

Colonial Public Works Services in Portugal's Third Empire (1869–1975)¹

ABSTRACT: This paper analyzes the establishment and evolution of colonial public works services in Portugal's Third Empire, from the original, prototypical establishment of their organization, in 1869, until the end of Portuguese colonial rule, in 1975. The creation and successive restructuring of these services are analyzed in relation to the colonial policies undertaken throughout this period, shedding light on the gap between normative texts and their effective implementation on the ground. At the same time, the paper highlights how lawmaking can provide insight into the way the authority over a colonial empire was conceptualized and how the appearance of control was a key factor both internally and externally. Finally, by embracing a *longue durée* perspective, this analysis identifies common denominators and global trends, and questions the impact of political turning points on the process at hand.

KEYWORDS: public works, Portuguese colonialism, Africa, legislation

RESUMO: Este artigo analisa o estabelecimento e a evolução dos serviços de obras públicas no terceiro império português, desde o decreto que, em 1869, primeiro estipulou o protótipo da sua organização, até ao fim do domínio colonial português, em 1975. A criação e sucessiva reestruturação destes serviços é posta em relação com as políticas coloniais seguidas no período examinado. Clarifica-se o fosso entre os textos normativos e a sua efetiva implementação no terreno. Ao mesmo tempo, o artigo sublinha o modo como a produção de legislação pode contribuir para esclarecer a forma como se concebeu a autoridade sobre um império colonial e como a aparência de controlo foi crucial interna e externamente. Finalmente, adotando-se uma perspetiva de longa duração, identificam-se pontos comuns e tendências, e questiona-se o impacto das viragens políticas no processo em análise.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: obras públicas, colonialismo português, África, legislação

1. Introduction

The present article is the first (and partial) output of a broader research project dedicated to the role of architecture in the legitimation of late Portuguese colonialism in Africa. The presumed absence or significantly lesser extent of the state's control over architectural designs in these territories, when compared to the dictatorially ruled metropole, has been a widely shared premise of mainstream historiography on the architecture built in formerly Portuguese Africa during the second half of the twentieth century.² However, an in-depth, *longue durée*, and cross-scale analysis of the spheres, mechanisms, and circuits of public architecture monitoring, appraisal, and execution in former Portuguese African colonies remains unfulfilled, despite important contributions.³ This avenue of inquiry is critical to the discussion of the agency of colonial modernism and can further dispute the still-lingering, albeit highly questionable and already contested, deterministic linkage between modern architecture and political and social progressiveness.⁴ Moreover, architecture viewed as a terrain of negotiation and contingent accommodation, with an impact on perceptions and behaviors, can offer a fruitful contribution to the understanding of colonial rule, in terms of both discourse and practice. It can shed light on its implementation and operativity, its challenges and shortcomings, its compromises and strategies of survival. It can elucidate how order and predictability coexisted with situational contingency and inventiveness.

The problem under analysis is a composite one. In a first phase, it implies on the one hand the study of the organization of colonial public works services on the ground; on the other, of the metropole bodies with responsibilities regarding the very same works. It is crucial to examine how these entities, on the scale of both the colonies and the metropole, evolved and interacted, thus revealing the circuits of design making, approval and implementation, related motivations, opportunities and constraints, and actual accomplishments. One must consider and illustrate the gap between normative texts and reality; in other words, one cannot confuse the regulation of public works services with their practice. Nevertheless, with the necessary methodological precautions, lawmaking can offer a fruitful insight into the way the authority over a colonial empire was conceptualized and how the appearance of control was a key factor, internally and externally. Moreover, there is much to be learned from the legislation's shortcomings, delays, and resistance towards its application, as this article seeks to demonstrate. Therefore, it is essential to cross-examine and confront the

normative formulations with archival materials from the former colonial territories and the metropole.

In a second stage, where my investigation currently stands, other layers of analysis, located upstream and downstream of the architectonic object, need to be included and cross-examined. Land property, labor conditions in the construction sector, the organization and functioning of building sites, and the process of forming and circulating transnational expertise directly or indirectly related to architecture are, in my view, among the most pressing research topics. The constellation of actors, social relations, dynamics, realities, and institutional frameworks connected to and residing within the architectonic object is a rich and meaningful ground for detailed analysis.

The following text focuses solely on the organization of public works services in the colonies. Although the subject of this paper is only a part of a multifaceted process, and thus insufficient to grasp the entire set of conditions shaping the production of colonial architecture, this choice of focus allows me the necessary space to explain the emergence and reshaping of these services from the nineteenth century until the end of the Portuguese rule in Africa in 1975. The historical reconstruction of the organics of public works services implies a permanent dialogue with the colonial policies implemented throughout this period. The goal is not to use this context simply as a scenario but to assess how colonial public works were a critical part of these policies and, in turn, clarify broader frameworks and the mindsets that governed them. Furthermore, the extensive time-frame covered here, together with the detachment of the analysis from political turning points, allows the mapping of continuities and the consequent questioning of singularities and fine-tuning of specificities.

2. The Emergence of a Global Legal Frame for Public Works Services in the Portuguese Colonies

The refocusing of Portugal's imperial core and rationale toward its African possessions was a multifaceted process launched in the nineteenth century, following Brazil's independence in 1822 and the subsequent search for alternative stages and strategies for economic growth, geopolitical repositioning, and a national sense of historical purpose (a teleological mythology with an imperial vocation at its center). Additionally, the increasing contemporaneous disputes over African territories between rival colonial powers and the resulting struggle to assure their "effective" occupation weighed heavily on this transition and

the management of the third and last phase of the Portuguese colonial empire. These internal and external agendas and pressures, together with the construction of the liberal state in Portugal from 1834 onward, translated, among many other dimensions, into a reboot of the colonial administration.⁵ Consecutive waves of legal transformations aimed to restructure, rebuild, and modernize the empire, whose African territories were still largely unknown to the colonizers and precariously held, despite Portuguese presence on the continent dating back to the fifteenth century.

For their pivotal structural and discursive role in the colonial development, public works soon became the target of this torrent of juridical innovation and transformation. Therefore, they are a rich analytical avenue to observe the push toward and resistances against the construction of a modern state and the modernization of the colonial system, along with the survival of the *ancien régime's* practices and mindsets within a renewed legal framework. Public works constitute a particularly illustrative sector of the overall substantial chasm between the law and practical achievements.

The general legal frame for the organization of public works services in Portuguese colonies, whose effects would prove to be meager, was decreed on December 3, 1869,⁶ two days after the comprehensive reform of the administrative institutions in the overseas territories,⁷ which was infused with a wishful decentralizing spirit. As far as I have been able to determine, this decree, issued by the Ministry of Navy and Overseas Affairs, was the first ever to conceive a single organization model for the public works services of all the Portuguese colonies. Its introduction should be understood in the light of a liberal-driven global effort, not devoid of obstacles and setbacks, to establish an administrative and legal uniformization of colonial possessions. The empire was starting to be considered and addressed as a whole. The exercise was remote, largely abstract, and highly disconnected from the empirical knowledge on the ground.

