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Chapter 6

Living in Lourenço Marques in the early 20th century

Urban planning, development, and well-being

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6.1 Introduction

Since the possibilities of Lourenço Marques as a field for investment in real estate attracted the attention of capitalists, the conviction has grown that such ports as Durban, East London, and Port Elizabeth, would ultimately find in Delagoa Bay a strong rival for the trade which the more southerly coast towns have so long enjoyed (Delagoa Directory, 1899:5)

By the end of the 19th century, as expressed in the Delagoa Directory for 1899, the small settlement of Lourenço Marques, in Delagoa Bay (Baía de Lourenço Marques, present day Maputo Bay), was becoming one of the most important urban African centres in Southern Africa with potential to attract international investors and businessmen and, by extension, people looking for job opportunities. On the one hand, economic growth resulting from increased traffic of goods and people with the Transvaal provided the opportunity for considerable improvements in the city (M.C., 1913; Newitt, 1995:350); on the other hand, the opening of a regular railway connection with Transvaal, transformed the port of Lourenço Marques, already considered “the best harbour of South Africa” (Delagoa Directory, 1899:17), into the main port for the exports of the gold explored in the Rand mines.

This development was consistent with the on-going process of colonial urbanization on the eastern African coast in the late 19th century. Expressed in the emergence of modern and important urban centres and ports located at key transport junctions, easily accessible and providing a more direct outlet for East Africa’s exports (Burton, 2017:11; Demissie, 2007:4), this process exposed the attitude of the European powers towards African resources and their exploitation, as well as the specific regional contexts within which these urban centres developed. In the case of Lourenço Marques, the development and growth of the port and the city were closely associated to the economic and political relationship developed since the mid-19th century with the Transvaal. The two governments worked hard to strengthen these relations, being one of the first results the signing of the *Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Borders* (29 July 1869). Through this treaty, the Transvaal guaranteed access to the sea and the conditions to implement a railway connection to the coast, which helped to increase the mining industry and facilitated labour movement,

while Lourenço Marques gained the *status* of international metropolis flourishing based on the gold exports and the increasing trade of labour force to supply the mining sector.

As a result, the city swiftly became a melting pot of people with different backgrounds, *status*, and cultures, with a noteworthy presence of Europeans and Asian people and a growing number of African indigenous people followed by the creation of government agencies and specific legislation to respond to the needs of the population's growth and the balance between African and non-African people, as well as to improve people's living and working conditions.

This situation put health problems at the heart of Lourenço Marques' authorities, following which sanitary concerns gained importance as part of the Portuguese colonial policy, whether in terms of seeking solutions for urban sanitation in order to provide the city's development in a healthy environment, or in what was related to lodging and health conditions of the non-European population, in particular the increasing contingent of workers in transit to the mines, who were considered the main responsible for the unhealthy situation of the city (Azevedo, 1907:267).

In any case, the commitment of the colonial authorities was evident in the institutional efforts for transforming the unhealthy village of the 19th century into the successful metropolis of the early 20th century (Roque, 2016:169). And, these efforts had immediate impact on the international opinion as Bayly testified when writing in 1909:

few years ago (Lourenço Marques was) decades behind the other maritime resorts of the coast, but with a geographical situation without rival, nothing was left to be done to attract the foreigner, who runs in search of a short distraction to his daily labors.

(Bayly, 1909:73)

Offering attractions to residents and foreigners, the improvements aimed at enhancing the city's external image were due to structural interventions with additional results in the visual reference of the city, such as the shaping of different cultural and economic landscapes, and the definition of urban and suburban areas, marked by the unequal allocation of resources due to different social realities and presupposing dissimilar types of approaches and solutions for health and well-being issues. Thus, although there was unanimity in situations requiring priority actions, such as the drainage of the marshes or the construction of a sewage system, others were far from having the agreement of the institutions and services involved. Namely, situations in which Public Works, Health Services and the Municipality had to coordinate actions for the organization and management of an urban space, perceived by Europeans as strictly "non-native" but necessarily shared with indigenous people, and in which it was imperative to respond to the needs and problems resulting from the growing concentration of a multiracial population.

In this context, and keeping in mind the importance of colonial political and economic interests as main drivers of change in the city's landscape, this chapter discusses the city's growth considering not only the projects foreseen for its development, how they were implemented and the official policies, but also the correlation between urban growth/well-being/health and how colonial projects and policies break this link and were used to achieve social inequalities and racial segregation. Therefore, we will address the different ways of organizing the city space in the turn of the 19th century considering the natural characteristics of the area and the anthropogenic actions, as well as the government policies and their impacts and some of the debates they have aroused.

