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OF URBAN SPACE.
LISBON, 1780-1830

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The police have been mainly viewed as an agency of the state whose main tasks are to enforce the law and maintain order. From a juridical standpoint, the duties and the activity of police have seen drastic changes with the advent of the liberal state, which resulted in the withdrawal of their power of jurisdiction. However, their main aim has been maintained: the maintenance of public order, through continuous surveillance⁽²⁾. Foucault's studies on discipline and disciplinary spaces⁽³⁾, as well as Henri Lefebvre's observations on the production and the various dimensions of space, drew attention to the relations between space and the exercise of power. As a result of this new perspective on spatial practises of power, the studies on police – traditionally centred on the origin of modern police and their mode of functioning as part of the construction process of the modern state – began to centre upon police action, particularly on the regulation of street behaviour, analysed as a spatial practise of social control. This perspective was approached, in a first phase, through the analysis of urban crime in the theoretical framework of a geography or history of social control. In a second phase, as a result of the development of video-surveillance technology, geographers have focused more directly on the distinct territoriality of the coercive force and social control exercised by police⁽⁴⁾, as

1 Paper present at the Sixth International Conference on Urban History, Edinburgh, Power, Knowledge, Society and the City, session: The unauthorized city: making and breaking regulations for modern urban space (18th-20th centuries), , september 2002.

2 About the police (notion and functions) in the Ancien Régime, cf. see the study of P. Schiera, *Del'arte di governo alle scienze dello Stato. Il cameralismo e l'assolutismo tedesco*, Milan, 1968, pp.263-273. On the evolution of police, from a juridical perspective, a good summary in *Enciclopedia del Diritto*, vol. XXXIV, Giuffrè Editore, 1985. For a historical analysis see A. Williams, *The police of Paris, 1718-1789*, London, 1979 and Clive Emsley, *Policing and its context, 1750-1850*, London, 1983.

3 The influence of Foucault's concept of space, in particular the relation between the exercise of power and the control of space, was huge in Geography; see C. Philo, "Foucault's Geography", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 10,2 (1992), 137-161.

4 Is the case of Nicholas R. Fyfe, for example, by drawing attention to the fact that "given that policing is an inherently territorial activity which both affects and is affected by the social and political environment ... it is a subject which is particularly suited to study from a geographical perspective". N. R. Fyfe, "The police, space and society: the geography of policing", *Progress in Human Geography*, 15,3 (1991), p.250 and 265.

well as the ways in which surveillance techniques change the nature of space, contributing to the creation of a new urban space⁽⁵⁾.

The maintenance of order in a city through police surveillance-repression manifested itself in two manners: through the organisation of urban space according to the city's mental police map and through the control of the city inhabitants' activities and behaviour in urban spaces. To exercise this control, the police must discipline the urban space as well as behaviour⁽⁶⁾, and do so in accordance with the reigning concept of order and well being dominating the society.

This paper addresses the police regulation of the uses of space and time in the capital city of Lisbon, between 1780-1830 playing particular attention to the nature of police intervention in the urban space and the tension between a traditional and a modern view of the uses of public spaces. Thus, analysis of police activity will be centred on its role in the production of space rather than in the role relating to social control.

Lisbon's police force and intervention in the urban space

The knowledge of space and its inhabitants constitutes one of the central concerns of absolutist monarchies. Lisbon, as the capital and most populated city of the Portuguese Kingdom, was the centre stage of this policy, providentially favoured by the need for new land management in result of the 1755 earthquake. The diversity of instruments used in obtaining better knowledge and control over the land, testify the new concerns and new form of action of central power; noted by the development of urban cartography, global and partial population counts, or the new modes of maintenance of public order. Cities were one of the privileged territories of this control policy, and, although there were various institutions acting out in the urban space (army, medical corps, scientists, philosophers, architects, aside from the Town Council) the role exercised by police was fundamental.

Lisbon's police force was created in 1760, under the designation of General Police Intendancy (Intendência Geral da Polícia / IGP), with ample jurisdiction, further enlarged

5 A considerable number of recent works by geographers on the subject of police have focused on the manner in which the police organize urban space in order to increase their ability to observe, patrol and enforce, as well as the impact of new surveillance techniques (video) on the nature of space. This is the case of, among others, N. R. Fyfe and J. Bannister, "City watching: closed circuit television surveillance in public spaces", *Area*, 28 (1996), pp27-46; Steve Herbert, "The normative ordering of police territoriality: making and marking space with the Los Angeles Police Department", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 86, 3 (1996), pp. 567-82; Ralph H. Saunders, "The space community policing makes and the body that makes it", *The Professional Geographer*, 51, 1 (1999), pp.135-146 and H. Koskela, "The gaze without eyes': video-surveillance and the changing nature of urban space", *Progress in Human Geography*, 24 (2000), pp.243-265.

