341, à razon de ½ libra diaria cada uno y al respecto de 44 mrs las 32 de ellas; al de 42, las 80; al de 38, las 32; al de 34, las 56 y al 32, las 40 restantes	0269 – 22	
30	Ydem con el Exposito 362, des ^e 1º de Junio q ^e lo debolvio el Ama que lo Lactava hasta fin de èl, à los mismos precios y por el mismo orden q ^e las 30 consumi- das por la Rectora	0033 – 34	
90	Ydem con las Sopas del Almuer- zo, à razon de 3 Lib ^s diarias, a cau- sa de q ^e , con el motivo de q ^e los Ex- positos van creciendo en años y en numero, no llegaban las 48 onzas q ^e se davan antes p ^a el efecto ydem	0101 – 4	
19	De Ydem con la Exposita Jossefa Rey (alias, de Sigras) desde 1º de Ju- nio hasta 20 exc ^e del mismo q ^e subio à la Enfermeria; las 4 de ellas à 44 m ^s , 5 à 42, 4 à 38 y las 6 restantes à 34	0021 – 28	
5 ½	De Carne consumidas con la misma des ^e 20 hta 30 inc ^{es} del mismo mes	0010 – 24	
8 ¼	De Pan Blanco, ydem; las 3 ¾ de ellas à 36 m ^s y las otras 4 ½ a 38	0009	
5 ½	Quartillos de Vino	<u>0005 – 16</u>	
		0636 – 29	0636 – 29
	<u>Salarios</u> De los 5 r ^s diarios q ^e goza el Padre Capellan, d ⁿ Silvestre Vazq ^{ez} corresponden à este Ramo	0037 – 17	
			1.264 – 5

De los 50 q. diofura la Sacerota	2037. 17.	10264. 5
Trabel.	2050.	
De los 4 q. tiene al día Cumbio		
freire.	2030.	
De los 24 q. tiene al mes la Co		
cina de Nova Fernandez.	2006.	
De los 50 q. se dan al Carne		
ras q. trae el agua.	2020.	
De los 500 q. se dan a la Livan		
dera Tosephá Vazquez.	2025.	
Por el importe de una librad		
de Pan diaria q. paza el citad		
freire, p. el motivo citado en las		
Cuentas anteriores.	2033. 24.	
	2202. 7.	2202. 7
<u>Canto de Sactancia.</u>		
En 4 y 7 de Junio hemos pagado a 43		
Expositores q. lactan igual n. de Expositores		
por su haver del mes anterior 10080x y		
12 m. en esta forma.		
A las que Lactan los Expositores		
numeros 269. 271. 275. 282. 290.		
292. 293. 296. 298. 299. 308. 309.		
322. 323. 323. 329. 342. 343. 346.		
347 y 348. a 20 x mensuales.		2420
A las q. Lactan los 354 y 356.		
des. 1.º de Mayo hasta 20 y 29 q. cum		
phieren los 30. a 30x. y des. 1.º de Mayo		
hasta fin del mes a 20 x.		2056. 12.
A las q. Lactan el 359. 362.		
363. 371. 373. 432. 469. 505. 637.		
643. 654. 656. 657. 659. 662. 664.		
666. 667. y 674. a 30x. al mes.		2570.
A las q. Lactan el 680. des. 1.º		
de Mayo q. se le entrego hasta fin		
de el. 7.º de Mayo.		2019.
	10065. 12	10466. 12

	<u>0o37 - 17</u>	<u>1.264 - 5</u>
De los 50 q ^e disfruta la Rectora		
Isabel	0o50	
De los 4 q ^e tiene al dia Eusebio		
Freire	0o30	
De los 24 q ^e tiene al mes la Co-		
cinera Rosa Fernandez	0oo6	
De los 80 q ^e se dan al Carre-		
tero q ^e trahe el agua	0o20	
De los 100 q ^e se dan a la Lavan-		
dera Jossepha Vázquez	0o25	
Por el importe de una Libra		
de Pan diaria q ^e goza el citado		
Freire, p ^r el motivo citado en las		
Cuentas anteriores	<u>0o33 - 24</u>	
	0202 - 7	0202 - 7
<u>Gasto de Lactancia</u>		
En 4 y 7 de Junio hemos pagado à 43		
Nodrizes q ^e lactan igual n ^o de Expositos,		
por su haver del mes anterior 1.080 r ^s y		
12 m ^s en esta forma:		
A las que lactan los Expositos		
numeros 269, 271, 275, 289, 290,		
292, 293, 296, 298, 299, 308, 309,		
322, 329, 333, 339, 342, 343, 346,		
347 y 348, à 20 r ^s mensuales	0420	
A las q ^e lactan los 354 y 356,		
des ^e 1 ^o de Mayo hasta 20 y 29 q ^e cum-		
plieron los 3 a ^s , a 30 r ^s y des ^e ellos		
hasta fin de mes, à 20 r ^s	0o56 - 12	
A las q ^e lactan el 359, 362,		
363, 371, 373, 432, 469, 505, 637,		
643, 654, 656, 657, 659, 662, 664,		
666, 667 y 674, à 30 r ^s al mes	0570	
A las q ^e lactan el 680, des ^e 12		
de Mayo q ^e se entrego hasta fin		
de èl, yd ^m	<u>0o19</u>	
	1.065 - 12	1.466 - 12

A la q ^{ta} Lactava el 366 desde		10065-12	10466-12		
y hasta 35 de Mayo q ^e falleció.		2015.			
		10080-12.	10080-12.		
<u>Gastos Extraord.</u>					
1. Carrro de Lina.	2084.	2089-16			
Su conduçy ^{on} y partida.	2005.16				
A la Mujer q ^e fué a la fña de					
s. m. t. de Ovezo, a buscar el Alma					
para el Expositor 680.				2006.	
Por el importe de un sanol q ^e					
se ha echo, para dar luz, a la s					
don avitaciones de los Expositos				2027.	
	2124.16	2124.16			
<u>Gastado en Popas.</u>					
30. Varas de Bayeta a 18. x p. Varas.	2540	2653-4			
Echura de 60 Bayetas a 8m.	2014.4				
Estameña p. hacer un Tubor					
y un Guardapiés a la Mucha-					
cha del s. m. t. J. p. h. a Mart.					
en Recompensa de ayudar a la					
Directora a cuidar de los Expositos				2068	
De Lienzo para forro.	2015.				
De Cinta y Echura.	2066.				
	2653.4				
<u>Permisión de Expositos</u>					
a la H. E. de Santiago.					
En 2. Mayo se pagó a Rosa					
Lopez por llevar los Expositos					
685. 688. y 690.	2020				
En 3. 23. y 29. a Josepha de					
la Peña p. llevar el 686. 691 y 693.				2020	
En 13 y 24. a Dominga Lb.					
con por llevar el 689 y 692.				0060	
	2240.			2240	
<u>Gasto de Botica</u>					
Por el importe de la Papilla consumida					
3056.4.10					

		<u>1.065 – 12</u>	<u>1.466 – 12</u>
	A la que lactava el 366 desde		
	1º hasta 15 de Mayo q ^e fallecio	<u>0o15</u>	
		<u>1.080 – 12</u>	1.080 – 12
	<u>Gastos Extraord^s</u>		
1	Carro de Leña .....0o84		
	Su conduz ^{on} y partidura .. <u>0o05 – 16</u>	0o89 – 16	
	A la muger q ^e fue à la fra de		
	S ⁿ Tirso de Oseiro à buscar el Ama		
	para el Exposito 680	0o08	
	Por el importe de un farol q ^e		
	se ha echo para dar luz à las		
	dos avitaciones de los Expositos	<u>0o27</u>	
		<u>0124 – 16</u>	0124 – 16
	<u>Gastado en ropas</u>		
30	Varas de Bayeta, à 18 r ^s , p ^a baietas	0540	
	Echura de 60 Bayetas, á 8 m ^s	0o14 – 4	
	Estameña p ^a hazer un Jubon		
	y un Guardapies à la Mucha-		
	cha del Ospicio, Jpha Mart ^{ez} ,		
	en recompensa de ayudar a la		
	Rectora à cuydar de los Expositos	0o68	
	De Lienzo para forro	0o15	
	De Cinta y Echura	<u>0o16</u>	
		<u>0653 – 4</u>	0653 – 4
	<u>Remision de Expos^{tos}</u>		
	<u>à la Ync^{sa} de Santiago</u>		
	En 2, 11y 20 se pagó a Rosa		
	Gomez por llevar los Expositos		
	685, 688 y 690	0o90	
	En 3, 23 y 29, a Jossepha de		
	la Peña, p ^r llevar el 686, 691 y 693	0o90	
	En 19 y 24, a Dominga Lis-		
	ton, por llevar el 689 y 692	0o60	
		<u>0240</u>	0240
	<u>Gasto de Botica</u>		
	Por el importe de la Papilla consumida		
			<u>3.564 – 10</u>

en todo el mes de Julio con los ocho Exp
 sivos remitidos a Santiago, segun consta
 del recibo del Boticario J. Ant. de la fu-
 ente q^e hemos entregado al H. Contrador D.
 Bartolome Carril. 33664-10
 Importa la antecedente Cuenta tres mil R 33664-10
 veintientos quatro y diez m. de vellón. Cuya Cantidad
 hemos suplido, y nos deve reintegrar el Sr. D. Ramon
 Tapata, Tesorero de los Caudales de este Hospital, compro-
 vada que sea esta Cuenta, por un Contrador el citado
 D. Bartolome Carril. Hospital de Caridad de la Co-
 ruña 12 de Julio de 1800
 Josef Benavente Juan Fran. de Navarrete
 Celador
 Benavente
 Navarrete

en todo el mes de Junio con los ocho Expo-
sitos remitidos a Santiago, segun consta
del recivo del Boticario, dⁿ Ant^o de la Fu-
ente, q^e hemos entregado al S^r Contador, dⁿ
Bartolome Carril

0o40
3.604 – 10

Importa la antecedente Cuenta tres mil
seiscientos quatro r^s y diez m^s de vellon, cuya cantidad
hemos suplido y nos deve reintegrar el S^r dⁿ Ramon
Zapata, thesorero de los Caudales de este ospital, compro-
vada que sea esta cuenta por su Contador, el citado
dⁿ Bartolome Carril. Hospital de Caridad de la Co-
ruña. 12 de Julio de 1800.
Josef Bernardino Vaamon^{de} / Juan Fran^{co} de Navarrete, celador.
Comprovada.