By doing so, this chapter aims to shed some light on the complexity of the daily life of Lourenço Marques according to its multiracial and multicultural social composition, on what were the main constraints to the city's development, the expectations of the population and on how colonial policy brought rational solutions. To this end, in Section two we address the

actions taken to promote public spaces and leisure areas and, in Section three, the measures regarding urbanization, sanitation, and health.

6.2 Gardening the city: Creating beautiful, pledging for health, promoting public spaces, and leisure areas

During the last two decades of the 19th century, reforms of the colonial administration were crucial to fostering Lourenço Marques transformation into a large, modern city where mostly Europeans hoped to find the “civic comforts and conveniences they had become accustomed to in Europe” (Burton, 2017:12). To this purpose, the improvement of urban infrastructures contributed greatly, especially since 1877 with the arrival of the first Public Works team. The aims and functions of the new Public Works Office clearly reveals the intention of the colonial authorities to design, organize and manage the city transformation by acting directly on critical axes with immediate impact on the city’s structure, the port, and the city’s environment; namely, the sanitation of the city, which implied the eradication of the swamp and the construction of a sewage system, and the cadastral map and the urban plan, including the upgrading of the port.

If sanitation was indispensable for the expanding of the city and the elimination of potential source of diseases, cadastral maps were essential to understand the local ownership structure and to calculate and negotiate the value of the expropriations to be made, whenever necessary¹, to implement any projected urban plan.

Thus, property register should be prior to the implementation of the 1st urban plan presented in 1887 by António de Araújo (see Figure 6.1) but, the fact is, that work was time consuming and not always easy to achieve, and twenty years later was still far from being complete².

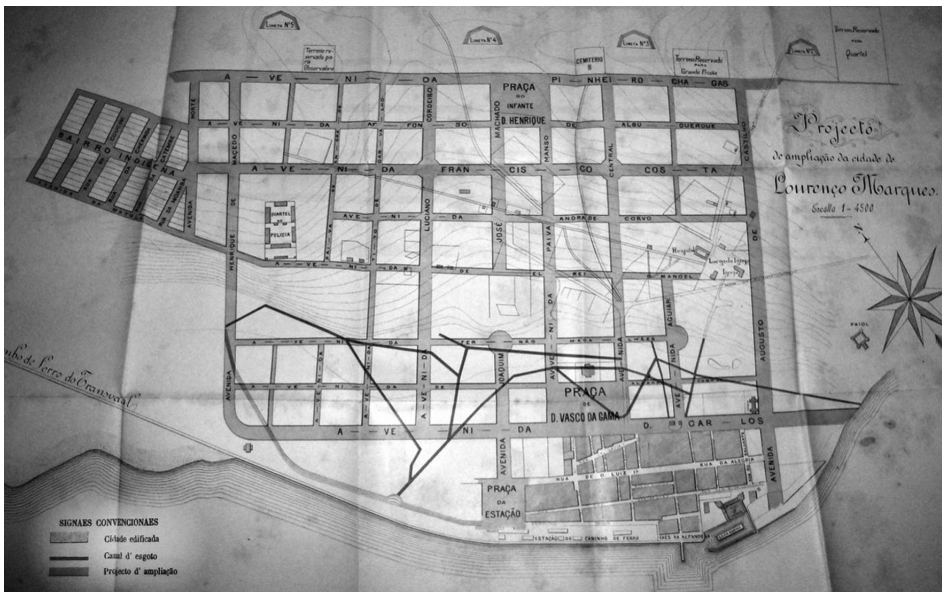


Figure 6.1 Major António Araújo. *Projecto de ampliação da cidade de Lourenço Marques, Moçambique. 1887.* PT/AHU/CARTI/064/00539.

Source: <http://ahu.dglab.gov.pt/wp-content/uploads/sites/24/2016/09/PT-AHU-CARTI-MOÇAMBIQUE.pdf>.

From public health and economic perspectives, the elimination of the wetland areas and the building of a modern, wide, and airy city along with the improvement of the port were major concerns for the colonial authorities and therefore, often forced adjustments between the different state departments, the Municipality and even the private enterprises. Indeed, the city and the port were expected to develop and grow in accordance with the perspectives and interests of the colonial administration and the ability of the metropolitan and local authorities to address and solve the major constraints to the improvements foreseen.

The first urban plan and the discussion on the way to expand the port are thus paradigmatic. Based on a reticular layout, Araújo's plan projected the expansion of the city towards the higher and more airy areas, predicting that the streets projected in the direction of the coast should be large, wide and with the possibility of being extended to the sea, without hindrance, to ensure a good air circulation and a pleasant visual landscape³, and that height and width of buildings should comply with pre-established dimensions depending on the width of the public roads and the characteristics of the construction sites, as regulated by the City Council⁴. Following the same logic, wide avenues should have large sidewalks shadowed by rows of trees as expressed in the plans for the Avenida Aguiar in 1887 (Morais, 2001:89–90). As for the port, discussions on its improvement involved the possibility of building a new pier and internal ports, namely in the Matola River and in the city's swampy area; the latter being a particularly interesting hypothesis as, while combining scientific and technological solutions for economic purposes, it does not lack advantages from the environmental point of view, allying directly the works of the port with the works of sanitation of the swamp and of conduction of waters for the city supply (Andrade, 1898).