The decree in question aimed to serve as a blueprint. As it stipulated, five years from its promulgation, the colonies were to have their own public works services regulated in accordance with the 1869 diploma.⁸ One exception was granted, for the time being: the so-called Portuguese “Estado da Índia,” comprising the territories of Goa, Daman, and Diu, would maintain the existing organization of public works in place, until further assessment. The presence of military engineering personnel in this possession postponed an immediate application of the decree. The singularity of human resources available in

Estado da Índia demanded a closer examination of needs prior to the adoption of the broader organization model prescribed for the territories of Angola, Mozambique, Cabo Verde, Portuguese Guinea (today Guinea-Bissau), São Tomé and Príncipe, Macau, and Timor. But just over two months later, on February 26, 1870, Luís Augusto Rebello da Silva, at the time Minister and Secretary of State for Navy and Overseas Affairs, deemed it beneficial to extend the range of the 1869 model to the Portuguese Estado da Índia, believing that its “higher degree of civilization” would actually facilitate the implementation of the new system.⁹

The major, yet frail, accomplishment of the 1869 decree was the establishment and organization of a human resources template for the task at hand. In the words of Rebello da Silva, this task was, right after education, “the second powerful instrument of progress.”¹⁰ The tale of progress, flourishing rampantly both nationally and internationally, had a systematic presence in nineteenth-century colonial discourse and jurisprudence. With the turn of the century, the word “development” would replace “progress” in this normative sphere, prolonging its linear view of history and the modernist belief in the ability to reshape both human beings and nature. For their impact on the territory and its population, infrastructures were an evident priority, tool, and laboratory of this narrative.

The operations of the standard colonial public works service comprehended public road works, civil and military constructions, wetland depletion, river channeling, soil exploitation and statistics, as well as a mining branch where justifiable. This heterogeneous scope of intervention was supervised in each colony (at the time formally denominated “province”) by a director of public works (either a civil or military engineer), to whom the remaining employees (engineers; technicians, generally from the army and responsible for conducting and managing the works; technical designers; and craftsmen) would answer. In turn, the public works’ director followed the orders of the governor-general of the colony, who chaired the colonial Technical Council. This body, established by the decree of December 3, 1869, in order to (ideally) cease decision-making devoid of technical expertise, oversaw all matters related to public works. Taking into consideration the input of this council, the governor-general would decide which works would be carried out (after their design evaluation), what elements should accompany the projects, what system ought to be followed for their execution (either by direct or outsourced management, fully or in part), what conditions must be regarded to guarantee budget compliance and technical proficiency, and what rules the accounting management would follow.

Regarding the recruitment of personnel for the colonial public works services, it targeted first and foremost the military, a pool considered to have the “most valuable” men for the job.¹¹ The attempt to maintain a permanent workforce for the public works of each overseas territory was deemed imprudent in the preamble of the 1869 decree. Instead, these workers were labeled as providers of a commission service and placed into a flexible category called *situação de serviço* (service situation), created at the time of the decree. This resolution allowed the central government to designate a fluctuating body of technicians, according to short-term needs and available budget, which was required to accept the call to serve in any of the colonies. For service in the western African territories of Cabo Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Angola, technicians were chosen among those trained and graduated in the metropole. For other colonies—Mozambique, the Estado da Índia, Macau, and Timor—the workforce would be supplied by the Estado da Índia, which had its own technical training capacity. The criterion of geographical specialization applied at this time in the organization of colonial public works services and their personnel would soon prove to be inefficient, however, and was abandoned later in the nineteenth century.

All those appointed to the *situação de serviço* received a pay supplement and benefited from career progression measures. However, this arrangement would soon prove to be unfit for attaining an indispensable level of competence within the technical corps. The incentives fell short, particularly in the African colonies, given the challenges of the tropical climate, perceived as pathological both physically and morally, and the negligible healthcare assistance.¹²

The gradual replacement in the twentieth century of the public works’ expert corps composed of military personnel with a workforce comprising civil engineers, urban planners, and (albeit relatively fewer) architects, similarly to other European colonial powers (Silva 2015a, 9), did not, however, solve Portugal’s chronic shortage of human resources in its colonies. The lack of sufficiently skilled staff would indeed come to be one of the most persistent arguments for significant legal upgrades to public works services in the African colonies until the end of the Portuguese rule in 1975. Far from being restricted to public works, the debate over personnel persistently encompassed every area of colonial activity, starting with the political administration itself.

In terms of monitoring mechanisms, the 1869 decree established regular annual inspections of the public works services and extraordinary inspections when required by the metropole or the governor-general of the colony.

Furthermore, an annual report on works, together with suggestions of improvements deemed necessary for the service, was to be compiled by the director of public works in each colony and submitted to the government. This measure reinforced an ordinance dating back to 1857, in turn clarified and expanded in 1868, which established a chain of quarterly reports on ongoing works that was to be compiled by the director of public works, presented to the governor-general of the colony, and then sent to the respective ministry in Lisbon.¹³ The frequent need to insist on previously ruled topics elucidates the time window required to internalize legal standards and procedures.

The immense lack of human and material resources, the lingering attachment of the colonial administrative apparatus to its former *raison d'être* (largely shaped by the slave trade, whose formal abolition, in 1836, had meager effects), the precapitalist mindset of potential domestic investors, as well as the dispersion of competing, narrow, and short-term goals of metropolitan and colonial elites severely limited the reach of the 1869 diploma. At the time, the investment of the Portuguese government in the infrastructural development of its overseas territories was still virtually inexistent, despite its relative increase.

In the overall budget for the fiscal year 1852/53, an amount just under 39 million réis (or 39 contos) was allocated to the public works in the entire Portuguese colonial space.¹⁴ In order to grasp how negligible this sum was, the budget of the central metropolitan administration for the same year was equivalent to 12,889 contos (Valério 2001, 47–48). The first amount was therefore only about 0.3 percent of the latter. Secondly, the disparity of the areas' size must be highlighted, notwithstanding the dramatic and expectable differences in population density. Continental Portugal (with around 91,624 km² [Law 2011, 297]) occupied approximately 0.0046 percent of the combined territory of its two largest colonies in Africa: Angola, with over 1.2 million km², and Mozambique, with 783,000 km² (Alexandre 2004, 111).¹⁵

In 1870, 81 million réis (81 contos) were allocated to public works in the overseas budget.¹⁶ The sluggishly rising funding rested mostly on a specific tax on imports and exports in various colonies, created and adjusted repeatedly from the late 1850s to the early 1870s (Silva 1904, 305–6) and drawn on to partially or fully finance the public works in those territories. Custom houses (*alfândegas*) were the primary source of public revenue throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, since the capacity to collect direct taxes, like the fiscal system in general, was in an embryonic stage.¹⁷ In the preparatory report of the 1874/75 budget, a total of 176 million réis (176 contos) from the aforementioned

tax revenues were distributed among Cabo Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, Mozambique, and India.¹⁸ The funding was nevertheless still meager.