Municipal Archive of A Coruña. Box: 1584. Repository: Charity Hospital. Book 1, Foundling Cash Admi-
nistration Accounts (July 1798-September 1801).

Cuenta que damos novenas D. Joseph D. Bernardino da-
 amonde y D. Juan Juan Co. de Havanera Como Alexan-
 dor Celador, Eclesiástico y Capax de este Hospital D.
 Caridad, del Caudal que hemos recibido desde prime- 6.
 ro hasta 6.º inc. del mes de Abril último, en los gastos
 originados en el ramo de Expositos de dicho Hospital
 lo q. con arreglo a lo acordado en Junta de 6 de Junio
 de 1798, es en la forma siguiente *(D. de vellor)*

60.ª Libras de Carne a 6.º m. consu-
 midas en todo el mes de Abril.
 con los Expositos q. están enfe- 3553-38.
 mor.....

4.ª Idem con la Exposita Papa
 de Signas des. 8.º hasta 8.º inc. del 3007-26.
 mismo q. falleció.....

5.ª Idem en el día 26.º del propio
 Abril, (en q. se administró el
 Viático p.º cumplir con la Pasqua
 a los Expositos q. existían en aquel
 día en el Hospital,) las quales se con- 3002-26.
 sumieron con todos los Expositos.

4.ª Idem de Pan Blanco a 52.º m.
 gastada en dho día, con los miedos 3534.

[16] Abril 1801

Cuenta que damos nosotros, dⁿ Josseph Bernardino Vamonde y dⁿ Juan Fran^{co} de Navarrete, como Hermanos Celadores Ecclesiastico y Seglar de este ospital de Caridad, del Caudal que hemos suplido desde primero hasta 30 inc^e del mes de Abril ultimo, en los gastos originados en el ramo de Expositos de dicho ospital, lo q^e, con arreglo à lo acordado en Junta de 6 de Junio de 1798, es en la forma siguiente

		<u>R^s de vellón</u>
60	Libras de Carne, à 6 m ^s , consumidas en todo el mes de Abril con los Expositos q ^e están enfermos	0113 – 18
4	Ydem con la Exposita Pepa de Sigras, des ^e 1 ^o hasta 8 inc ^e del mismo q ^e falleció	0007 – 26
5	Ydem, en el dia 26 del propio Abril (en q ^e se administro el Viatico p ^a cumplir con la Pasqua à los Enfermos q ^e existian en aquel dia en el ospital), las quales se consumieron con todos los Expositos	0009 – 24
4	Ydem de Pan Blanco, à 52 m ^s , gastadas en dho dia con los mism ^s ...	
		<hr/> 0131

	en las Sopas del medio día y Cena	0134.
8.	Quartillo de Vino à 32 m. consu-	2006. 14
	midos con los mismos en el propio	
	día 26. y 2 m.	2007. 18.
2.	Libras de Pan, à 48 m. gastadas con	
	una Pepa de leguas en los cit. 8 días	2003. 18.
3.	Quartillo de Vino à 32 m. y dem.	2002. 28.
30.	Libras de Pan, gastadas en todo el	
	mes, con la Rectora, las 20 de ellas,	
	à 48 m. 5 à 46 y las 5 rest. à 48 m.	2030. 24.
360.	Idem con los Expositos num. 16.	
	12. 53. 74. 72. 120. 125. 142. 153.	
	163. 165. 167. 168. 172. 265. y	
	283. à Vazon de 2. quaterones ca-	
	da uno al día, y al de 14 m.	
	las 20 libras, al de 46, las 60 y al	
	de 48. las otras 60.	2476. 16.
75.	Idem con los de los m. 32.	
	332. 341. 373. y 308. à 1/2 libra	
	día a cada uno, las 50 à 48 m.	
	12 1/2 à 46 y las otras 12 1/2 à 48.	2030. 9.
20.	Idem en las Sopas del Almu-	
	erzo para todos, las 60 à 46 m.	
	15. à 46 y las otras 15. à 48 m.	2550. 4.
6.	Libras de Vinto à 8. m.	2048.
1/2.	Carado de Sal.	2004. 26.
	Verduras p. los Expositos q.	
	estan sanos.	2030. 20.
2.	Carro de Leno.	2560.
	su conducción y partida.	2010.
	Por Plantar una Horta	
	y cultivar otra.	2022. 16.
2.	Libras de Azúcar p. 200 patas.	2014.
1.	Quateron de Almendras y.	2003. 26.
2.	Carrales de Baxo.	2002. 13.
1/2.	Cicoba de Palma.	2002. 16.
		10250. 33.

		<u>0131</u>
	en las Sopas del medio dia y cena	00o6 – 4
8	Quartillos de Vino, à 32 m ^s , consu- midos con los mismos en el propio dia 26 yd ^m	00o7 – 18
2 ½	Libras de Pan, à 48 m ^s , gastadas con dha Pepa de Sigras en los cit ^{os} 8 dias	00o3 – 18
3	Quartillo de Vino, à 32 m ^s , ydem	00o2 – 28
30	Libras de Pan gastadas en todo el mes con la Rectora; las 20 de ellas, à 44 m ^s , 5 à 46 y las 5 rest ^{es} à 48 m ^s	0039 – 24
360	Ydem con los Expositos num ^s 16, 42, 51, 71, 72, 120, 125, 142, 151, 163, 165, 167, 168, 172, 265 y 283, à razon de 3 quarterones ca- da uno al dia y al de 44 mrs las 240 libras, al de 46 las 60 y al de 48 las otras 60	0476 – 16
75	Ydem con los de los n ^{os} 321, 332, 341, 373 y 308, à ½ libra diaria cada uno; las 50 à 44 mrs, 12 ½ a 46 y las otras 12 ½ à 48	0099 – 9
90	Ydem con las Sopas del Almu- erzo para todos; las 60 à 44 m ^s , 15 à 46 y las otras 15 à 48	0119 – 4
6	Libras de Unto, à 8 r ^s	0048
½	Ferrado de Sal	00o4 – 26
	Berduras p ^a los Expositos q ^e están sanos	0099 – 20
2	Carros de Leña	0160
	Su conducion y partidura	0010
	Por Plantar una Huerta y cultivar otra	0022 – 16
2	Libras de Azucar p ^a orchatas	0014
1	Quarteron de Almendras yd	00o1 – 26
2	Orinales de Barro	00o2 – 12
1	Escoba de Palma	<u>00o2 – 16</u>
		1.250 – 33

		1.250 – 33	
6	Pliegos de Papel Sellado para certificaciones de Bautismo	0001 – 14	
	A una Muger llamada Ma- riana Jimenez q ^e , en 9 dias que estubo Enferma la Rectora, de- sempeño la funciones de esta, le hemos pagado 20 r ^s y 22 m ^s al res- pecto de 2 r ^s y 10 m ^s al dia, incluso el importe de una Libra de Pan de Peneira	0020 – 22	
		1.273 – 1	1.273 – 1
	<u>Gasto de ropas</u>		
	En todo el mes de Abril hemos gastado, en ropas para los Expositos q ^e existen en Casa, 1.046 r ^s en esta forma, incluso el coste de la composicion de las ropas de uso		
28	Varas de Lienzo, à 9 r ^s , p ^a forros y Camisas	0252	
8	De Paño Azul, à 36 r ^s , p ^a chaque- tas y pantalones	0288	
13	De Yndiana, p ^a Guardapieses y Ju- bones, à 13 r ^s	0169	
12	De Lienzo roan p ^a pañuelos, à 9 r ^s	0108	
12	Dozenas de Botones p ^a las Chaq ^{tas}	0030	
2	Ydem de Botones grand ^s p ^a los Panta- lones	0010	
2	Piezas de Cinta de Ylo	0008	
	Ylo blanco y morado	0010	
	Echura de toda la ropa	0162	
	En la compos ^{on} de toda la ropa de uso hemos gastado	0009	
		1.046	1.046
	<u>Salarios</u>		
	De los 5 r ^s diarios q ^e goza el Padre Capellan, d ⁿ Manuel Perez Tapia, corresponden à este ramo	0037 – 17	
			2.319 – 1

De los 4. del Compadre Cusob's	2037.27	2239.27
fuere y dem.	2030.	
De los 50. que tiene al mes		
la Directora Isabel.	2050	
De los 24. q. tiene la Cocine-		
ra Rosa Fernandez.	2006.	
De los 100. q. goza la Lavan-		
dora Josepha Urquiza.	2025.	
Del importe de las 10 Pipas		
de Agua, consumidas en todo el		
mes de Abril.	2010	
Por el de la Libria de Pier, q.		
goza al dia el citado fuere, por		
los motivos expuestos en las Cu-		
entas anteriores.	2039.26	
	2108.27	2398.27
<u>Gastos Extraordinarios</u>		
Al Maestro y Maestra q. enseñan		
a Leer y Calcular a los Expositos y Expo-		
sitas que van a la Escuela les hemos pa-		
gado por un haver del mes de Abril.	2100.	
<u>Gasto de Lactancia</u>		
En 3 y 6 de Abril hemos pagado a		
42 Rodríguez q. lactan igual n. de Expo-		
sitas, por un haver del mes de Marzo ul-		
timo, 228.2. en esta forma.		
Alas que lactan los Expositos		
n. 263. 271. 275. 282. 285. 292.		
293. 296. 298. 299. 309. 322. 329.		
333. 339. 342. 345. 346. 347. 348.		
354. 356. 359. 363. 371. y 432. a		
20 x cada una.	2520	
Alas que lactan el 462. 505.		
637. 643. 654. 656. 657. 659. 662.		
664. 666. 667. 674. 680. y 789 a		
20 x y dem.	2450	
	2970.	22657.28