Freire de Andrade drew attention to this last proposal, considering that, despite the high costs involved, the construction of an inland port in the swamp area should be worthy of consideration. According to him combining the drainage and the landfill of the swamp with the construction of new docks, namely shipyards, would also contribute to a better use of the spring-waters of Ponta Vermelha and Infulene, improving the sanitation of the city, which would greatly value the lands of the swamp (Andrade, 1898:339–340) and significantly impact on the city's landscape.

Similar justification applies to other municipal measures, such as the provisions for the removal of garbage or for the control of the circulation of animals in the city's streets as well as the ones concerning the paving and greening of streets and squares, which should also be seen as crucial to creating a better environment, improving the living conditions of the residents and promoting a healthy image of the city.

Municipal provisions, namely those concerning the collection of waste and the removal of dirty waters⁵, opened the discussion on the alternatives to the weekly garbage collection in barrels, loaded onto the backs of natives who dumped it directly into the sea, and on the need to control the huge number of stray dogs, circulating in the city without muzzles or license, putting at risk the health and physical integrity of the inhabitants and contributing to make the streets dirty and dangerous⁶.

Putrefaction of garbage, bad smells, and pollution, gave a poor image of the city, kept away potential investors and jeopardized more daring projects, such as the preservation and improvement of the Polana beach, already considered an elegant seaside resort and a potential pole of tourism (Azevedo, 1907:269). Therefore, if the elimination of the swamp and the construction of a sewer system were the two faces of the same coin, they would not be completely effective if not supported by additional measures encompassing the whole city, including the coastal areas, and not only the zones which, because of the swamps, were considered responsible for the unhealthy city's environment.

Thus, additional measures also included forestation projects that combined the planting of great power-absorbing trees, eucalyptus type, with the drainage and landfill of the marsh and wetlands

so that these plantations could also contribute to form fragrant barriers to protect the city from unhealthy gases and mosquito clouds. Nonetheless considering the importance of allying healthiness with beauty and the advantages of involving residents in this process, Portuguese administration also encouraged the creation of public and private landscaped gardens, promoted the greening of public spaces and the planting of shade trees in the city's streets and squares according to local climatic and environmental conditions and the possibilities of acquiring suitable species⁷.

Greening the city was of paramount importance to promote a new and pleasing image of Lourenço Marques and to ward off the stigma of an unhealthy environment associated with the swamps. Therefore, the planning and execution of the gardens and green areas played a prominent role in the Portuguese colonial agenda and involved the colonial authorities and the civil society.

The *Garden of the Residence of the General Government*, the *Garden of the Sociedade de Horticultura e Floricultura de Lourenço Marques*, and the *Garden complex of Praça 7 de Março – Praça Mouzinho de Albuquerque* are, in this context, paradigmatic.

Based on different planning concepts related to the specific context of each one, these gardens reveal the intention of creating green spaces with the dual function of beautifying the city and creating a healthier environment. And, no less relevant, they also reveal the private/public space dichotomy related to the urbanization process, foreshadowing the concepts of leisure and leisure spaces, thus allowing us to better understand how these concepts relate to each other and how did they mirror the colonial policy in the context of the city's growth at the turn of the 19th century.

The *Garden of the Residence of the General Governor* in Ponta Vermelha developed around of what would become the governor's residence, in an area initially belonging to the Mac-Murdo concessionaire involved in the construction of the Lourenço Marques-Transvaal railway connection, before becoming municipal property by provincial decree of 1896. The decision to install there the residence of the General Governor as well as the Portuguese headquarters was due to António Enes, who in 1895, settled in the small building left by the former owners.

Till the end of the century, the building will undergo remodelling works to make it the residence of the Governor and the official residence to house high Portuguese and foreign dignitaries in visit to the colony. This was probably the reason behind the decision of creating a garden, in 1912, to substitute the existing small forest of *Eucalyptus*, *Poinciana*, and *Araucaria*. The decision was taken by the Governor Alfredo Magalhães, who had most of the *Eucalyptus* cut down to begin the creation of a garden that, over time, would be enriched with several species. According to Gomes e Sousa, it was a space of about 17,200 m², surrounding the Governor's Palace, enclosed and thought as private space, with a structure combining the planting of trees and ornamental shrubs with fruit trees (Sousa, 1946:30).