The shortcomings of a self-financed colonial development scheme had become apparent at a time when African possessions were increasingly regarded as a priority among national political elites. Although temporary and far from forming national consensus, this shift strengthened the position of those who argued for some degree of metropolitan sacrifice, which would correspond to the increase of indebtedness abroad rather than to the reduction of domestic investment. The law of April 12, 1876, authorized the government to take out a loan up to the amount of 1 billion réis (1000 contos) to be applied to the construction, maintenance, or upgrade of public works exclusively in the African colonies.¹⁹ Other, smaller loans would follow from the late 1870s to the early 1890s (Silva 1904, 307–8). The priority was clearly given to transport infrastructures, followed by personnel. Taking Mozambique as an example, from the total sum assigned to this territory in 1876 (400 million réis), the most substantial cuts were allocated to subsidizing the construction of the Lourenço Marques (today Maputo) railway (22.5 percent); to ports, roads, and bridges (16.75 percent); and to technical and secretarial staff (15 percent).²⁰

The awareness of King Leopold II's colonial projects and the rising tensions prior to the Berlin Conference (1884–85) made both the timing and the targeted investment unsurprising, as urban planning and infrastructure were perceived as tools of colonial legitimization and territory control. They were key arguments to back up the historical rights claimed by the Portuguese in the “scramble for Africa.” The security nexus, already palpable here, will indeed be the long-lasting characteristic of colonial developmentalism until the end of Portuguese rule.²¹ And the same link, as Sara Lorenzini (2019) points out, can be argued for the entire history of development from the nineteenth century to the present.

The outcome of this gradual, albeit slow and insufficient, increase of financing pace is identified, in an early 1890s retrospective analysis, with the launch of a public works expedition to Africa in 1877 (in articulation with a larger, multifaceted campaign of scientific exploration) and the development of some public works perceived as significant, mainly in Angola and Mozambique.²² The efforts and appeals toward the exploration and field research and documentation of African territories, regarded as key to Portugal's claims of “effective domain” over them, cannot be separated from the creation of the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (Geographical Society of Lisbon) in 1875.²³ The prioritization of

cartography would soon be adopted by the government, with the establishment of a Central Cartography Commission within the Ministry of Navy and Overseas Affairs. It also received the endorsement and close attention of the Associação Comercial de Lisboa (Commercial Association of Lisbon). This alignment of private and public interests was critical to the undertaking of expeditions and the multiplication of voices in the ongoing colonial debate. Like other European geography societies, the Geographical Society of Lisbon became a central locus for the discussion of colonial strategies.

However, the tangible impact of the aforementioned expeditions, which emulated those previously promoted by other European colonial powers, remains ill-defined and questionable. As for the public works, only with the financial relief from the loan authorized in 1876 could their implementation be ruled at a more concrete and operative level. In other words, public works services, structured some years before according to the 1869 decree, existed in a largely virtual state until the establishment of a more practical set of guidelines regarding the launching, approval, and management of public works, as well as the execution of expenses. A “regulation for the administration and supervision of public works” was issued for Mozambique on December 23, 1876; for Angola on February 19, 1877; for Cabo Verde on September 4, 1877; and for São Tomé and Príncipe on October 19, 1877 (Silva 1904, 306).²⁴

However, by the late 1870s, the framework for public services issued in 1869 was already perceived as needing some refinement, particularly in view of the additional funding authorized in May 1878, June 1879, and June 1880. As a result, on December 23, 1880, an additional diploma was decreed, exclusively targeting public works services in Portugal’s African colonies.²⁵ It did not revoke the 1869 organization of these services but further specified their scope and monitoring. The introduction in this document of geodesy, surveying, and hydrography, with consequent efforts to enhance respective cartography, is highly elucidative of the endeavors to get to know and assess African territories, as well as to produce a simulacrum of Portuguese domain over them. The fine-tuning of terminology—such as replacing “soil exploration,” present in the 1869 formula, with “geology, mapping, and mining”—reiterates the impact of colonial scientific exploration and research. In turn, the 1880 diploma also covered bridges, railways, telegraphs, seaports, and lighthouses, thus reflecting the growing attention paid to transport and communication infrastructures. In terms of monitoring, two key aspects were inserted. For the first time, the Technical Council implemented in

each colony had its tasks specified. Secondly, there was a precise determination of who possessed the authority to approve a public work project according to its foreseen cost, following the abovementioned “regulations for the administration and supervision of public works” issued for the various African colonies between 1876 and 1877.

This surge of energy in the 1870s did not turn the page of public works development, however, nor could it have done so. The basic need for a network of transport infrastructure, railways in particular, was far from being met, and Portugal was not able to finance such a network. Indeed, it only took off from the late 1880s onward under the leadership of concession companies and private investors, who had parallel agendas in parallel geographies and often gained an ample authority over these territories.

The perceived flaws of the 1869 decree would be tackled in a conjuncture of an economic and financial crisis and a more radicalized and encompassing imperial nationalism. The latter was spurred by the so-called British Ultimatum (1890), which crushed the ambitious Portuguese aspirations of securing a coast-to-coast land corridor connecting Angola to Mozambique (rendered in the so-called “rose-colored map”). A wider readjustment of the colonial system was on the way, with implications ranging from protectionist trade tariffs to labor regime (Pedreira 1998, 278–85). The striving to capitalize on human and natural African resources went hand in hand with violent military campaigns that aimed to shatter local sovereigns, on the one hand, and with the growing “privatization of control, administration, and taxation” (Jerónimo 2018a, 13) entrusted to chartered companies, on the other.²⁶ The engineering of power balances and strategies of compromise that aimed to counteract the limited capacity of Portuguese rule would come to be another enduring feature of Portugal’s colonial empire, one that would cross different internal political regimes and transmute according to distinct world orders. Public works reflected this *modus operandi* at many levels, one of the clearest being the evolution of construction priorities.

Ruled on August 20, 1892, the “Organization Plan for Public Works and Industry Services in the Directorate General of Overseas and Overseas Provinces” conveyed the conviction that public works overseas needed to be tackled on two articulated fronts: locally, by restructuring the public works services in the colonies, and in the metropole, by reorganizing the division that, within the framework of the Directorate General of Overseas (in turn part of the Ministry of Navy and Overseas Affairs), was responsible for the central administration of

public works in overseas territories, among its other responsibilities, since the mid-nineteenth century.²⁷

The restructuring of the services addressed the need to tighten the supervision of works, which grew to absorb larger hydraulics works, agronomy, forestry, and postal services, as well as the manufacturing industry. Moreover, it aimed to further control and reduce the expenditure of funds only “to the absolutely necessary” and attract and secure qualified and experienced personnel in the overseas territories.²⁸ It was also time to expand the efforts toward unification and uniformization. The laws and regulations governing the public works in the metropole would, as a rule, apply to colonial public works. The overseas technical staff could no longer embody a separate and rather volatile workforce category. Integration mechanisms, on the one hand, and equivalence measures between civilian and military employees, on the other, were therefore prioritized.