	<u>0o37 – 17</u>	<u>2.319 – 1</u>
De los 4 del Comprador Eusebio		
Freire ydem	0o30	
De los 50 que tiene al mes		
La Rectora Isabel	0o50	
De los 24 q ^e tiene la Cocine-		
ra Rosa Fernandez	0oo6	
De los 100 q ^e goza la Lavan-		
dera Jossepha Vazquez	0o25	
Del importe de las 10 Pipas		
de agua, consumidas en todo el		
mes de Abril	0o10	
Por el de la Libra de Pan, q ^e		
goza al dia el citado Freire, por		
los motivos expuestos en las Cu-		
entas anteriores	<u>0o39 – 24</u>	
	0198 – 7	0198 – 7
<u>Gastos Extraordinar^{os}</u>		
Al Maestro y Maestra q ^e enseñan		
à leer y calcetar à los Expositos y Expo-		
sitas que van à la Escuela, les hemos pa-		
gado por su haver del mes de Abril	0100	
<u>Gasto de Lactancia</u>		
En 3 y 6 de Abril hemos pagado à		
42 Nodrices q ^e lactan igual n ^o de Expo-		
sitos, por su haver del mes de Marzo ul-		
timo, 998 r ^s en esta forma		
A las que lactan los Expositos n ^{os} 269, 271, 275, 289, 290, 292,		
293, 296, 298, 299, 309, 322, 329,		
333, 339, 342, 343, 346, 347, 348,		
354, 356, 359, 363, 371 y 432, à		
20 r ^s cada una	0520	
A las que lactan el 469, 505,		
637, 643, 654, 656, 657, 659, 662,		
664, 666, 667, 674, 680 y 759, à		
30 r ^s ydem	<u>0450</u>	
	0970	2.617 – 8

Ala q. la era el 772. des. 3. de	2970. —	20617. — 8.
Marzo hasta fin de el	2028	
	2998.	2238.
Remisión de Exportos		
à Santiago		
En 1.º 8. 13. y 24. à Juan de Lago,		
q. llevar los Exportos n.º 783. 787.		
788. 790. 791. y 793.	2156	
En 4.º 3. y 17. à Rosa Gomez q.		
llevar el 784. 785. 789. y 793.	2508	
En 5.º y 23. à Dominga Lator		
por llevar el 786. y 794.	2060	
En 13. à Ipha de la Peña por		
llevar el 792.	2030	
	2354.	
Canto de Botica:		
En todo el mes de Abril ha importado la		
Papilla, q. se ha consumido con los 13. Ex-		
positos q. se han remitido à Amiegos		
63 x. segun consta del Recibo del Botica-		
rio D.º Antonio de la Fuente, q. hemos en-		
tregado al H.º Contador D.º Bart.º Carril.	2065	
Importa la antecedente Cuenta Quatro mil	40034. — 8	
quinientos y quatro x. y ocho mrs. de vellón, cuya cantidad		
hemos cumplido, y now deve reintegrar el H.º D.º Ramon Sapa-		
ra, thesorero de los Caudales de Dho Hospital, Comprova da		
que vea esta Cuenta, por su Contador el H.º D.º Bartolome		
Carril. Hospital de Caridad de la Corona viere de		
Plazo de mil ochocientos y uno		
Josef Bernardino	Juan Ram. de Navarrete	
	Celador	
Comprova da		

	0970	2.617 – 8
A la q ^e lacta el 772 des ^e 3 de		
Marzo hasta fin de èl	0o28	
	0998	0998
Remision de Expositos		
à Santiago		
En 1º, 8, 13 y 24, à Fran ^{ca} de Lago,		
p ^r llevar los Expositos n ^{os} 783, 787,		
788, 790, 791 y 795	0156	
En 4, 9 y 17, à Rosa Gomez, p ^r		
llevar el 784, 785, 789 y 793	0108	
En 5 y 23, à Dominga Liston,		
por llevar el 786 y 794	0o60	
en 13, à Jpha de la Peña, por		
llevar el 792	0o30	
	0354	0354
<u>Gasto de Botica</u>		
En todo el mes de Abril ha importado la		
Papilla, q ^e se ha consumido con los 13 Ex-		
positos q ^e se han remitido a Santiago,		
65 r ^s segun consta del Recivo del Botica		
rio, d ⁿ Antonio de la Fuente, q ^e hemos en-		
tregado al S ^r Contador d ⁿ Bart ^e Carril		0o65
		4.034 – 8

Importa la antecedente Cuenta Quatro mil treinta y quatro r^s y ocho mrs de vellon, cuya cantidad hemos suplido y nos deve reintegrar el S^r dⁿ Ramon Sapa-ta, thesorero de los Caudales de dho Ospital, Comprovada que sea esta Cuenta por su Contador, el S^r dⁿ Bartolome Carril. Hospital de Caridad de La Coruña, siete de Mayo de mil ochocientos y uno.

Josef Bernardino de Vaamon^{de} / Juan Fran^{co} de Navarrete, celador.

Comprovada.

Municipal Archive of A Coruña. Box: 1584. Repository: Charity Hospital. Book 1, Foundling Cash Administration Accounts (July 1798-September 1801).

Cuenta q^{ta} damos Novotica Joseph Bernandis
Vaamonde, y Juan Fran. Co. de Chacazuri, Com.
Hermanos Celadores, Celerásticos y Separa, de est.
Hospital de Caridad, del Caudal q^{to} hemos veni-
do desde primeros hasta treinta y uno in^{te} del
mes de Mayo último, en los gastos originados
en el Rango de Expositos, de dho Hospital, lo q^{to} con
arreglo à lo acordado en Junta de 6 de Junio de
1798, es en la forma siguiente.

R. De vellor

62.	Libras de Carne à 66 m ^l .	1120. 12
34.	Idem de Pan de Peneira, consu- midas con la Recrea en todo el mes de Mayo, à 48 m ^l cada una.	Do 43. 26
15 $\frac{1}{2}$.	Idem. con un hijo, à quien se le ha concedido este auxilio p ^o dho 1 ^o de dho Mayo por pro- videncia del dho Director.	Do 21. 30
372.	Idem con los Expositos n ^{os} 36 42. 54. 74. 72. 120. 125. 142. 154. 163. 165. 167. 168. 172. 265. y 283. à Razon de 3. Quaterones cada uno al dia.	3525. 6
77 $\frac{1}{2}$.	Idem. con los de los n ^{os} 324. 332. 344. 373. y Do 8. à $\frac{1}{2}$ libra cada uno al dia.	Do 9. 14
93.	Idem. en las Sopas del Alme- nzo para todos.	1134. 30
6.	Libras de Unto. à 8 x ^l .	Do 48.
1.	Paxado de Sal.	Do 4. 26.
1.	Barrova de Aceite p ^o las Lamparas.	Do 46.
	Recuras.	Do 84. 10
	Costa.	Do 2. 26
		10137. 24

[17] Maio 1801

Cuenta q^e damos nosotros, dⁿ Josseph Bernardino Vaamonde y dⁿ Juan Fran^{co} de Navarrete, como Hermanos Celadores Eclesiastico y Seglar de este Hospital de Caridad, del Caudal q^e hemos supli-
do desde primero hasta treinta y uno inc^{es} del mes de Mayo ultimo, en los gastos originados en el ramo de Expositos de dho ospital, lo q^e con arreglo à lo acordado en Junta de 6 de Junio de 1798 es en la forma siguiente

			<u>R^s de vellón</u>
62	Libras de carne, à 66 m ^s	0120 - 12	
31	Ydem de Pan de Peneira, consu- midas con la Rectora en todo el mes de Mayo, à 48 m ^s cada una	0043 - 26	
15 ½	Ydem con su hijo, à quien se le ha concedido este auxilio p ^a des ^e 1 ^o de dho Mayo por pro- videncia del S ^r Prefecto	0021 - 30	
372	Ydem con los Expositos n ^{os} 16, 42, 51, 71, 72, 120, 125, 142, 151, 163, 165, 167, 168, 172, 265 y 283, à razon de 3 Quarterones cada uno al dia	0525 - 6	
77 ½	Ydem con los de los n ^{os} 321, 332, 341, 373 y 308, à ½ libra cada uno al dia	0109 - 14	
93	Ydem con las sopas del almu- erzo para todos	0131 - 10	
6	Libras de unto, à 8 r ^s	0048	
½	Ferrado de sal	0004 - 26	
½	Arrova de Azeite p ^a las Lamparas	0046	
	Berduras	0084 - 10	
	Semola	<u>0002 - 26</u>	
		1.137 - 24	