Located in the highest and most airy area of the city, about 4 km from the city's business centre, Ponta Vermelha soon became the "noble area of the city", an exclusive place for the white population to settle in, enjoying a healthy environment and the possibility of having their villas there with private gardens, essential to their well-being (Lazarus, 1901:4).

Unlike the gardens of Ponta Vermelha, the *Garden of the Sociedade de Horticultura e Floricultura de Lourenço Marques* (later *Vasco da Gama Municipal Garden*, current Tunduru Gardens), grew out of the initiative of an organization of the civil society, the *Sociedade de Horticultura e Floricultura de Lourenço Marques*, created in 1885 to recover the marshlands⁸. Counting among its members with notorious personalities of the city, the *Sociedade* was supported by the City Council and intended to address all matters pertaining the improvement of the District's environment, namely to promote and encourage the association between forestation and sanitation works. Accordingly, the garden started as a nursery for botanical species and a field of plant tests to be used in wetlands and marshes⁹ and, as early as 1886, the nurseries were already able to contribute

for the planting of thousands of trees in the city, including *Eucalyptus* to be used in swampy areas (Longle, 1887). By 1887, it was already a small botanical garden, properly fenced, and, in 1900, under the jurisdiction of the Municipality, opened to the public as the city's Municipal Garden.

Testifying what was expected to be a public botanical garden, the garden presented a structure compatible with a pattern of organization that combined recreational and educational purposes (Ribeiro, 1893) without neglecting the nursery component that, taking advantage of the use of greenhouses, enabled the beginning of a production of palm trees and ferns that, over time, will become reference species of the garden.

With a completely different background, the complex of gardens encompassing the 7 de Março and Mouzinho de Albuquerque Squares resulted from the combination of the landfill of Praça da Picota in 1876 and the creation of a small but well-organized garden (Morais, 2001:78) under the responsibility of the Municipality.

Located next to the quay and point of confluence of large-scale commercial arteries, this square-garden was probably the city's first public garden since it was the centre of the city's social life and the meeting point of many inhabitants of Lourenço Marques regardless of race, social or economic *status*. Unlike the other two gardens, this area, partly gardened partly paved, was never fenced, was free to use and commonly shared by the city's residents, and therefore fitted the concept of public space as "stage for public life" (hkpsi.org), at least till the mid-20th century (Sousa, 1946:56).

Regardless of the model adopted, gardens were crucial to beautify the city, improve the environment and health of the residents, and, not least, to create public spaces and leisure areas. In 1897, underlining the growing importance of social life, the Municipality received applications for the concession and licensing of a café-concert, a kiosk and other social facilities in the *Garden of the Sociedade*, where specific areas for games, granted by the *Sociedade* to the *Sociedade dos Jogos*¹⁰, were already operating under the management of this institution and in accordance with the garden's rules.

Meanwhile, in the *Praça 7 de Março*, António Furtado opened a refined bookstore with a "variety of Portuguese, French and English books"¹¹, facing the well-known *Chalet Kiosk*, not far from the *Atelier of Photography* of Romão Pereira, opened since 1888, and the prefabricated pavilion housing the first city's *cinematograph* near the Custom's building. Ten years later, the number of kiosks and cinematographs had grown considerably, and the city had a diversity of public cultural and social spaces.

In the early 20th century, the *kiosks* had become fundamental in this respect and the garden complex of the *Praça 7 de Março* and *Praça Mouzinho de Albuquerque* was one of the most frequented and lively public spaces in the city (Lazarus, 1901) with 4 kiosks and a bandstand with live music twice a week (*O Ocidente*, 1889).

Local press has drawn attention to the role of these spaces as privileged places of multiracial social and public life, fostering dialogs, discussions and circulation of information and knowledge and, consequently, contributing to the formation of a public opinion, participatory and able to develop the ability to express a critical and reasoned opinion regarding colonial policies¹². Whilst the metropolitan magazines, mainly engaged in projecting internationally the image of a new Lourenço Marques, praised the city, the dynamics of its social life and the transformations undertaken in recent decades, aimed to demarcate it from the negative image of the dirty and sickly village of the 19th century (Sim, 1919 *apud* Sousa, 1951:59).

Under the title "A cidade de Lourenço Marques: suas transformações, vida de conforto, jardins e theatros", the article signed by A. W. Bayly, in 1909, is a kind of tourist guide where nothing is haphazardly left and through which we are introduced to a modern city that would rival its European counterparts of the time. Luxury hotels and casinos, animatographs, theatres

and music halls with international line-up, concerts and museums, terraces, restaurants and cafes, large avenues, gardens, beaches and clubs ... were all presented as example of the city's cosmopolitan life that foreigners and residents could enjoy, anticipating the images taken in the 20s by Santos Rufino (Rufino, 1929) and clearly contrasting the previous descriptions, reporting a picturesque but unmodernized city:

Oriental in architecture [... where the] buildings are for the most part old fashioned, many of them having been erected more than a century ago and passed over by the hand of time unmodernised and unrejuvenated, save by very occasional fresh coats of whitewash and glaringly assimilated blue, yellow and red paints.