3. The Portuguese First Republic and the Longevity of Its Legislative Work

The Portuguese First Republic (1910–26) reinforced imperialist nationalism and made efforts toward an “effective” occupation. Following the creation, in August 1911, of the Ministry of Colonies (the first autonomous government department solely dedicated to the overseas territories), the global legal framework of colonial public works services was again reshaped.²⁹ The decree of November 11, 1911, established the new “General Regulation of the Directories and Inspections of Public Works in the Colonies,” replacing the 1892 rule and the complementary and episodic legislation that followed.³⁰

Matching the decentralizing spirit of the republican regime’s proposals, the organization defined for colonial public works services was intended to act as a set of general principles. It did not fix the structure of these services but instead determined a list of responsibilities and the flow of authority, giving each colony permission to create permanent sections to divide and conduct the listed tasks. As an example, Angola’s regulation, issued in 1912, established four technical sections (Ramos 1970, 687). To operationalize the general regulation of public works services and their inspection, each colony proposed the organization of their technical personnel and other minor adjustments that it considered convenient, which were subject to the government’s final approval. But, once again, the transformative power of legislation is highly questionable, both in general and particularly with regard to the ability to transfer and/or share control with local authorities. And the law itself ended up demonstrating its limits, as well as

the gap between its spirit and its letter. The diploma of November 11, 1911, provides clear evidence of this for one immediate reason: it remained in place until 1964. This means that the republican-inspired organization of the public works service in the Portuguese colonial empire would also come to accommodate and enable the intents and courses of action of the military dictatorship (1926–32) and of more than two thirds of the long-lasting right-wing dictatorship that followed, the Estado Novo, or New State (1933–74), both characterized by muscular administrative centralization. Legal continuities, rather than apparently drastic legislative changes, shed a helpful light onto the past, questioning the validity of turning points as much as the historians' drive to establish them.

The 1911 decree was flexible enough to act as a vessel for different political typologies and imperial projects, in turn interacting with disparate internal and external contexts. This situation is, nevertheless, far from exceptional and only at first sight surprising. Legislation constrains but does not determine behavior, and the exercise of rule comprises a dynamic interaction with those over whom it is imposed. Exclusively top-down and essentialized interpretations of both decentralization and centralization procedures often dismiss the complex and multi-layered nature of agency, the enduring dynamics of the interaction with local powers, and the possibilities and limitations inherent to those procedures. Narrow understandings neglect the unavoidable appropriation and reinterpretation of rules and regulations, the conflict and fusion between the elusive nature of law and its materiality, dispersed, shared, and delivered by individuals with their own accumulated experience and ingrained operating schemes. Moreover, the legal endurance in the public works sector offers some insight into a larger phenomenon: as pointed out by Andrew Roberts, the Estado Novo soon realized that it could capitalize on the republican inheritance and “adopt with few alterations” the policies of the First Republic (1986, 500).

The 1911 regulation introduced an unprecedented level of comprehensiveness and detail, embodying a tendency that would further intensify throughout the century: the significant increase and specialization of bureaucracy in an attempt to eliminate the arbitrary and the subjective from decision-making procedures. As a result, hierarchies and circuits of power were clearly codified, and mechanisms to document, inspect, reward, and punish performance in the sphere of public administration were implemented or fine-tuned. Although archival documentation illuminates the systematic shortcomings and slowness of the efforts to gradually automate decisions, the legal endeavor at stake here is revealing.

It would frame the administrative mindset over the following decades. Equally significant is the fact that the 1911 decree covered two phenomena often regulated autonomously: the organization of colonial public works services and the concrete rules governing the approval of works' execution.

The scope of action of the colonial public works directorates was enlarged and endowed with higher specificity, thus revealing a growing awareness of tangible challenges on the ground, and the need to extend the state's supervision to private enterprises. For the first time, the verb "to study" preceded the list of activities in most of the areas of intervention ascribed to public works directorates, thus echoing the growing global perception of the importance of knowledge-based practices. The interconnected drive to plan and program ahead propelled the creation of a mandatory general plan, of works in each colony, ideally immune to interference from casual demands. Moreover, each section of the public works services was to have prototype projects of the most common constructions, approved at a higher level and ready to be applied. The same purpose of standardizing and/or detailing assignments and procedures was evident in the reorganization of colonial Technical Councils, the regulation of public works services' inspections, and the scheduling and normalization of reports submitted to the metropole.

Naturally, this detailed regulatory drive also encompassed personnel: workers' admission and promotion (for which experience was valued and, for higher positions, required), salaries, tasks, absences, and leaves, as well as disciplinary penalties. Furthermore, while admitting the possibility of recruiting workers for a limited time and on an ad hoc basis (through service contracts), the new diploma revealed a more stable future horizon in comparison with that of 1869. The 1911 colonial prospects called for the stabilization of a body of experts on the ground. As such, the law established a permanent technical staff composed of engineers, architects, and site managers, along with auxiliary construction employees dedicated to the maintenance of infrastructures.

For the first time, the position of architect appeared recognized in the legislation related to the colonies. However, in daily practice, the architects' duties often extended to activities beyond their specific training.³¹ Furthermore, the formalization of the architect's role in the twentieth-century Portuguese colonial space should not be understood as foreshadowing a looming hegemony of this professional in the construction sphere. Such dominance never existed. As far as my research, which focuses on the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, and in particular on Mozambique, has been able to determine, the number of

architects in colonial public works services was systematically small until the end of Portuguese rule. Until 1950, the Mozambican services had only one architect.³² In 1964, when the services and corresponding personnel were restructured, architect vacancies in the permanent staff of Mozambique's public works reached seven, an unprecedented peak, while the same reform foresaw thirty-seven positions for engineers (in the areas of civil and mechanical engineering, geography, and agronomy).³³ According to the research I conducted at the Historical Archive of Mozambique, the frequent demands addressed to colonial and metropolitan authorities protesting the persistent understaffing of these services barely included mention of architects. Colonial public works were indeed a preserve of engineers, even when building designs carried out on the ground came from the hands of metropolitan architects. It was the engineers who, increasingly detached from the military sphere and trained in different specialties, conceptualized, conducted, and monitored public works programs in the colonies. The same phenomenon can be verified not only in the vast campaign of public works launched in the metropole during the *Estado Novo* but also in other colonial empires (see, among others, Ravesteijn and Nispen 2007).