6 "With respect to surveillance, urban space can be conceptualized as 'power-space': a space impregnated with disciplinary practices", Hille Koskela, "The gaze without eyes': video-surveillance ...", p. 251.

in 1780. In 1801, its power of intervention was enlarged with the creation of the Guard (Guarda Real da Polícia), which allowed for the technical and political de-concentration of its functions⁽⁷⁾. It was a modern police force, similarly to other European police forces of the time, inspired by the Parisian model, whose numerous attributes were owed to the illuminist concept of the police as “synthesis of order and well-being in a modern centralised State”. In order to pursue their purposes, the police disposed of a considerable number of officers⁽⁸⁾ and had numerous and varied tasks under their charge. These tasks included the most diverse aspects of urban life, from sanitary measures to the supply of goods and services, registration of foreigners, beggars and prostitutes, through to transportation, prisons, control of wine shops, fairs, etc. Hence, the Police not only dealt with crime and disorder, but with practically all aspects of daily moral and material life⁽⁹⁾.

As agent of central administration and a complementary organ of the judicial system, the police was preferentially occupied with the "infiniment petit du pouvoir politique"⁽¹⁰⁾. Police documents show that the permanent observation of the inhabitants' public behaviour (with special incidence on the working class) was one of the police's central activities. An "excellent police-force" would be known by its disciplinary action. In an extensive report sent to the queen in 1791 by the famous Lieutenant Diogo Inácio de Pina Manique, wherein he exposes the police's purpose, 85 “police objectives”⁽¹¹⁾ are listed. In a sort of service manual for police officers, published in 1824 by an old cavalry official of the Guard, their functions are systematised⁽¹²⁾. In both documents the role that police should play in the maintenance of order in the city, both physically and socially, are clear. A significant part of the referred “objectives” are destined to regulate the (spatial and temporal) use of the city which presumes a combination between the organisation and regulation of spaces and behaviour: alignment of streets, squares and markets, including the ban of flower pots on window ledges, as they “disfigure the streets alignment”; street cleansing and lighting; the maintenance of streets free from all types of obstruction; regulation of traffic near theatres; compliance with the places destined for sales and waste; limitation and control of stall-keepers, street sellers and beggars;

7 About the origins, evolution and functions of police surveillance of Lisbon's Ancien Régime see Maria Alexandre Lousada, “A cidade vigiada. A polícia e a cidade de Lisboa no início do século XIX”, (“The city under watch. The city of Lisbon and its police at the start of the 19th century”) *Cadernos de Geografia*, 17, 1999.

8 At the start of the 19th century Lisbon had approximately 200.000 inhabitants. When the Guard was created it counted on 638 men and 38 surveillance posts, which made Lisbon an excessively guarded city in relation to other European capitals. For more information refer to Maria Alexandre Lousada, “A cidade vigiada ...”.

9 Steven L. Kaplan, *Le pain, le peuple et le roi. La bataille du libéralisme sous Louis XV*, Paris, p.26.

10 M. Foucault, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison*, Paris, 1975, p. 215.

11 Torre do Tombo (TT), *Ministério do Reino*, maço 454, cx 569.

12 Joaquim Miguel de Andrade, *Memorial de Oficial da Guarda Real da Polícia ...*, Lisbon, 1824, pp.78-122.

prohibition of animal breeding in the city; forbidding noisy (work or leisure) activities that "disturb the neighbourhood"; enforcing closing hours for drinking establishments, gardens, etc; requirement of license to hold balls, performances, theatres; etc. These refer to a set of rules (some more recent than others) that the police must enforce and that, if accomplished, give rise to a new grammar of the urban space and a new urbanity.

Tensions in the use of urban space

Nevertheless, documents also reveal that the disciplinary action of police was not uniform, for hesitations between distinct models of urbanity can be detected. Authorities and police agents sometimes defended what "always existed", such as the traditional use of the street, and other times acted in the sense of freeing the streets and squares from obstacles to circulation. On the other hand, the police also counted on the collaboration of "honourable citizens" in the denunciation of situations contrary to the new rules of conduct in urban space⁽¹³⁾. To name one example among many: in 1831, the inhabitants of the Limoeiro Square appealed to the Lieutenant against the women that "established themselves roasting, boiling and frying fish [...] and sometimes the stalls are so numerous, with so many fruit, vegetable and other such vendors, that passage through the Square is practically obstructed"; the Castelo commissaire informs that the women refuse to leave, "under the maxim that the streets belong to everyone, and that nobody could make them leave"⁽¹⁴⁾.