(Lazarus, 1901:3)

Although Lazarus' scepticism was not shared by many, some sectors of the colonial administration were apprehensive about the results of what they considered to be an unbalanced urban growth. The sanitary and health authorities were among the most critical on this point, considering that urban growth was done by neglecting the deplorable conditions in which the population continued to live, exposed to the insalubrities and diseases resulting from the persistence of marshes, lack of cleanliness, and public sanitation (Barreiros, 1899).

According to the Health authorities, any plan aiming at expanding the city should use modern technology and equipment, crucial to the elimination and recovery of wetlands and degraded areas as well as to the modernization of the city and the port, but it should also provide the creation of gardens, public spaces and leisure areas for the well-being of the residents. However, while envisaging creating a healthy and pleasant city in accordance with the expectations of the growing population, the Public Works programme presupposed concepts of health and well-being in accordance to the colonial idea of a 'white city', in which indigenous population would be kept apart, confined to predefined areas, either by social and cultural differences or because their way of life was not compatible with European standards of living and hygiene. Therefore, any structural measure to improve the city should consider the segregation of non-European people on the basis that such a measure would be a very important part of the solution to the problems resulting from the urban growth of the city.

Like other African cities, such as Johannesburg, these areas were already defined as indigenous neighborhoods in the plan presented by Araújo in 1887 (see Figure 6.1), anticipating the division between indigenous and non-indigenous enshrined later in the labour law of 1899 and foreshadowing the idea of the Africans as a source of disease and cause of unhealthy environment as advocated by Serrão de Azevedo or Oliveira e Sousa in 1907. And although Araujo's indigenous neighbourhood were not built at the time, the city grew in clear opposition between the new wealthy European areas, the unhealthy peripheral indigenous districts and the city centre, highlighting the need for structural changes, but under a logic of definition and affirmation of spaces, based on racial, social, and economic assumptions that helped to consolidate the dualistic structure of the city (Jenkins, 2000).

6.3 Urbanization, sanitation, and health measures: Finding a common path for a social segregation politics

At the end of the 19th century, despite the Public Works programme and the recognition of the improvements made in the city, sanitary situation had reached serious worrying health risks. To this end contributed not only the increasing number of inhabitants mostly resulting from

the growing rural–urban migration seeking for job opportunities¹³, but also reasons of climate and environmental nature, namely the great floods of February 1889 and the torrential rains by the end of 1892 and 1893 (Ribeiro, 1917:248). The city, overpopulated, was provisionally isolated, food and freshwater supplies were compromised and became more expensive while the streets turned into rivers before becoming mud puddles attracting mosquitoes. Under such conditions, mosquitoes also quickly joined the courtyards where, prior to the construction of the municipal slaughterhouse in 1890, the animals were slaughtered in the open air, without sanitary control, fostering focus of infection, attracting bugs and parasites, contaminating air and groundwater.

By the same time, architectural buildings, wooden and zinc houses still coexisted in the city's centre, devoid of hygienic conditions and habitability, but, in any case, with very high rents which made many of the wooden houses collective housing, shared by Africans, Asian and even some Europeans with no financial resources to afford paying other type of accommodation. These conditions, along with poor medical assistance and disabled hospital facilities favour the spread of diseases, which often had their origin in the hospital itself, and ultimately could affect the entire population, regardless of race, gender or age.

The virulence of some of these diseases was the leitmotiv for the construction of a new hospital in 1911, and the adoption of specific hygienic–sanitary measures, attempting to eradicate major scourges – smallpox and plague, affecting mostly Africans, and malaria, which pledged mainly the Europeans – and to isolate what was considered the cause of those scourges – the indigenous population.

Smallpox and plague were the first to draw attention. Being contagious, they required the isolation of infected patients and specific quarantine sites, which were not always easy to find. In the absence of specific facilities, and since it was not possible to build new ones, other spaces had to be used, namely leprosarium outside the city which, during the 1890 epidemic outbreak, served to house lepers and patients infected with smallpox and plague¹⁴.

These situations stressed the urgency of structural interventions involving medical logistics and measures to ensure hygienic and sanitary conditions, such as the creation of a Health Police, and encouraged the discussion and implementation of policies for the displacement and relocation of populations with immediate visual imprint in the city's social landscape.