1.ª Escoba.....	5037.24	
Por llevar a la Palestilla a una	002.32.	
Expositora. hermo. pagada.....	004.	
2.ª Libras de Pan de Rencixa con		
umidad con un fino des. de		
Mayo q. fue recocido p. el H. Co.		
jugidor, bñ. de m. del mis-		
mo q. pareció un Madre. a		
recoselo.....	003.18.	
2.ª Caxos de Leña, inclusa la com-	034.17.	
dicion y partidura.....	50282.3	50282.3.
<u>Costo de Pipar.</u>		
En la Composicion de las Pipas de		
uro hermo. gastado este mes, con in-		
clusion del coste del G. consumido.		006.16.
<u>Salario.</u>		
De los S. de diaño q. pora		
el Padre Capellan D. J. Vives		
tre Varquez corresponden a		
este año.....	0038.25½	
De los li. del Comprador		
Eusebio Ruiz y dem.	0031.	
De los S. q. tiene la Re-		
torra V. Abel.	0050.	
De los Pl. q. dio para la		
Cocinera Rosa Fern.	0026	
De los Lien q. se dan al mes		
a la Lavandiza J. ph. Varg.	0025.	
Por la 1.ª parte del coste		
de las 11. Pipas de agua consu-		
midar en este mes de Mayo.	0055.	
Por el importe de las 11. li-		
bras de Pan del cit. fine, p.		
las razones expuestas en la c-		
uentas anteriores.....	0043.26 }	0205.17½
		50404.2½

		<u>1.137 - 24</u>	
1	Escoba	0002 - 12	
	Por levantar la paletilla à una		
	Exposita hemos pagado	0004	
2 ½	Libras de pan de Peneira con-		
	sumidas con un niño des ^e 7 de		
	Mayo q ^e fue recogido p ^r el S ^r Co-		
	rregidor, hta 11 inc ^e del mis-		
	mo q ^e parecio su Madre à		
	recojerlo	0003 - 18	
2	Carros de Leña, inclusa la con-		
	duccion y partidura	<u>0134 - 17</u>	
		1.282 - 3	1.282 - 3
	<u>Gasto de ropas</u>		
	En la composicion de las ropas de		
	uso hemos gastado este mes, con in-		
	clusion del coste del Ylo consumido	0006 - 16	
	<u>Salarios</u>		
	De los 5 r ^s diarios q ^e goza		
	el Padre Capellan, d ⁿ Silves-		
	tre Vazquez, corresponden à		
	este ramo	0038 - 25 ½	
	De los 4 del comprador		
	Eusebio Freire, ydem	0031	
	De los 50 q ^e tiene la Rec-		
	tora Ysabel	0050	
	De los 24 q ^e disfruta la		
	Cocinera Rosa Fern ^{ez}	0006	
	De los cien q ^e se dan al mes		
	à la Lavandera Jpha Vázqu ^{ez}	0025	
	Por la 4 ^a parte del coste		
	de las 11 Pipas de agua consu-		
	midas en este mes de Mayo	0011	
	Por el importe de las 31 Li-		
	bras de Pan del cit ^{do} Freire, p ^r		
	las razones expuestas en las		
	cuentas anteriores	<u>0043 -26</u>	0205 - 17 ½
			1.494 - 2 ½

Gasto Extraord.		10424..22
Al Maestro q' ensenà à leer y esca- vix los Expositos, y à la Maestra que ensenà à Calzetas las Expositas les he- mos pagado por un haze de Mayo..		2500
Gasto de Lactan.		
En 2. y 6 de Mayo hemos pagado à lo. Hodurres q' lactan igual n. de Exposit- tos, por un haze del mes de Abril an- terior les hemos pagado 10133 x. en esta forma.		
Alas q' lactan los de lo s		
numeros 263. 271. 275. 289. 290.		
292. 293. 296. 298. 299. 302. 322.		
329. 333. 339. 342. 343. 346. 347.		
348. 354. 356. 359. 363. 371. y		
432. à 20. x. cada una.....	0520	
Alas que lactan el 463.		
643. 654. 656. 657. 659. 662.		
664. 666. 667. 674. 680. y 772. à		
30 x. y demas.....	0300	
Ala q' lacta el citado 772.		
por el mes de Marzo.....	0030	
Ala q' lacta el Tot. der. 32.		
de Agosto de 1800 q' se dió à lactar hasta fin de Abril ultimo, en cuyo tpo. hasta ahora no ha vra venido à cobrar.....		0250
	52133	52133
Remision de Expositos, à la Inclusa del ospit. R. de Santiago.		
En 1.º 7. y 25. de Mayo se pagaron à Nova Gomez por llevar el 796. 800 y 806.....		0030
En 2. 33. y 30. a Josepha de la Peña por llevar el 797. 801.		
		20792-22

1.494 - 2 ½

Gastos extraord^s

Al Maestro qe enseña à leer y escri-
vir los Expositos y à la maestra que
enseña à calzetar las Expositas, les he-
mos pagado por su haver de Mayo 0100

Gasto de Lactanza

En 2 y 6 de Mayo hemos pagado à 40
Nodrizes q^e lactan igual n^o de Expositos,
por su haver del mes de Abril an-
terior, les hemos pagado 1.199 r^s en esta
forma

A las q^e lactan los de los
numeros 269, 271, 275, 289, 290,
292, 293, 296, 298, 299, 309, 322,
329, 333, 339, 342, 343, 346, 347,
348, 354, 356, 359, 363, 371 y
432, à 20 r^s cada una 0520

A las que lactan el 469,
643, 654, 656, 657, 659, 662,
664, 666, 667, 674, 680 y 772, à
30 r^s ydem 0390

A la que lacta el citado 772
por el mes de Marzo 0o30

A la q^e lacta el 704 des^e 12
de agosto de 1800 q^e se dio a lact^r
hasta fin de Abril ultimo, en
cuyo tpo hasta ahora no ha-
vía venido à cobrar 0259
1.199

1.199

Remision de Expositos
a la Ynclusa del ospit^l

R^l de Santiago

En 1^o, 7 y 25 de Mayo se
pagaron à Rosa Gomez por
llevar el 796, 800 y 806 0o90

En 2, 11 y 30, a Jossepha de
la Peña, por llevar el 797, 801

2.793 - 2 ½

	De 200	20793-22
y 808.	De 200.	
En 3416. a Dominga Latorre		
por llevar el 798. 802. y 803.	De 78.	
En 1. y 30. a Francisca de La.		
go. p. llevar el 799. y 805.	De 60	
	2318.	2318.
<u>Gasto de Botica.</u>		
En todo el mes de Mayo ha impo-		
rado la Papilla q. se ha consumido con		
los 33. Capovitos q. se han remitido a		
Santiago S.S. x. recur contra del Revo		
del Boticario T. Antonio de la fuente		
q. hemos entregado al actual S. Cont.		
D. Vicente Fran. Reguera.		De 55
Imponta la anteceder. Cuenta tres \$	23166.22	
mil ciento sesenta y ocho x. dobl. y medio de ve-		
llon; Cuya Cantidad hemos capado y nos deve re-		
teorar el Sr. D. Ramon Sapata, tesorero de los Cau-		
dales del Hospital de Caridad, Compravada q. sea		
esta Cuenta, p. en Contador el Sr. D. Vicente Fran.		
Reguera. Hospital de Caridad de la Com. na dose		
de Turno de mil ochocientos y uno.		
Juan Fran. de Navarrete		
Celador		
Comptador		
Vicente Fran. Reguera		
Josef Bernabé		
Ramon		
Celador		
Cuenta q. damos novotao a D. Jph. Bernabé		
Caamonde, y a Juan Fran. de Navarrete, como		
Alvaros Celadores. Celasiaticos, y Seglar. De		

	<u>0o90</u>	<u>2.793 – 2 ½</u>
y 808	0o90	
En 3 y 16, à Dominga Liston,		
por llevar el 798, 802 y 803	0o78	
En 4 y 19, à Francisca de La-		
go, p ^r llevar el 799 y 805	<u>0o60</u>	
	0318	0318
<u>Gasto de Botica</u>		
En todo el mes de Mayo ha impor-		
tado la Papilla q ^e se ha consumido con		
los 11 Expositos q ^e se han remitido a		
Santiago 55 r ^s , segun consta del recivo		
del Boticario, d ⁿ Antonio de la Fuente,		
q ^e hemos entregado al actual S ^r Cont ^{or}		
d ⁿ Vicente Fern ^{ez} Reguera		0o55
		3.166 – 2 ½

Importa la antecedente Cuenta tres mil ciento sesenta y seis r^s dos m^s y medio de vellón, cuya cantidad hemos suplido y nos deve reintegrar el S^r dⁿ Ramón Sapata, thesorero de los Caudales del ospital de Caridad, comprovada q^e sea esta Cuenta p^r su contador, el S^r dⁿ Vicente Fern^z Reguera. Hospital de Caridad de La Coruña, doze de Junio de mil ochocientos y uno.
Juan Fran^{co} de Navarrete, celadr^e.
Comprobada, Vicente Fernz Reguera / Josef Bernardino Vaam^{de}.

Municipal Archive of A Coruña. Box: 1584. Repository: Charity Hospital. Book 1, Foundling Cash Administration Accounts (July 1798-September 1801).

Cuenta que doy yo D.ⁿ Juan Fran.^c de Navarrete, del Caudal que he
 suprido en todo el año de algarrá último para las gentes que se han
 originado en el año de expirar, del Hospital de Caridad de
 la ciudad, en la subvención de una vivienda, y empleados con inter-
 vención de los S.^{tes} Celadores, Escribanos, y Seguros, D.ⁿ Antonio de
 nato Alca, y D.ⁿ Juan de Alca de Linares, don ansegle alo acordado
 en Junta de 6 de Junio de 1728, y de Julio siguiente.