The growing complexity and bureaucratization of public works services also translated into the reinforcement of two categories of staff. The first was the secretariat personnel, who played a crucial role in assembling the paper trail of the services' activities. These would, in theory, be observable and verifiable through multiple compulsory logbooks, carefully examined during inspections. Secondly, the 1911 diploma gave prominence to the intermediate management layer, formed by section heads of the public works services. The delegation and specialization of oversight responsibilities enabled a more thorough and extensive examination of the work conducted on the ground. These mid-level managers also acted as intermediaries, providing the director of public works services in each colony, whose supervisory role was broadened, with monthly, quarterly, biannual, and annual reports. Consequently, the director was granted superior knowledge of the actions and performance of all personnel and sectors, which was crucial to the setting of intervention priorities.

4. A Normative Zenith in the Twilight of the Portuguese Colonial Empire

The last major reform of colonial public works services in Portugal's Third Empire took place in 1964. Since the First Republic, additional legislation with an impact on public works had been issued, but the 1911 decree was broadly kept

in place for more than five decades.³⁴ Along with continuities—such as racial discrimination, coercive labor, and economic exploitation—significant changes had nonetheless occurred between 1911 and 1964. For example, the transition from a military to a civil administration in the colonies had been completed; the colonies' degree of autonomy was significantly reduced following the 1926 coup d'état; the nationalist-driven 1930 Colonial Act, together with the 1933 Organic Charter of Portugal's Colonial Empire and the Overseas Administrative Reform, set up the centralizing policy of the *Estado Novo*; the settler population grew steadily;³⁵ the place and role of the Catholic missionary movement in the colonial project strengthened, and its "civilizing" potential was framed by the state via the Missionary Agreement (1940) and the Missionary Statute (1941).³⁶ Furthermore, the need to reshape and secure Portuguese imperial and colonial legitimacies in the post–World War II context propelled numerous readjustments. The constitutional revision of 1951 stipulated the formal end of the colonial empire, a make-over that turned "colonies" into "overseas provinces." The launch of development plans from 1953 onward bred a particular strand of "welfare colonialism" that did not pave the way to a significant inequality reduction. Albeit coping with this aspiration, the plans did, in fact, assert the internal and external legitimacy of the authoritarian rule as an alternative modernizing path (Jerónimo 2018b, 537–54; Castelo 2014, 63–86). By the same token, they enlarged the scope of counter-subversion, security, and coercive societal control measures, particularly crucial in the face of the rise of the independence wars, with armed struggles erupting in Angola (1961), Guinea-Bissau (1963), and Mozambique (1964). The ambivalent integration of key international organizations, with emphasis on the United Nations and several of its agencies, placed the Portuguese colonial empire under increasing scrutiny. The handling of forced labor (its justification, resilience, and circumvention in the face of complaints and international inspections), formally abolished in 1962, is a pivotal example of the dynamics in place in late Portuguese colonialism (Monteiro 2020; Monteiro 2018; Jerónimo and Monteiro 2000).

The "Organic Diploma of Public Works and Transport Services in the Overseas Provinces," ruled in 1964 (Decree 45575, of February 26),³⁷ was part of the wider overhaul of the regulation of the different branches of public service overseas, determined by the Organic Law of the Portuguese Overseas Provinces, issued on June 24, 1963.³⁸

In the 1964 diploma, the use of the word "plan" grew exponentially, in accordance with the approach of the development programs implemented from the

1950s. In addition to the general plans for improvements and public works projected since 1911, the new reorganization of services determined the elaboration of district plans, along with plans for key sectoral interventions, such as roads, urban planning, electrification, or the hydrometric management of water resources.

The developmental discourse of late Portuguese colonialism was in evidence in the 1964 decree. When characterizing the remit of public works and transport services, the emphasis was placed on the interconnected notions of “efficient occupation,” “orderly progress,” and “rational use.” In turn, the number of articles dedicated to urban issues confirms the ongoing transformation in the past decades: the gradual replacement of directionless and/or isolated actions by an articulated view and conception, a network-based approach. In fact, the word “network” appears as normalized in the legal formula. The execution of land use schemes, as well as regional and local urbanization plans for each population center or group of centers, was inscribed for the time in the scope of tasks handed to the abovementioned services. The public buildings started to be thought of holistically, as an integral part of a broader intervention.

In Angola and Mozambique, public works and transport services constituted Provincial Directorates of Public Works and Transport Services. In the remaining “overseas provinces,” these services had a less organic complexity and used the designation of Provincial Departments of Public Works and Transport Services. Several brigades and missions, created in particular from the end of the 1940s to study and act in specific areas of public works, had been progressively integrated into these services since May 1962.³⁹ The 1964 diploma represented the culmination of the concentration efforts to bring together, under a single organic framework, all sectors and agencies in the field of public works and transport. In the short term, the remaining autonomous councils, commissions, offices, and brigades were also absorbed. This movement also included the specialized colonial commissions that oversaw heritage preservation.⁴⁰ These commissions came to incorporate the organizational structure of the public works and transport services. Heritage became an area of intervention coupled with the construction of new public buildings, hence confirming its growing importance and instrumentalization for the legitimation of Portuguese colonialism.

The Provincial Directorates for Public Works and Transport Services, exclusive to Angola and Mozambique, were composed of central and regional services. The former, in addition to the Directorate’s Office, comprised the following: an Administrative Services Department, composed of several specific divisions; a

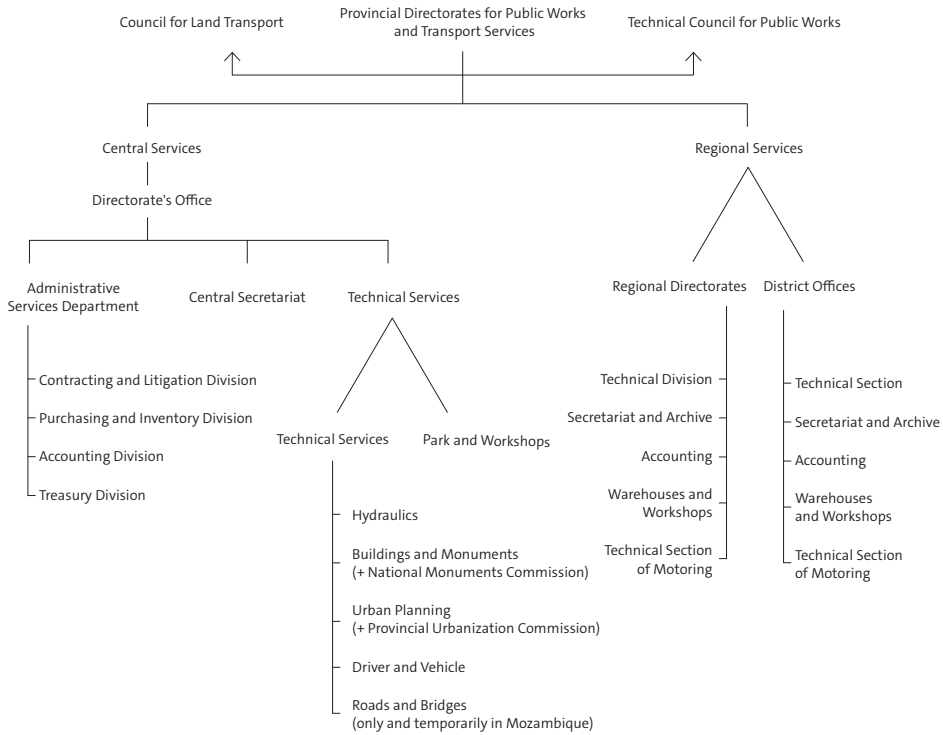


Fig. 1: Organizational chart of the Provincial Directorates for Public Works and Transport Services (Angola and Mozambique), elaborated according to the one included in the Organic Diploma ruled in 1964 (Decree 45575, February 26).