New Health Police was specifically assigned for the identification, removal, and quarantine of infected patients as well as for the inspection of the sanitary conditions and habitability of the different dwellings (Roque, 2016). By removing the source of contagion and destroying the conditions that would facilitate the emergence and spread of these epidemics, the Health Services and the Municipality expected to control, prevent and stop them. However, without jeopardizing their effectiveness in improving public health and promoting a healthy environment averse to the spread of any outbreak of infection, they could hardly be considered preventive as they were generally applied after declaring the epidemic, even in the case of the compulsory vaccination against smallpox. Therefore, though presented as prophylactic measures to be carried out in the specific cases of contagious diseases, most measures were to be used in any situation aiming at eliminating, as quickly as possible, the conditions allowing the existence of foci of infection and removing whatever was possibly infected, namely people.

In turn, when implemented after the epidemic was declared, such procedures would hardly be effective in the long run if they were not supported by additional preventive measures, foreseeing treatment of patients and improvement of general living conditions, which required effective collaboration and concerted actions between the services of the Municipality, the Health Services and the Public Works.

Theoretically, inspections should be done in all sectors of the city, covering houses, warehouses, industrial and commercial facilities and other public facilities in order to avoid demolitions by presenting a programme of improvements and reforms to be carried out in the buildings to provide them with the requisite qualification and comfort conditions. However, inspections were mostly carried out in the poorest areas, mainly occupied by non-European population with very low incomes, and all they actually did was give a 'medical' opinion on the deficiencies found and attest the lack of hygienic conditions and habitability without providing any specific solution to overcome the deficiencies found or to allocate alternative areas for the construction of houses that had to be demolished. Following these inspections, demolitions should be carried out with the assistance of the Municipality and supervision of Public Works Office along with the interdiction of rebuilding the houses inside the city, and therefore with the implicit forced displacement of the population to peripheral areas. First demolitions date back from 1898 to 1899 but without further information about the areas where the houses could be rebuilt (Vasconcelos, 1899) despite the ongoing discussion on the need to create specific areas for indigenous neighbourhoods outside the city.

By the end of the 19th century, in Lourenço Marques, the Health Police acted as institutional instrument of the colonial administration to impose a set of measures defined as 'good healthy practices' aiming at cleaning the city of the main causes of disease, which ultimately justified racial and social segregation as clearly advocated by the Head of Health Services of Lourenço Marques, when remembering what he had wrote to the Governor General in 1907:

The accumulation in which Negroes, Indians, and Chinese live in houses that are true dens with the dirty habits that characterize them, is one of the most powerful elements of urban unhealthiest and is, in all respects, a permanent danger in the propagation of any epidemic.

(Azevedo, 1907:267)

Azevedo's discourse is beyond doubt. Directly or indirectly, indigenous people were always considered the source of infection and the main responsible for the unhealthy environment of the city. Therefore, any solution to improve urban sanitation should pass through the interdiction of them to inhabit the city. As in other colonial cities, Portuguese authorities were "using public health concerns informed by the prevailing colonial medical discourse and practice to remove and relocate Africans" (Demissie, 2007:4–5) and other non-European people to areas that, from the point of view of urbanization, were marginal to the city.

Since most of the people affected by these measures could not afford the costs implicit in the procedures required by the Health Council, nor pay the fines required for their non-compliance, the results of the action of the Health Police had, in the short term, a strong social and economic impact, also noticed by a change in the city's visual urban landscape and its social and economic geography, foreshadowing a dualistic structure – rich city/poor periphery – that will be one of its main characteristics (Jenkins, 2000).

On the one hand, the demolitions created areas temporarily devastated to be included later in the urbanization plans and covered by the sanitation projects (Azevedo, 1907:267) while, at the same time, contributed to considerably reduce the number of people who could continue living in the city. On the other hand, the modernization of the city, benefiting from the use of new architectural materials and techniques and urban planning to tame the geography and ecology of the city (Demissie, 2007:5), would meet the needs of those remaining in position to continue living in the city, i.e. the European middle-upper class, reproducing their concepts of comfort and well-being.

Thus, colonial authorities used the Health Services and the Public Works Office to respond to the increase growth of the population and its consequences for the city's environment and physical space. Through the action of both departments, the city was planned according to an urban grid conforming to the needs and objectives of the colonial administration, albeit planning was also in accordance with the Western concepts of comfort and well-being, security and protection, indispensable to the construction of a protected space separated from what was considered dangerous and violent for Europeans: diseases, bad environment, coexistence with people with different ways of being and living.

Preventing anything that could be an attack on the health and well-being of Europeans also brought malaria to the discussion, one of the main causes of death for the Europeans in Lourenço Marques and for the unhealthy environment of the city. And, if the control of epidemic diseases was a challenge, the eradication of endemic diseases, such as malaria, was vital for the city's growing and development. Therefore, colonial authorities were particularly interested in fighting malaria which, although not a contagious disease, would greatly benefit the possibility of identification of the source of infection – virus reservoirs – (Leal & Howard, 1908:60) and the isolation of patients in case of epidemic outbreaks. Accordingly, in 1907, no matter the fact that general strategies to combat endemic and epidemic diseases shared the combination of principles and procedures already used for smallpox and plague, a specific regulation for malaria's prophylaxis was published¹⁵.