R.^a de Villan

31. Libro de don de Linares, con su mndy	
con la libranza en todo el año de 1728, por lo	
de ellos a 6 mrs, 2 p 92, 6 a 174 y 174	
Navarrete a 36	Do 12.
164. Item con su suyo, las 9 a 6 mrs, 1 a 92, 24	
a 174, y las 174 mrs a 36	Do 21.
168. Item con los expirar u 16. 112. 91. 71.	
72. 120. 125. 142. 141. 163. 165. 167.	
168. 172. 265. 283. 308. 321. 332.	
341. 373. las 164 libras a 6 mrs, 32.	
a 92, 82, a 174. y las 230 mrs a 36	Do 88.
164. Item con los suyo del almuerzo a 174	
a 6 mrs, 3 a 92. 74 a 174, y las 21 a 36	Do 63.
132. albar de carne consumidas con los expirar	
por lo a 6 mrs	Do 62. 28
164. Item con la Veceña	Do 30. 4
8. De ellos a 7 p.	Do 96. 1
2. De ellos a 9 p.	Do 10. 1
8. De ellos a 9 p. y 8 mrs	Do 41. 30
64. Item con los de vino	Do 6. 18
7. De ellos a 28 mrs	Do 9. 26
93. De ellos a 20 mrs	Do 31. 6
De ellos a 20 mrs	Do 14. 26
De ellos a 1 mrs. Dmrs	Do 2. 22
2. De ellos	Do 1. 1
10. De ellos de ellos de ellos	Do 2. 12
2. De ellos	Do 3. 18
1. De ellos	Do 3. 1
De ellos	Do 1. 1
De ellos a 1 mrs a 1 mrs expirar	Do 11. 1
4. De ellos de ellos	Do 12. 1
De ellos	Do 94. 18
2. De ellos	Do 2. 1
15804. 4	

[18] Agosto 1801 (fragmento)

Cuenta que doy yo, dⁿ Juan Fran^{co} de Navarrete, del caudal que he suplido en todo el mes de Agosto ultimo para los gastos que se han originado en el ramo de expositos del Hospital de Caridad de esta ciudad, en la subsistencia de sus Yndivid^{os} y empleados, con Yntervencion de los S^{res} Celadores Eclesiastico y Seglar, Dⁿ Antonio Donato Abad y dⁿ Manⁱ Acha de Patiño, con arreglo a lo àcordado en Juntas de 6 de Junio de 1798 y de Julio ultimo.

R^s de Vellon

31	Libras de Pan de peneira consumidas con la rectora en todo el mes de Ag ^{to} ; las 10 de ellas à 60 mrs, 2 a 52, 5 à 44 y las 14 restantes à 36	0o42
15 ½	Ydem con su hijo; las 5 à 60 mrs, 1 à 52, 2 ½ a 44 y las 7 restantes à 36	0o21
508	Ydem con los expositos n ^o 16, 42, 51, 71, 72, 120, 125, 142, 151, 163, 165, 167, 168, 172, 265, 283, 308, 321, 332, 341, 373; las 164 libras à 60 mrs, 32 à 52, 82 á 44 y las 230 restantes à 36	0688
46 ½	Ydem con las sopas del almuerzo; las 15 à 60 mrs, 3 à 52, 7 ½ à 44 y las 21 à 36	0o63
139 ½	Libras de carne consumidas con los expositos, à 66 mrs	0269 – 28
15 ½	Ydem con la rectora	0o30 – 4
8	De Azucar, à 7 r ^s	0o56
2	De Pepitas, à 5 r ^s	0o10
8	De Tocino, à 5 r ^s y 8 mrs	0o41 – 30
6 ½	Quartillos de vino	0oo6 – 18
7	De Vinagre, à 28 mrs	0oo9 – 26
53	De Leche, à 20 mrs	0o31 – 6
	Berduras	0o11 – 26
	Azafran, à 4 mrs diarios	0oo3 – 22
2	Escovas	0oo4
10	Pliegos de Papel Sellado	0oo2 – 12
2	Ollas	0oo3 – 18
1	Ceston	0oo3
	Manteca	0oo1
	Por afeitar la caveza à 11 expositos	0o11
½	Arroba de Aceyte	0o42
	Leña	0o54 – 18
2	Orinales	0oo2
		1.404 – 4

12. Belleps	1940/14
5 ¹ / ₂ Varas de cinta para empuñadura de 2000	2006.
pinos que han fallecido	2002. 10
31 Libras de len de Benigna con mandado con el comprador Encabdo Truxa	2012.
	1948/14
	1948/14

Dia 31.		2031. 6.	2031. 6.
Carne de vaca gruesa de len	2012. 8.		
Carne de vaca ligera	2004. 6.		
Carne de vaca ligera	2007. 24.		
Carne de vaca ligera	2000. 32.		
Carne de vaca ligera	2002. 20.		
Carne de vaca ligera	2001. 20.		
Carne de vaca ligera	2001. 22.		
Carne de vaca ligera	2002.		
Carne de vaca ligera	2006.		
Carne de vaca ligera	2006. 3.		
Carne de vaca ligera	2001. 2.		
Carne de vaca ligera	2005.		
Carne de vaca ligera	2020.		
Carne de vaca ligera	2003.		
Carne de vaca ligera	2000.		
Carne de vaca ligera	2002.		
Carne de vaca ligera	2000. 5.	2070. 5.	
Campo	22500.		22068.
Data	22068.		
Alcance año del año.	431.		
Imputa todo lo gastado en este mes la misma cantidad, 2000 mil 10.			

12	Pellejas	1.404 – 4	
5 ½	Varas de cinta para amortajar à 3 ex- positos que han fallecido	0o36	
31	Libras de Pan de Peneira consumidas con el comprador Eusebio Freire	0o02 – 10	
		<u>0o42</u>	
		1.484 – 14	1.484 – 14

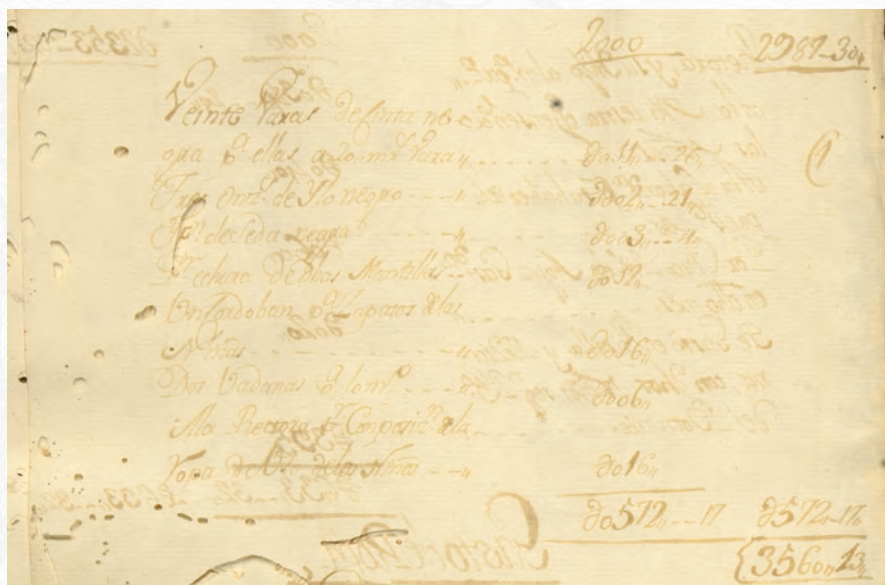
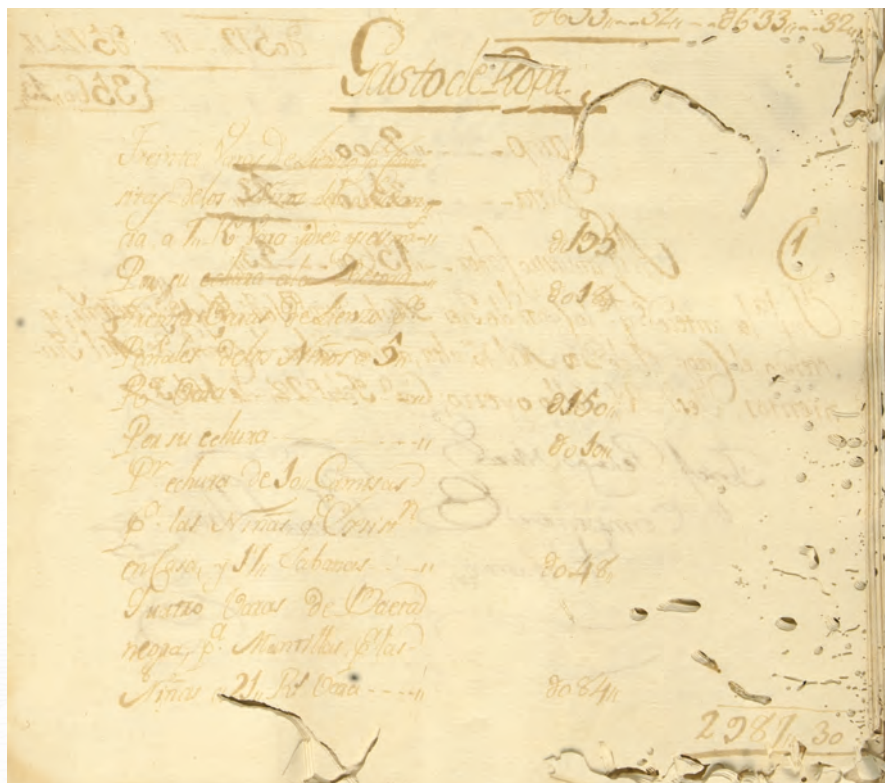
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[19] Decembro 1802 (*fragmento*)

Dia 31		
Catorce libras y media de Pan	0o12 – 8	
Cinco id ⁿ para Sopas	0o04 – 4	
Quatro libras y m ^a de carne	0o07 – 24	
Una libra de pan Blanco	0o00 – 32	
Libra y m ^a de carne	0o02 – 20	
Quartillo y m ^o de vino	0o01 – 20	
Semola	0o01 – 22	
Por dos Bidrios	0o02	
Al Sastre, por quatro dias, a 9 r ^s	0o36	
Por quarenta y seis y m ^a libras de Pan de la reto ra y su hijo, à 28 m ^s	0o36 – 9	
Sesenta y dos del comprador y tornera, al m ^o precio	0o51 – 2	
Por la Escuela de los niños y niñas	0o55	
Cinco pipas de agua	0o20	
A la retora, p ^r hechura de unas sabanas q ^e hizo el mes anterior	0o08	
A la lavandera	0o60	
Botica y Papilla	<u>0395</u>	
	0690 – 5	

[firman: Josef Pelayo Mira / Manuel Acha
Comprobada, Reguera]

MAC. Box: 1584. Background: Charity Hospital. Book 2, Foundling Cash Administration Accounts (October 1801-December 1804).