Central Secretariat, with a section of daily office procedures and an archive, a personnel section, and a library; and the various Technical Services Departments. These included, along with a sector of Parks and Workshops, the following: a Hydraulics Department; a Buildings and Monuments Department (next to which the National Monuments Commission acted as an advisory body); an Urban Planning Department (next to which the Provincial Urbanization Commission functioned as an advisory board); and a Driver and Vehicle Department. In Mozambique, a Department of Roads and Bridges was also projected “as long as circumstances dictate.”⁴¹ The regional services in the Angola and Mozambique provinces constituted executive bodies that operated at the headquarters of district governments. When a regional directorate covered more than one district, there was a district office in each. The district directorates and offices comprised

the following: a technical division or section; a secretariat and archive section; an accounting section; a warehouses and workshops section, and a technical section of motoring. The resulting organizational chart (fig. 1) demonstrates the exponential growth in the segmentation and specialization of work.

In the “overseas provinces” of Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe, Cabo Verde, Macau, and Timor, the provincial departments of public works and transport services had a technical division (which included the various specialized intervention sections) and an administrative division, with sections dedicated to secretarial work, accounting, warehouses, and purchasing.

Alongside all Provincial Directorates and Departments of Public Works and Transport Services, the Technical Council for Public Works and the Council for Land Transport functioned as advisory bodies to the provincial governments. They issued nonbinding assessment reports, leaving to the governor-general the power to approve or disregard their technical advice. No work could be carried out, whatever the source of the funds to cover its cost (general budget, district, county, or any other funds), without the respective project being approved by the governor of the province, following the assessment of the director or head of public works services.

The Decree 45575 came into force in the “provinces” of Angola, Mozambique, and Macau sixty days after its publication, on February 26, 1964, in the *Diário do Governo* (the Portuguese government bulletin). Each province was to submit the draft regulations necessary for the decree’s implementation to the governor for approval. In the other “overseas provinces,” the decree would only come into force after the respective governments weighed the availability of financial resources to cope with the increase in expenditure, which would not come to fruition in all cases. Although this reorganization of services was to be applied in the Portuguese Estado da Índia “as soon as the situation of occupation by enemy forces currently verified ceases,” according to the end of the 1964 diploma, Portugal had already irreversibly lost control over that territory.⁴² At the time, the priority was to halt the nationalist movements in Africa. The decree, in its apparent alienation from realities on the ground, conveys the government’s belief in and efforts toward boosting the resilience of the Portuguese colonial empire. Far from being disconnected, military strategies and public works policies intersected in a comprehensive and decisive way, which went beyond the impact of the former on the priorities set for the latter or on the timetable for their pursuit. Although this subject has yet to be thoroughly examined in relation to Portugal’s

Third Empire, it is safe to assume the critical role of infrastructures in military logistics. The supply and transportation of human and material needs, as well as the provision of communication services and medical aid, are two among various areas that evidence a clear connection between the two.

The 1964 reorganization of colonial public works services, complemented by occasional updates and supplementary provisions, was not the final one during Portugal's Third Empire.⁴³ Nevertheless, one can argue that it was the last to have operative bearing. In fact, the final organic revision of colonial public works and transport services—Decree 470/72—was published in the *Diário do Governo* as late as November 23, 1972. It followed the revision of the Organic Law of the Overseas Territories, enacted on June 19, 1972,⁴⁴ which, in turn, would give rise to the promulgation of new political and administrative statutes for the various “overseas provinces.”⁴⁵ Decree 470/72 came into force formally in the “provinces” on January 1, 1973, leaving each territory 120 days to submit to the provincial governor the specific regulations that would implement the general normative text. A year later, the revolution that put an end to the Estado Novo took place on April 25, 1974. This time window was extremely narrow to apply and naturalize any legal restructuring, let alone among a flurry of legislative transformations and at the climax of the ongoing independence wars, which also increasingly united the internal opposition to the regime. With the Carnation Revolution of April 1974 came the gradual recognition of the independence of the various overseas territories between 1974 (Guinea-Bissau) and 1975 (Mozambique, Cabo Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, and Timor). Macau would remain under feeble Portuguese sovereignty until 1999, when it was formally handed over to the People's Republic of China.

5. Conclusion

As noted early on, this article is a first contribution to the understanding of a larger research question. As such, it does not attempt to grasp the full complexity of colonial public works, their contexts and trajectories, or their intersections with other social, political, military, or economic dynamics. Having mainly addressed how Portugal envisioned the setting and functioning of public works services in its colonies, the study has left aside, for the time being, other vital lenses of analysis, some of them connected to the abovementioned dynamics. The understanding of the reading and undertaking of this process from a colonial point of view is of first importance. Moreover, intertwined with this article is the thorough examination of colonial public works' place and handling within

the metropolitan government, before and after the creation of the Ministry of Colonies, following the increase of these works' importance and the subsequent specialization, bureaucratization, and expertise employed to address them at this level, too. The creation of the Lisbon-based Colonial Urbanization Office in 1944 is the most well-known outcome of this process. My ongoing research intends to contribute to a further understanding of this office by casting light on how the technical staff on the ground, namely the colonial public works services analyzed in this text, dealt with the establishment of this body and the plans and designs that it radiated. But additional scales—such as the transnational and transimperial; the international and the global—are also critical to puzzle out a phenomenon that by no means was thought out or handled in a vacuum, i.e., in a single and singular imperial bubble. Moreover, a more comprehensive collation of legislative sources with archive material is paramount to mapping further and scrutinizing the gap between the normative universe and its effective implementation on the ground.