Benefiting from an investment in strengthening preventive health measures as well as public works and sanitation, combating endemic and epidemic diseases was a key point of the colonial agenda and was presented as a benefit to the city and all its people. Nonetheless, the way these measures were implemented and how they were articulated with Araújo's plan (see Figure 6.1) clearly give reason to believe that reality was different.

The definition of an area for the indigenous neighbourhood, eccentric to the major urban area, fitted perfectly the idea of controlling the city's major cause of disease but shows also that the idea of social segregation and inequality underlined the whole city's urbanization process, being previous to the adoption of any health or sanitary procedures to combat the main diseases and enhancing the role of the Public Works and the Health Services as important key drivers of the colonial system.

In fact, most of the actions proposed by the Health Services were not aimed at solving the problem of basic sanitation and public health in general terms, but rather to solve the problems of some inhabitants of the city, namely the colonial elite, while the 'Other', being the cause of the problems, was relegated to the periphery as justified by the Head of the Health Services, when writing "Our purpose is to clean the city of unhealthy dwellings and impure dwellers" (Azevedo, 1907:270).

Following the first demolitions, the suburbs of Lourenço Marques expanded irregularly in the early 20th century, reproducing the same settlement patterns that were prohibited in the city, lacking any sanitary plan, visibly displaying the dichotomy between centre/periphery, foreshadowing the shaping of different cultural and economic landscapes and underlining the role of the different public services in the planning and management of the city's growth according to colonial interests and western concepts and values.

The white city of architectural buildings and its surrounding poor belt of adobe, wattle, and daub and zinc plate constructions (Jenkins, 2000) were the two sides of the same coin, each one being justified by the same sanitary and safety reasons; the difference being that in the poor peripheries, such a model would enable the easy and quick demolitions of the dwellings, 'without great losses' whenever there was any imperative need (Azevedo, 1907:267). As a result, epidemics could easily be eradicated from the city and controlled in peripheries where

infrastructures did not exist, and precarious houses could be easily and quickly demolished or burned, in accordance with the strategic recommendations of the Health Services to fight against endemic and epidemic diseases.

In 1908, to reinforce these recommendations and in favour of the effective “cleaning of the city” and the organizing of the anarchic growth of suburbs, the government created the *Comissão de Melhoramentos Sanitários da Cidade de Lourenço Marques* (Commission for the Sanitary Improvement of Lourenço Marques’ city) which, together with the Public Works Inspectorate, opened the discussion on the need to move forward with the proposal of the Health Services to prohibit the indigenous from living in the city and create peripheral indigenous districts as a measure of hygiene and public sanitation.

What began as informal settlements in the outlying areas of the city, due to forced mobility of people but without the imposition of a compulsory and defined space for them to settle, will become an institutionally planned and defined space by the Colonial Administration with the clear objective of creating indigenous neighbourhoods, conceived as spaces of social and racial segregation and deprived of any conditions that could guarantee the health and well-being of those who were forced to inhabit them but easy to control.

6.4 Conclusion

At the beginning of the 20th century, sanitation and health issues became one of the main topics of discussion in Lourenço Marques. Becoming a great metropolis was a very demanding process, involving not only the conception of a modern urbanization plan, providing the city with basic sanitary and health conditions, but also its implementation, considering the multiracial society of Lourenço Marques and the people’s needs and expectations.

The idea of improving the city’s environment and the well-being of its inhabitants was behind important initiatives such as the greening of the city and the creation of public and leisure areas or the measures to decrease risks of epidemics and was consensual to the colonial authorities and the Municipality while largely supported by public opinion and all sectors of society. However, the concepts of improvement and well-being were not independent from the social and cultural background of the different inhabitants of Lourenço Marques nor from the assumptions on which was based the relationship colonizer/colonized and, therefore, the different measures implemented by the colonial authorities could hardly be seen as fitting and responding to the needs and expectation of all the inhabitants.

No matter the great improvements that endowed the city with basic infrastructures in favour of better living conditions (sewage network, piped water and distribution of electric energy, public transport, street and sidewalk pavement, gardens, cultural and hospital facilities, etc.), which were fundamental for the creation of an appellative image of the city to attract foreign investors and boost development, the measures implemented affected only a minority of the population and a small part of the city. In fact, measures and improvements aimed mainly the part of the city where the indigenous population was forbidden to live in order to ensure the creation of a ‘white space’ where nothing was missing and therefore could be attractive for possible white wealthy settlers. This attractive image, inspired by Western cultural, social and economic patterns and interests, concealed the reality of an apartheid-based society, disregarding the fundamental rights of the indigenous populations, forced to live in suburban areas devoid of any sanitary conditions, to where, in time, was not foreseen any plan for its improvement and development.