[20] Febreiro 1803 (*fragmento*)

Gasto de Ropa

Treinta Varas de Lienzo p ^a Cami-	
sitas de los Niños de la lactan-	
cia, a 7 R ^s Vara y diez y seis m ^s	0195
Por su echura a la Retora	0o18
Treinta Varas de Lienzo p ^a	
Pañales de los Niños, a 5	
R ^s Vara	0150
Por su echura	0o10
P ^r echura de 10 Camisas	
p ^a las Niñas q ^e Exist ⁿ	
en Casa y 11 Sabanas	0o48
Quatro Varas de Baeta	
negra, p ^a Mantillas p ^a las	
Niñas, a 21 R ^s Vara	0o84

Veinte Varas de cinta ne-	
gra p ^a ellas, a 20 m ^s Vara	0o11 - 26
Tres Onz ^s de Ylo negro	0oo2 - 21
Ydn de Seda negra	0oo3 - 4
Por echura de dhas Mantillas	0o12
Un Cordoban p ^a Zapatos de las	
Niñas	0o16
Dos Vadanass p ^a lo m ^o	0oo6
A la Rectora p ^r Composiz ⁿ de la	
ropa de Uso de los Niños	0o16
	<hr/>
	0572 - 17

[firman: Josef Pelayo Mira / Manuel Acha
Comprobada, Reguera]

MAC. Box: 1584. Background: Charity Hospital. Book 2, Foundling Cash Administration Accounts (October 1801-December1804).

Parto de Rora 2832 2832-200
Veritas Vadas de Lienzo S. Camira S. Gra
Vinas a Gu B 3120
Por su cehura a la Notara 3153-3

2000 2273 2273
 3428-3 3428-3
 Nota lo anterior e q. la fanti. de D. F. M. J. Quintero. D. F. M. J. D. R. S.
 y D. F. M. J. Quintero el cargo el de D. F. M. J. Quintero. D. F. M. J. D. R. S.
 fanti. la fanti. de M. J. Quintero. D. F. M. J. D. R. S. y D. F. M. J.
 Salvo, o yerno, Ca. Mayo 31 de 1803.
 Josef. Pelago Ruiz
 Manuel Ferra
 Improbacion
 Leguerra

[21] Maio 1803 (fragmento)

<u>Gasto de Ropa</u>		
Veinte Varas de lienzo p ^a Camisas p ^a las		
Niñas, a 6 R ^s	0120	
Por su echura, a la retora	0o14	
Dos Varas de Yndiana p ^a Gorros de los Ni-		
ños de la Lactancia, a 15 R ^s Vara	0o30	
Una Pieza de Trenza p ^a ellos	0oo4	
Por su echura	0oo4	
Veinte Varas de Trenza blanca ancha		
p ^a Fajas de los Niños, a 3 R ^s Vara	0o60	
Por su echura	0oo5	
Quatro Varas de Lienzo p ^a Pañales, a		
5 R ^s Vara	0o20	
Por Composiz ⁿ de la ropa de Uso, a la		
retora	<u>0o16</u>	
	0273	<u>0273</u>
		3.428 - 3
Cargo ...[Debe].....	<u>2000</u>	
Data ....[Haber].....	<u>3428 - 3</u>	
Alq ^e [alcance] a nuestro favor	<u>1428 - 3</u>	
Ymp ^{ta} la antecede q ^{ta} la Cantid ^d de Tres Mil Quatroci ^{os} V ^{te} y Ocho R ^s		
y Tres mr ^s y, siendo el Cargo el de Dos Mil R ^s , resulta a nuestro		
favor la cantid ^d de Mil Quatroci ^{os} V ^{te} y Ocho R ^s y tres mr ^s ,		
Salvo o yerro. Cor ^a , Mayo 31 de 1803		
Josef Pelayo Mira / Manuel Acha		
Comprobada, Reguera		

MAC. Box: 1584. Background: Charity Hospital. Book 2, Foundling Cash Administration Accounts (October 1801-December1804).

<u>Dia 23.</u>		1017. 10.	1017. 10.
Tres libras y media de Pan	.....	Do11. 14.	
Unos den para Sopas	.....	Do04. 4.	
Quince libras y media de carne	.....	Do07. 24.	
Libra y media de Pan blanco	.....	Do01. 14.	
Libra y media de carne	.....	Do02. 20.	
Doz. de queso de Lino	.....	Do02. 4.	
Doz. libras de Queso de Lino	.....	Do16.	
Recibo B. la noche buena	.....	Do21.	
		Do60. 12.	Do60. 12.
<u>Dia 24.</u>			
Tres libras y media de Pan	.....	Do11. 14.	
Unos den para Sopas	.....	Do04. 4.	
Quince libras y media de carne	.....	Do07. 24.	
		12023.	

<u>20500.</u>		<u>10523. 23.</u>
Libra y media de Pan blanco	.....	Do01. 14.
Libra y media de carne	.....	Do02. 20.
Medio queso de Lino	.....	Do02. 4.
Estanciano p. la noche buena	.....	Do04.
Unos den para Sopas	.....	Do27. 10.
Quince libras y media de carne	.....	Do04.
Recibo B. la noche buena	.....	Do00. 12.
		Do31. 6.

[22] Noite Boa 1802 (fragmento)

Dia 23

Trece libras y media de Pan	0o11 - 14
Cinco iden para Sopas	0oo4 - 4
Quatro libras y media de carne	0oo7 - 24
Libra y media de Pan blanco	0oo1 - 14
Libra y media de carne	0oo2 - 20
Dos quartillos de vino	0oo2 - 4
Dos libras de Chocolate	0o16
Pescado p ^a la noche buena	0o21

0o60 - 12

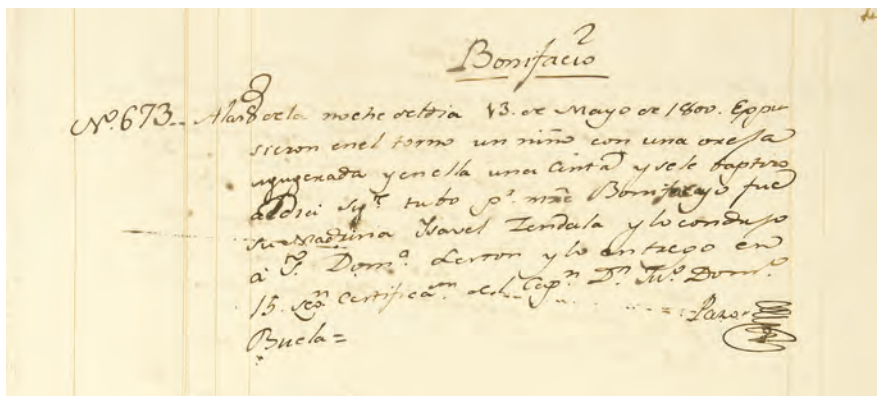
Dia 24

Trece libras y media de Pan	0o11 - 14
Cinco iden p ^a Sopas	0oo4 - 4
Quatro libras y media de carne	0oo7 - 24
Libra y media de Pan blanco	0oo1 - 14
Libra y media de carne	0oo2 - 20
Medio ferrado de Sal	0oo2 - 4
Manzanas p ^a la noche buena	0oo4
Veinte y dos q ^{llos} de vino p ^a cocer dhas man zanas y vever los niños y retora	0o23 - 10
Una libra de Azucar p ^a las mismas	0oo4
Canela p ^a iden	0ooo - 18

0o81 - 6

[firman: Josef Pelayo Mira / Manuel Acha
Comprobada, Reguera]

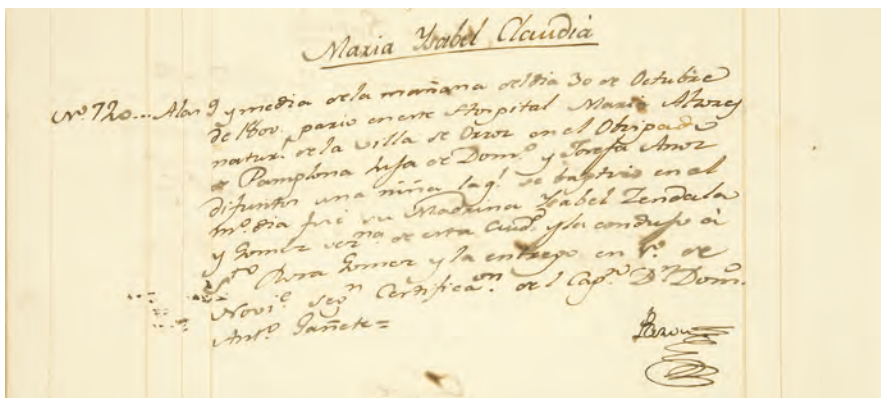
MAC. Box: 1584. Background: Charity Hospital. Book 2, Foundling Cash Administration Accounts (October 1801-December1804).