It is, indeed, in the streets that the diverse manners of living the urban space can be read. In the first decades of the 19th century, for the majority of Lisbon's population, the street was the stage where most part of the manifestations of daily life took place: family discussions, recreational activities, people's work, etc. According to the new concept of urban space, the street should be in order – which means, without people gambling, working, sleeping or running. This new concept of the city and public space gave rise to a multiplicity of police and town hall regulations in regard to: street-sellers, markets, waste, mud, dead animals were attributed specific places; streets were named, numbered and

13 On the ambivalent relations between police and the citizens of Paris in the end of the 18th century, see Arlette Farge, *Vivre dans la rue à Paris au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, Gallimard, 1992 and David Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and Community in Paris, 1740-1790*, Cambridge, 1986; on the importance of the denunciations made by citizens (bourgeois as well as working-class) in collaboration with newspapers in the surveillance of behaviour in the late Victorian British town, read A. Croll, "Street disorder, surveillance and shame: regulating behaviour in the public spaces of the late Victorian British town", *Social History*, 1999, 24 (3), pp. 250-268.

14 These women lived off the sale of their cooking and such to the prisoners of the Limoeiro prison. TT, IGP, CMB, maço 146, doc. 106.

lighted; coachmen and waggoners had their driving in the streets of the capital regulated; residents were to stop raising pigs in the city, cows and goats should only transit in the city long enough for the supply of the inhabitants; etc. Aside from the “cleansing” of the street from all obstacles to circulation and actions considered improper in urban space, greater emphasis was placed on aesthetic considerations. As members of the bureaucratic and intellectual elite, influenced by illuminist ideas, police lieutenants' aesthetically valued alignment, accessibility and cleanliness. The street should be used for circulating and "pleasing the eye". The street should belong not only to those who live and work on it but also to all the city's inhabitants. In this perspective, the activities that took place, be it work or leisure and recreation, should be consigned to adequate places and take place at certain times and without corrupting or disfiguring the image of that same city ("deturpar, e afear o prospecto da mesma cidade").

In this period, similarly to what was happening with the use of space, there was also greater intervention in the use of time in order to put a stop to the various temporal irregularities (daily, weekly, annual), not only in closed spaces such as schools, workshops or hospitals but also in public spaces and, particularly, in that public space which the street is by excellence. The hour announced by the public clock was meant to regulate collective life: waking, sleeping, eating and working hours. The pocket clock that emerged in the 17th century introduces a "luxurious time", inaccessible to the majority of inhabitants, even urban, still in the 19th century⁽¹⁵⁾. In Lisbon, public life was regulated by curfew, announced by the bell of the Cathedral or of the Town Hall, at 21h in winter and 22h in the summer.

Non-compliance with established hours for the closure of taverns and other drinking places was one of the most common reasons for police intervention and for the application of fines to drinking establishments' owners and waiters. Similarly to what happened in Paris at the time, successive edicts and the repetition of fines demonstrate the police's incapacity to enforce compliance to the regulations⁽¹⁶⁾. Yet, in this domain

15 The concept of “luxurious time” is Richard Sennet's, *The conscience of the eye. The design and the social life of cities*, N. York, 1991, p. 178. Little is known on the number of public and individual clocks in Lisbon during the 19th century. However, Nuno Madureira, “Ouro e prata: os gestos e os objectos na Lisboa antiga”, *Ler História*, 20, (1990) p. 44-46, 53 says that clocks were highly sought after in the late 18th century. In Bristol, around 1740, approximately one third of the inhabitants had a pocket or wall/table clock, according to Peter Clark, *Time, Space and Social Discourse: Social Change in British Cities in the Eighteenth Century*, dactyl. s.d.. These individual clocks, which emerged in the 17th century, were relatively dispersed by the end of the 18th century, but continued to be appreciated more as a symbol of social status rather than for their functionality. In England their diffusion, aided by the emergence of relatively cheap clocks is indissociable with the need for a better synchronisation of work, "one of the most urgent needs created by industrial capitalism" (E. P. Thompson, “Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism”, *Past and Present*, 38 (1967), p. 56-97).