Public Works office and Health Services worked together to make Lourenço Marques a modern city with a healthy disease-free environment and a set of attractions that should meet

Western expectations in terms of comfort and well-being which, in the 20th century, no matter the criticism of the local periodical press (Pereira, 2013) had a significant impact at international level (Bayly, 1909). However, in this context, most of the actions performed by the Health Services, instead of acting in the prophylaxis of diseases, relegated them to the peripheries of the city, eccentric to the 'white area', where there was no intervention except extreme situations of burning houses or compulsory vaccination in critical periods of epidemics. Well-being was a white concept, conformed to the demands of a white colonial elite who claimed the benefits of development as a counterpart to their civilizing mission.

Life in the suburbs of Lourenço Marques was a life of misery. Overpopulated, the suburbs had no running water, no electricity, no sewers, no medical facilities; the streets were dirt tracks and the existing green spaces were nothing but the backyards where the families could make some subsistence crops. Leisure spaces were improvised in the bars, playing cards, and drinking cheap wine, and in the streets and back of the houses where African drumming (*batuques*) were, from a cultural and identity perspective, the expression of social interaction among Africans, of their way of being and living (Pereira, 2016), as opposed to the concerts, balls, cinema, and theatre plays that animated the downtown nights of Lourenço Marques.

Throughout the first decades of the 20th century, the city grew based on social, economic, and racial segregation and inequalities expressed in this spatial dichotomy which reproduce the relationship between colonizer and colonized.

Visible in the geography of the city, as in the draft by Araújo in 1887, this contrast assumed that in the name of public health and the well-being of the residents, the practices and uses interdicted in the city were the only ones allowed in the suburbs. Health and sanitary safety reasons justified this attitude supported either by Araújo's plan, advocating the organization of the city in a social and racial segregation basis (Vales, 2014:168), and by the Health Services' proposals justifying apartheid on an alleged medical and scientific basis.

As presented in the Health Services Report of 1903, Lourenço Marques was the example of the first Portuguese colony where wealthy rich people lived side by side with poor workers, where one could find housing offering all the scales of hygiene and well-being, from luxurious mansions to rundown rooms and apartment. A city where one could eat well, but where one could also starve¹⁶.

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Notes

- 1 Acórdão no85, *Boletim Municipal do Concelho de Lourenço Marques*, no14, 19 de Junho de 1897:3.
- 2 *Boletim Municipal do Concelho de Lourenço Marques*, no19, 28 de julho de 1897:1.
- 3 Acta no 305 (4 de maio). *Boletim Municipal do Concelho de Lourenço Marques*, no 6, 1897:1.
- 4 Postura sobre edificações. *Boletim Municipal do Concelho de Lourenço Marques*, no 15, 1897:1.
- 5 Arrematação para a remoção de águas sujas da cidade. Edital de 21 de junho. *Boletim Municipal do Concelho de Lourenço Marques*, no 15, 1897:3.
- 6 Proposta para remodelação do código de posturas municipais (18 de junho). *Boletim Municipal do Concelho de Lourenço Marques*, no 16, 1897:1.
- 7 Acta no 312 (2 de junho). *Boletim Municipal do Concelho de Lourenço Marques*, no 14, 1897:1.
- 8 Estatutos da Sociedade de Arboricultura e Floricultura em Lourenço Marques, *Boletim Oficial do Governo Geral da Província de Moçambique*, no33, 15 de agosto de 1885:220–221.
- 9 *Direção Geral de Agricultura, Ofício no 217 de 3 de Novembro de 1886*, AHU, ACL SEMU, DGU, Moç. Cx.1389/1L.

- 10 Estatutos da Sociedade de Arboricultura e Floricultura em Lourenço Marques, *op. cit.*, p. 221.
- 11 *Boletim Municipal do Concelho de Lourenço Marques*, no 19, 28 de julho de 1897:8.
- 12 Eg., *O Portuguez* (1900–1901) or *A Tribuna* (1904).
- 13 According to the statistic of 1908, Lourenço Marques had then a population of 9,849 individuals, including Europeans, Asiatic and Africans, most of them sharing their daily life downtown. Ribeiro, 1917:212.
- 14 *Relatório do Serviço de Saúde de Lourenço Marques, no Anno de 1890*. 1506 DGU 5ª Repartição Moçambique (1848–1890).
- 15 *Regulamento da Profilaxia Anti-Paludica da Cidade de Lourenço Marques*, 1907.
- 16 *Relatório Anual da Província de Moçambique – Serviço de Saúde. Anno de 1903*. AHU. SEMU, DGU, Serviço de Saúde, 1902–1903.

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