[23] Expósito n° 673

Bonifacio

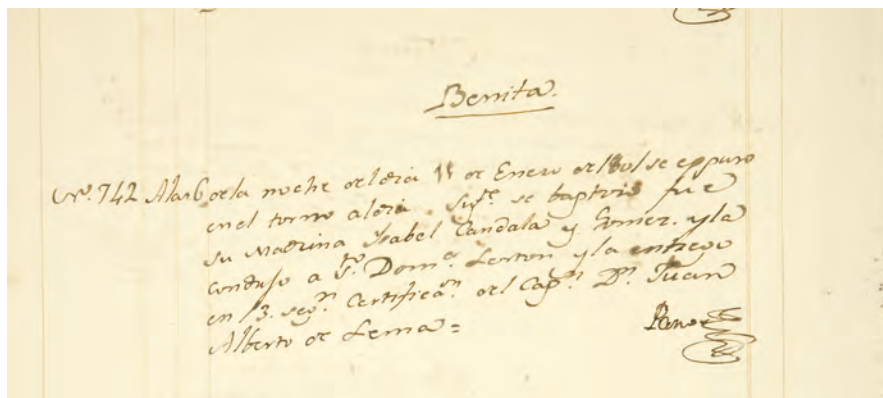
A las 8 de la noche del día 13 de Mayo de 1800 expusieron en el torno un niño con una oreja agujerada y en ella una cinta y se le baptizo el día sig^{te}; tubo p^r nre Bonifacio; fue su madrina Isavel Zendala, y lo condujo a S^{to} Dom^a Leston y lo entrego en 15, segⁿ Certifica^{on} del Capⁿ Dⁿ Ju^o Dom^o Buela.
 Pazos.



[24] Expósite nº 720

María Ysabel Claudia

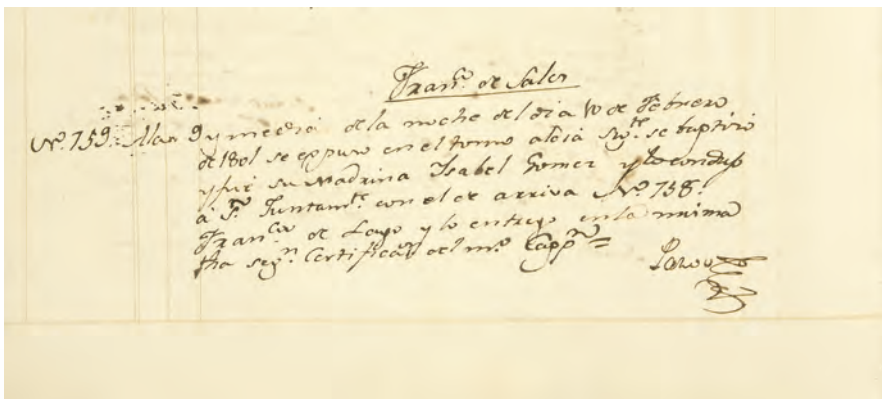
A las 9 y media de la mañana del día 30 de Octubre de 1800, pario en este Hospital Maria Alvarez, naturl de la villa de Orroz, en el obispado de Pamplona, hija de Dom^o y Josefa Amor, difuntos, una niña la q' se baptizo en el m^o dia; fuè su Madrina Isabel Zendala y Gomez, vez^{na} de esta ciud^d, y la condujo à S^{to} Rosa Gomez y la entrego en 1^o de Novie, segⁿ Certifica^{on} del Capⁿ Dⁿ Dom^o Ant^o Gañete.
Pazos.



[25] Expósito nº 742

Benita

A las 6 de la noche del día 11 de Enero de 1801, se expuso en el torno; al día sigte se baptizo; fue su Madrina Ysabel Cendala y Gomez, y la condujo a S^{to} Dom^a Leston y la entrego en 13, segⁿ Certifica^{on} del Capⁿ Dⁿ Juan Alberto de Lema.
 Pazos.

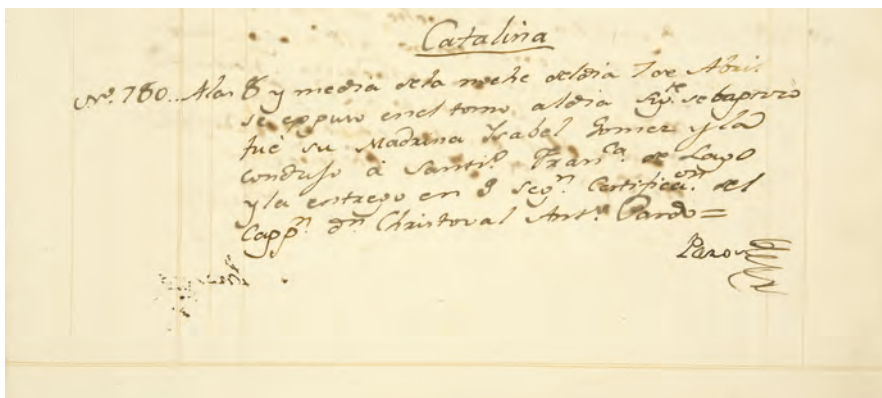


[26] Expósito nº 759

Fran^{co} de Sales

A las 9 y media de la noche del día 10 de Febrero de 1801, se expuso en el torno; al día sig^{te} se baptizó y fuè su Madrina Ysabel Gomez, y lo condujo a S^{to}, juntam^{te} con el de arriva nº 758, Fran^{ca} de Lago y lo entrego en la misma fha, segⁿ certifica^{on} del m^o Cappⁿ [sen data de entrega / dⁿ Enrique Esmi^t] Pazos.

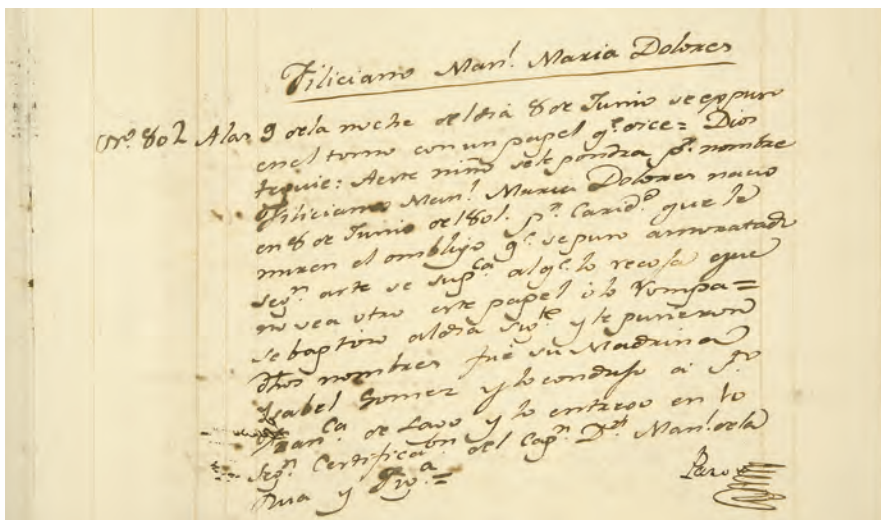
Provincial Archive of A Coruña (PAC). Box 4,140. Book 2, Foundlings Register, Foundling Home-Charity Hospital (January 1800-December 1803).



[27] Expósita nº 780

Catalina

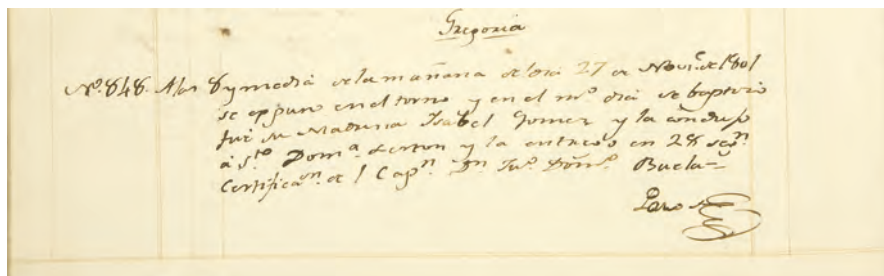
A las 8 y media de la noche del día 7 de Abril, se expuso en el torno; al día sigª se baptizo; fuè su Madrina Ysabel Gomez, y la condujo á Santiº Franª de Lago y la entrego en 9, segª Certificaºn del Cappº dñ Christoval Antº Pardo. Pazos.



[28] Expósito nº 802

Filiciano Man! Maria Dolores

A las 9 de la noche del día 8 de Junio se expuso en el torno con un papel q^e dice =Dios te guíe: A este niño se le pondrá p^r nombre Filiciano Man! Maria Dolores; nació en 8 de Junio de 1801. P^r Carid^d, que le miren el ombligo, q^e se puso amoratado segun arte; se sup^{ca} al q^e lo recoja que no vea otro este papel ó lo rompa=. Se baptizo al día sig^{te} y le pusieron dhos nombres; fuè su Madrina Ysabel Gomez, y lo condujo à S^{to} Fran^{ca} de Lago y lo entrego en 10, segⁿ Certifica^{on} del Capⁿ Dⁿ Man! de la Rúa y Fig^a [Figuroa]. Pazos.