Colonial public works is, by its very nature, a research topic that requires a multifaceted approach. One cannot tackle any given infrastructure nor the service responsible for its design or execution without bringing into the equation and interconnecting the internal and external politics, the economic and financial policies, and the social and cultural fabric. Before aesthetic exegesis and debates over form comes a world—perhaps less attractive, but of primary importance—of normative underpinnings, administrative procedures, the expansion of bureaucracy, contested policy formulation, decision-making circuits, personnel, and expense rationales, among others.⁴⁶ It is a world of imagined control and order, where failures and delays can bear as much analytical value as enforcements and accomplishments; a world where continuities—either on paper, in practice, or both—challenge straightforward analytical clippings, as much as the inclination to mistake law for reality.

While acknowledging that disparate ideologies and political regimes have differences in terms of colonial policies, it is particularly relevant to highlight, in conclusion, common denominators and global trends identified in the structuring of Portuguese colonial public works services throughout the significant period examined in this article. From 1869, when the first modular organization of colonial public works services was decreed for Portugal's multiterritorial empire, until the end of Portuguese colonialism in 1975, successive legislative reforms set out to establish and fine-tune a domain of critical intervention.

Colonial public works were above all driven by the need to secure dominance, especially over the African territories. Although these territories were at first ill-defined, unknown, and highly coveted, they came under increasing international scrutiny after 1945, and Portuguese rule over them became challenged by the growth of independence movements and their respective domestic and foreign support. The discourse of “progress” and “development” that transpires in the legislation analyzed here is entangled with security needs and schemes rather than being its redeeming aspect. The meaning of control evolved, as well as the ways in which control was pursued. But colonial public works were always a part of this toolbox. Therefore, they are a fruitful analytical avenue to observe how Portugal viewed and handled its colonial empire in a *longue durée* perspective. Control, one might argue, is never fully guaranteed, and its virtual dimension is an enduring feature of control exercise itself. The case of the Portuguese Third Empire is a particularly elucidative example of a colonial rule that, despite its growing tangibility, was always limited and frail, hence heavily reliant on power compromises and attentive to optics. Consequently, the formal existence of public works services—i.e., the definition of a structure dedicated to their execution regardless of the difficulties to achieve actual palpable works—has an importance that should not be underestimated.

The recognition of legal possibilities and predicaments is the reflexive recoil of all the legislative endeavors examined here: the decree of 1869 and its consecutive transformations and upgrades in 1880, 1892, 1911, 1964, and 1972. The emergence of each decree followed a report submitted by a commission appointed to study the subject. These diplomas, issued in the metropole, gradually took less time to be implemented on the ground, via corresponding regulations approved for every colony. The 1972 decree is the exception that confirms the rule since context-based factors severely restrained its operativeness.

The shortage of qualified personnel and the struggle to attract and retain a technical workforce were the most stable arguments for the legal reshaping of the colonial public works services. Engineers were the driving force of the colonial public works conception and execution during the Portuguese Third Empire. Military background, a prime condition for their selection in the nineteenth century, steadily faded with the turn of the twentieth century. But the importance of the profession, and of its blossoming specific fields, remained undisputed. The literature on public works does not, however, necessarily reflect this balance of power since it has been far more attentive to architects and their works.

Finally, two trends must be stressed. Firstly, with each legal reshaping of colonial public works services, the level of complexity rose. Diplomas became progressively longer, more detailed, and increasingly bureaucratic. Mechanisms of supervision and the dissection and specialization of work were enhanced. Circuits of decision-making became formally lengthier. Secondly, the level of planning and the weight of lawmaking based on scientific and technical expertise grew firmly, and at a faster rate in the second half of the twentieth century.

NOTES

1. This text was produced within the frame of the research project “The Worlds of (Under)Development: Processes and Legacies of the Portuguese Colonial Empire in a Comparative Perspective (1945–1975)” (PTDC/HAR-HIS/31906/2017 | POCI-01-0145-FE-031906).

2. See, among others, Magalhães and Gonçalves (2009, 18); Rodrigues (2010, 47); Milheiro (2012, 449, 454); Mendes (2012, 246); Alcântara (2013, 189); Miranda (2013, 35); Tostões (2014b, 66); Silva (2015a, 10); and Grande (2016, 109).

3. Among others, Henriques (2004), Fonte (2007), Milheiro (2012; 2013), Silva (2015b; 2016), and Marçal (2016).

4. Two examples of different approaches to the relationship between modern architecture and colonialism are Tostões (2014a) and Lagae and Van Craenenbroeck (2015). For a critical assessment of Portuguese architectural historiography on the topic in question, see Domingos (2015).

5. Following the stabilization of liberalism in Portugal, the designation of “colonies” was eradicated from the official language and documents. These territories were named “overseas provinces,” thus marking them as part of the Kingdom of Portugal and expressing the “assimilation” policy of the time. I choose to keep the designation of “colonies” since, regardless of their formal labeling, that was the real identity and function of these territories.

6. Portugal. Ministério dos Negócios da Marinha e Ultramar, *Diário do Governo* 284 (December 14, 1869): 1572–73 [Decree of December 3, 1869].

7. Portugal, *Decreto de 1 de Dezembro de 1869. Carta orgânica das instituições administrativas nas províncias ultramarinas anotada por J. A. Ismael Gracias* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1894), 1–5.

8. As an example, in the case of Mozambique, the 1869 decree was published in the official bulletin of the colony five years later, on November 7, 1874, and the local regulation of Mozambican public works service took place in December of the same year. See *Governo Geral da Província de Moçambique, Boletim Oficial* 45 (November 7, 1874): 197–202; *Governo Geral da Província de Moçambique, Boletim Oficial* 50 (December 12, 1874): 231–33.

9. Portugal, *Collecção da Legislação Novíssima do Ultramar*: vol. VIII, 1870–1874, 2nd ed. (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1896), 3 [Decree of February 26, 1870].

10. Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, *Relatórios do Ministro e Secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e do Ultramar apresentados às cortes na sessão legislativa de 1870: Edição comemorativa do I Centenário da Reforma Administrativa de 1 de Dezembro de 1869* (Lisboa: Ministério do Ultramar, 1969), 255.

11. Preamble of the Decree of December 3, 1869. Portugal. Ministério dos Negócios da Marinha e Ultramar, *Diário do Governo* 284, 1572.

12. For a discussion of the Western pathologization of African environment see, among others, MacKenzie (1990), Livingstone (2002), Driver (2004), Driver and Martins (2005), Eves (2005), Chakrabarti (2014), and Mahony and Endfield (2018).

13. Portugal, *Collecção da Legislação Novíssima do Ultramar*, vol. VII, 1868–1869, 2nd ed. (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1896), 126 [Ordinance of December 29, 1868].

14. Portugal, *Collecção Official de Legislação Portuguesa: anno de 1892* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1893), 623 [report that served as a preamble to the “Organization Plan for Public Works and Industry Services in the Directorate General of Overseas and Overseas Provinces,” ruled on August 20, 1892].

15. In the 1850s, the frontiers of Portuguese colonies in Africa were still ill-defined and far from fixed, hence the areas mentioned here are merely indicative, reflecting future territories established and stabilized as part of Portuguese domain. This process took place from the end of the nineteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth century.