16 On the closing hours of Parisian drinking establishments and their systematic non-observation, both in the Ancien Regime and in the revolutionary period, cf. R. Cobb, *The police and the people. French popular*

there was disagreement on which model of intervention to follow. Although the tendency was to consider these establishments as "foci of disorder", as spaces where "individuals with bad reputations" and with "ruined lives" gathered, practising "excesses" and all sort of "actions harmful to the public good", some elements of the police recognised that these establishments contributed to getting people off the streets and illuminating the city. The judgements of the lieutenants, police magistrates (commissaires) and Guard officers on the working hours of wine shops can be used as a good indicator of this ambivalence. Some would agree with the Guard's commander in 1805 - contrary to the concession of licenses which allowed shops to keep their doors open another two hours after curfew -, to whom such authorisations would degenerate "infallibly in the abuse of gathering (the workers) to lose their money to the game, or for excessive drinking, and everything that followed on from that"⁽¹⁷⁾. Others shared the opinion of lieutenant José Joaquim Rodrigues de Basto, who in 1827 affirmed that licenses allowing doors to stay open one hour after curfew were not prejudicial, but "rather useful, because on the one hand it increased the streets lighting, and its night-time occupation, preventing many disorders, that in the emptiness and darkness of the night were easier to commit; and on the other hand from the donations that resulted from these, which would support a large number of helpless orphans"⁽¹⁸⁾.

By prolonging closing hours, the police not only increased their revenue, through the concession of licences; they simultaneously channelled individuals into closed spaces and took them off the streets, leaving these free from potential disturbers and free for transit. From the tavern one should go directly home and not wander about the city. The number of people arrested for simply being on the streets at "improper hours", without "conveniently" explaining their presence, was a sign of the policy of street "cleansing" and the discipline of time. Tolerance was limited to festive occasions, periods where exceptions were made: Christmas, Carnival, Popular Saints Festivals, and political commemorations.

The police and the production of modern urban space

In this manner, during the transition between the 18th and 19th century, the role of the police in contributing to the imposition of new codes of urban life among the working

protest, 1789-1820, London, 1970, p.20, D. Roche, *Le peuple de Paris. Essai sur la culture populaire au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1981, p.262 and Thomas Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-century Paris*, Princeton, 1988, pp. 276-280.

17 Memorial of the Guard's coronel, Count of Novion, on 9th of May, 1805, TT, *Ministério do Reino, Polícia*, maço 455, cx. 570, doc. s.n.

18 Letter of the Lieutenant of Police to the Ministry of the Crown (Ministério do Reino), 29th of March 1829. TT, *Ministério do Reino, Polícia*, maço 463, cx. 579, 1827, doc. s.n.

class⁽¹⁹⁾, becomes evident. People resisted and for a long time continued not knowing how to "behave" in spaces "offered" to them. You could tell them these measures were for "their own commodity", that the new city's beautiful and aligned squares "considering their cost (...), and cleanliness, and commodity, not only eased their use in benefit of the greater People of Lisbon; but also constituted a good part of their recreation and joy". You could continue telling them, fining them and arresting them, however there continued to exist "such peoples, so **coarse**, and of such **rusticity**, who by losing the respect owed to public spaces, intend to disfigure them [...] with a **barbarity** contrary to the universal police of all Civilised Cities and Peoples of Europe"⁽²⁰⁾.

In this area, as in others, there was, as has been referred, collaboration between the police and "honourable citizens", that denounced the "rustic" and "disorderly" behaviour of the working classes: merchants and craftsmen complained about the street vendors; neighbours complained about the idleness and turbulence of the boys playing on their streets; the "decent families" about the scandal caused by the prostitutes and their obscene gestures in the middle of the street, visible affronts to public morality.

The groups of measures that have been presented in this article constitute a sort of treaty of urbanity for the inhabitants of Lisbon, a set of new rules of public behaviour, that were the task of the police to enforce. Urbanity, a dynamic notion by nature, refers, simultaneously to the manner whereby people behave and to the space where their behaviour takes place, to the simultaneously social, cultural and physical⁽²¹⁾ framework, which is, indeed, the city. In Lisbon, the process of imposition of new codes of public behaviour and for a new grammar of public places was slow and sinuous extending throughout the 19th century. Yet, when referring to Lisbon's modern urban space in the second half of that century, the role that the police played in its construction, particularly among the working classes, must be considered.

19 On the role of theatre, architecture and sociability in refining urban behaviour among middle classes in England, see Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance. Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770*, Oxford, 1991, pp. 256-283.

20 Law Decree of the 6th of July 1775, against the fixed or ambulant occupation of the capital's main squares.

21 On the notions and evolution of urbanity and rusticity in Portugal at the start of the 19th century see Maria Alexandre Lousada, *Espaços de sociabilidade em Lisboa: finais do século XVIII a 1834*, PHD in Human Geography, Fac. de Letras, Universidade de Lisboa, 1995, non-published. On the relations between the city and urbanity in different eras see, for example, P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance ...*, and F. Ascher, *Metapolis*, 1998, Lisbon, pp. 99-189.