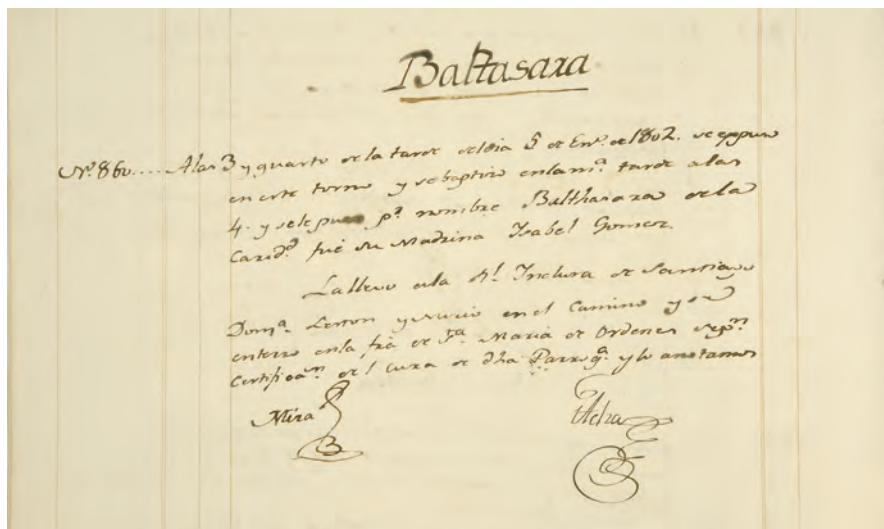


[29] Expósita nº 848

Gregoria

A las 8 y media de la mañana del día 27 de Novi^e de 1801,
se expuso en el torno y en el m^o día se baptizó;
fuè su madrina Ysabel Gomez, y la condujo
à S^{to} Dom^a Leston y la entrego en 28 segⁿ
Certifica^{on} del Capⁿ Ju^o Dom^o Buela-
Pazos.

Provincial Archive of A Coruña (PAC). Box 4,140. Book 2, Foundlings Register, Foundling Home-Charity Hospital (January 1800-December 1803).



[30] Expósita nº 860

Baltasara

A las 3 y cuarto de la tarde del día 5 de Enº de 1802 se expuso en este torno y se baptizo en la mª tarde, a las

4, y se le puso pº nombre Baltasara de la Caridª; fuè su madrina Ysabel Gomez.

La llevo a la Rª Ynclusa de Santiago

Domª Leston y murio en el Camino y se

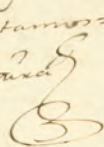
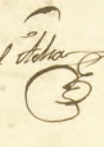
enterro en la fra de Sª Maria de Ordenes, segº

Certificaºn del cura de dha Parroqª y lo anotamos.

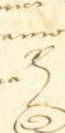
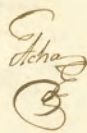
Mira / Acha.

Juan Ramon de los Dolores

Nº 875. A las 6 de la mañana al día 9 de Febrero de 1862
 Paro en el Cuarto de Partos Recien en este
 Hospital una Muñ. un niño q. se baptizo
 a las 10 de la mañana del mismo día y se le puso
 p. nombre Juan Ramon de los Dolores
 y Caridad p. su Matrina Isabel
 Gomez Sotoca Directora de los Expositos en
 este Hospital. y como encargada a la
 Archivera lo anotamos

Trof Pelagay  Manuel 

Nota En el mismo día 9. hebbimo a lactar p. guetas
 de este Hospital Parquia de una mujer de
 Ant. Gomez con el de J. Pelay de Viana
 y lo anotamos

Maria  Echa 

Nota A las 10 de la mañana al día 9 de Febro
 y lo anotamos el Ama de este Hospital que
 entran en el mismo de J. Nicolas y lo
 anotamos

Maria  Echa 

[31] Expósito nº 875

Juan Ramon de los Dolores

A las 8 de la mañana del día 9 de Febrero de 1802, pario, en el Quarto de Partos Secretos en este Hospital, una mug^r un niño q^e se baptizo a las 10 de la mañana del m^o día y se le puso p^r nombre Juan Ramon de los Dolores y Caridad; fuè su madrina Ysabel Gomes, soltera, Rectora de los Expositos en este Hospital. Y como encargados de la Ynclusa, lo anotamos.

Josef Pelayo Mira / Manuel Acha.

Nota.

En el m^o día 9 lo llevo a lactar, p^r cuenta de este Hospital, Pasqua Seoane, muger de Ant^o Gomez, vez^{nos} de Sⁿ Pedro de Visma, y lo anotamos.

Mira / Acha.

Nota.

Murio la mañana del día 1^o de Julio y lo condujo el Ama á este Hospital y se enterro en el atrio de Sⁿ Nicolas, y lo anotamos.

Mira / Acha.

Provincial Archive of A Coruña (PAC). Box 4,140. Book 2, Foundlings Register, Foundling Home-Charity Hospital (January 1800-December1803).

[32] Acta 27 noviembre 1803 (fragmento)

[asisten los señores Dⁿ Ygnacio Carrillo y Niebla, Vize Presidente; Dⁿ Antonio Donato Abad, Vize Prefecto de la Congregación; Dⁿ Josef Pelayo de Mira y Dⁿ Manuel Acha, zeladores; Dⁿ Ramón Zapata, tesorero, y el secretario, Manuel Balthasar de Pazos; se intuye la presencia de (Juan Antonio) González y de Francisco (Ribera)]

Consiguiente a lo acordado en vein-
.... dos del que corre, se han visto los me-
..... solicitan obtener el en-
..... de los Niños Expositos que
son: Maria Teresa Garcia, Viuda, vecina
del Barrio de Santa Lucia; Francisca Gar-
cia, soltera, vecina de esta Ciudad; Francisca
da Fraga, Enfermera de este Hospital, y
Christina Gonzalez, que hace tiempo se
halla en el en calidad de hospiciiana. Des-
pues de algunas conferencias en punto
a este nombramiento y tomados los Botos,
ha tenido dos dicha Francisca Garcia, uno
la Maria Teresa Garcia y todos los de-
màs los hà tenido la Christina Gonza-
lez, quien, por lo mismo, quedó desde lue-
go nombrada y admitida para tal Rec-
tora, vajo las mismas condiciones que su
Antecesora Ysabel Sendala y Gomez y con
la asignacion de treinta reales mensuales.

[firman a acta Ygnacio Carrillo y Niebla / Manuel Balthasar de Pazos].

MAC. Box 1564. Repository: Charity Hospital. Book 2 Minutes of the Hospital's Board of Governors (March 1802-December 1812).

Rúa Real

Nº 36.

Dⁿ Geronimo Hijosa, Comisario Onorario de Guerra y Prior
del R^l Consulado, E.[dad], 70

Su muger, d^a Maria Josefa del Castillo, E. 68

Su hijo, dⁿ Diego, E. 18

Su hija, d^a Mariana, E. 20

Cajero de dho S^r, dⁿ Josef de la Alameda, E. 40

Doncella, d^a Paula Varela, E. 43

Otra, d^a Rosa Merique, E. 14

Otra, d^a Maria da Bega, E. 24

Criada, Ysabel Senda, E. 23

Un esclabo y una esclaba.

MAC. Box 1054. Background: A Coruña City Council. Series: Population. Census, 1794.

1772
 t
 N.º 32

Confiando el Rey con la propuesta de Vm. y del Director de
 la expedición destinada à propagar en Indias la inoculación de la
 vacuna, permite S. M. que la Rectoría y la Casa de Capiceros de ^{Congre-}
 esa Ciudad sea comprendida en la misma expedición en clase ^{de Todel}
 de Enfermería con el sueldo y ayuda y costa señalada á los Enfer- ^{sago}
 meros, para que cuide durante la navegación y la ausencia ^{Sancta}
 y asimismo á los Niños, que haviendo de embarcarse, y cesar la ^{violaci-}
 nancia, que se experimenta en algunos Padres y sus hijos ^{olen}
 al cuidado y aquellos sin el alivio y una mujer de providad. ^{on.}
 Con esta fha. para el aviso correspondiente al Ministerio ^{de 1803.}
 hacienda para que la Rectoría reciba en esa Ciudad la au-
 da de costa y tres mil r. con destino à su habilitación, y para
 el abono en Indias del sueldo de quinientos p. anuales, conta-
 dos desde el día que se embarque, y la mitad à su regreso, que
 deberá ser de cuenta del Erario; y à Vm. lo participo de V.º orden
 para la inteligencia y la Junta de caridad, y que es fiende, y
 noticia y la Interesada. Dios gñe. à Vm. m.º a. 1.º Toron
 20 y Octubre 14.º 1803.

Joseph M. Caballero

Encio Carrillo y Nieto
 Com.

[34] 14 outubro 1803

[Real Orde]

Vacuna

Nº 32

Conformandose el Rey con la propuesta de Vm. y del Director de la expedicion destinada à propagar en Yndias la inoculacion de la vacuna, permite S.M. que la Rectora de la Casa de Expositos de esa ciudad sea comprendida en la misma expedicion en clase de Enfermera, con el sueldo y ajuda de costa señalada a los Enfermeros, para que cuide durante la navegacion de la asistencia y asio de los Niños que haian de embarcarse y cese la repugnancia que se experimenta en algunos Padres de fiar sus hijos al cuidado de aquellos, sin el alivio de una Muger de providad. Con esta fha, paso el aviso correspondiente al Ministerio de hacienda para que la Rectora reciva en esa Ciudad la ajuda de costa de tres mil r^s con destino à su havilitación y para el abono en Yndias del sueldo de quinientos p^o anuales, contados desde el dia que se embarque y la mitad à su regreso, que deberà ser de cuenta del Erario; y à Vm. lo participo de R^l orden para la inteligencia de la Junta de caridad, de que es Presidente, y noticia de la Ynteresada. Dios gue à Vm. m^s a^s. Sⁿ Lorenzo y Octubre, 14 de 1803.

Josef An^o Caballero

Dⁿ Ygnacio Carrillo y Niebla

Coruña

MAC. Box 1680. Background: Charity Hospital. Series: Correspondence (1791-1809)
Folder (1)-1.