16. Preamble of the Decree of December 3, 1869. Portugal. Ministério dos Negócios da Marinha e Ultramar, *Diário do Governo* 284, 1572.

17. See, among others, Havik, Keese, and Santos 2015; Alexopoulou and Juif 2017; Alexopoulou 2018.

18. Portugal, *Collecção Official de Legislação Portuguesa: anno de 1892*, 623 [report that serves as a preamble to the “Organization Plan for Public Works and Industry Services in the Directorate General of Overseas and Overseas Provinces,” ruled on August 20, 1892].

19. Portugal, *Collecção da Legislação Novíssima do Ultramar: vol. IX, 1875-1878* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1880), 319–20 [Law of April 12, 1876].

20. Portugal, *Collecção da Legislação Novíssima do Ultramar: vol. IX, 1875-1878*, 397 [ordinance of December 28, 1876].

21. For a pertinent multidisciplinary reading of the multifaced and cross-cutting presence of the security nexus in the late Portuguese Empire, see Cruz (2000).

22. Portugal, *Collecção Official de Legislação Portuguesa: anno de 1892*, 623 [Report that serves as a preamble to the “Organization Plan for Public Works and Industry Services in the Directorate General of Overseas and Overseas Provinces,” ruled on August 20, 1892].

23. See, for instance, Guimarães (1984), Santos (1986), and Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto and Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical (2013).

24. These decrees were then published in the respective government bulletin of each colony. For example, the Regulation for the Administration and Supervision of Public

Works was issued for Mozambique in the metropolitan legislation on December 23, 1876, and then published by the Governo Geral da Província de Moçambique in its *Boletim Official* 12 (March 19, 1877): 65–67.

25. Portugal, *Collecção Official de Legislação Portuguesa: anno de 1880* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1881), 410–11.

26. For a more comprehensive discussion of these developments, see Jerónimo (2013).

27. To grasp the still considerable (albeit decreasing) time interval between the promulgation of the organization of colonial public works services and its application and specific regulation at the level of each colony, consider, as an example, that the 1892 diploma gave origin to the “Regulation for the Administration, Supervision, and Payments of Public Works in Mozambique” in 1894. Governo Geral da Província de Moçambique, *Boletim Official* 9 (March 3, 1894): 110–11.

28. Portugal, *Collecção Official de Legislação Portuguesa: anno de 1892*, 625.

29. Portugal. Assembleia Nacional Constituinte, “Decretos de 23 de agosto de 1911,” *Diário do Governo* 197, 1st series (August 24, 1911): 3573–74.

30. Portugal. Ministério das Colónias, “Regulamento geral das direcções e inspecções de obras públicas nas colónias,” *Diário do Governo* 268, 1st series (November 16, 1911): 4603–10 [republished with corrections in *Diário do Governo* 274, 1st series (November 23, 1911): 4679–86].

31. Portugal, *Diário da Câmara dos Deputados*, session n.º 66 (May 10, 1917): 14. <http://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r1/cd/01/02/02/066/1917-05-10>.

32. Historical Archive of Mozambique (AHM), General Government of Mozambique, box no. 2482, file “Colony of Mozambique. Directorate of Public Works Services. Report for the year 1949” (report no. 311).

33. Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, “Decreto n.º 45575. Diploma orgânico dos serviços provinciais de obras públicas e transportes do ultramar,” *Diário do Governo* 48, 1st series (February 26, 1964): 346.

34. See, namely, Portugal. Ministério das Colónias, “Decreto n.º 21430,” *Diário do Governo* 151, 1st series (June 30, 1932): 1352–53; and Portugal. Ministério das Colónias, “Decreto-Lei n.º 29821,” *Diário do Governo* 188, 1st series (August 12, 1939): 877. These laws introduced some changes in the general regulation of the directions and inspections of public works in the colonies, which had been approved by the decree with the force of law of November 11, 1911.

35. See Castelo (2007; 2009); Morier-Genoud and Cahen (2012).

36. For a discussion of this topic, see Jerónimo (2012), Dores (2015), Morier-Genoud (2019).

37. Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, “Decreto n.º 45575. Diploma orgânico dos serviços provinciais de obras públicas e transportes do ultramar,” *Diário do Governo* 48, 1st series (February 26, 1964): 331–53.

38. Portugal. Presidência da República, “Lei n.º 2119,” *Diário do Governo* 147, 1st series (June 24, 1963): 769–74.

39. As determined by Decree 44364, of May 25, 1962. See Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, “Decreto n.º 44364,” *Diário do Governo* 119, 1st series (May 25, 1962): 756–58.

40. For an in-depth study of colonial heritage preservation, see Mariz (2016).

41. Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, “Decreto n.º 45575. Diploma orgânico dos serviços provinciais de obras públicas e transportes do ultramar,” 333.

42. Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, “Decreto n.º 45575. Diploma orgânico dos serviços provinciais de obras públicas e transportes do ultramar,” 346.

43. See, namely, the following: Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, “Portaria n.º 21355,” *Diário do Governo* 139, 1st series (June 25, 1965): 871; Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, “Decreto n.º 47499,” *Diário do Governo* 14, 1st series (January 17, 1967): 86–97; Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, “Decreto n.º 47519,” *Diário do Governo* 27, 1st series (February 1, 1967): 149–56; Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, “Portaria n.º 23201,” *Diário do Governo* 28, 1st series (February 2, 1968): 195; Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, “Decreto n.º 48294,” *Diário do Governo* 73, 1st series (March 26, 1968): 400; Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, “Decreto n.º 48607,” *Diário do Governo* 236, 1st series (October 7, 1968): 1553–56; Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, “Decreto-Lei n.º 48860,” *Diário do Governo* 33, 1st series (February 8, 1969): 137–40; Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, “Decreto n.º 49446,” *Diário do Governo* 294, 1st series (December 18, 1969): 1798–808; Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, “Portaria n.º 516/70,” *Diário do Governo* 240, 1st series (October 16, 1970): 1495; Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, “Decreto n.º 469/72,” *Diário do Governo* 273, 1st series (November 23, 1972): 1716–18.

44. Portugal. Presidência da República, “Lei n.º 5/72,” *Diário do Governo* 145, 1st series (June 23, 1972): 807–19.

45. See, for instance, Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, “Decreto n.º 544/72,” *Diário do Governo* 296, 1st series (1st supplement), (December 12, 1972): 2030(23)–2030(31) [Political and administrative status of the Overseas Province of Angola]; Portugal. Ministério do Ultramar, “Decreto n.º 545/72,” *Diário do Governo* 296, 1st series (1st supplement), (December 12, 1972): 2030(31)–2030(40) [Political and administrative status of the Overseas Province of Mozambique].

46. A remarkable example of such historiographical enterprise can be found in Peter Scriver’s (2007) analysis of the Public Works Department of British India.

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