

LANDFILLS IN VITÓRIA, ESPÍRITO SANTO, BRAZIL: THE PROTAGONIST AND THE CREATIONS

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ABSTRACT

The Municipality of Vitória was originally made up of a chain of 34 islands surrounded by mangroves. Since colonial times, through a succession of landfills, the territory of Vitória has changed significantly, leaving out only a few stand-alone islets that have not been linked to the main island by land filling. In our earlier studies and published papers we identified and demonstrated that the changes in the government's argumentation regarding the Port of Victoria activities have been the main motivation for the successive "necessities" and reasons presented for land filling. Using the earlier research as a source, this study explores the official messages and reports that the executive government had sent to its legislative branch. It approaches issues on the development of Vitória, as related to the several landfills executed along the county borders. It focuses particularly the time period between 1900 and 2000, when such land filling activities acquire a representative proportion when compared to the actual surface of the Island of Vitória, presenting therefore a crucial role in the promotion of accessibility and sanitary conditions for the state capital city and, in more recent times, for the expansion of its territory. During the 1950s a major land filling project was undertaken, adjacent to the port area, forming a level area officially named Esplanada da Capixaba. The official argumentation presented for the works were the expanding port activities and their rising demand for increased space. This was the first time the government admitted the need for land expansion. Before that, the government-given reasons to justify landfills were either sanitation or accessibility. This study includes a brief account on the landfills carried out in the Vitória area, focusing on the Esplanada da Capixaba. It demonstrates that political determination countermanded technical recommendations and task priority in the selection of a location for and the building of the Port of Vitória and the resulting landfills. It reveals that the territorial build-up of Vitória has been guided by political force even when technical recommendations pointed toward the opposite direction. Such actions, resulting from political and administrative intents, be those of economical or social nature, have triggered, a set of interventions whose stated objectives not always were faithful to the original goals for the landfill occupation when it was actually achieved and it can be claimed that all those earthworks and embankments have altered in overwhelming ways the contours of Island of Vitória, imposing to her inhabitants financial, social, and environmental burdens. In short, it can be argued that the environmental problems Vitória now faces are a result of those earlier decisions for land filling within which the Port of Vitória was the main protagonist.

THE LANDFILLS AND THE ISLAND OF VITÓRIA: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

The Island of Vitória, whose main assets were its closeness to a mountain range and the sea had its vocation as a harbor state capital city favored by this privileged geographical position, a feature that earmarked from the beginning its political and economic fate, its settlement, and its urban development. The present-day county area configuration, partly situated on an archipelago and partly on the mainland, presents many alterations along its developmental process through which a number of the islets were joined to the mainland.¹ Figure 1 shows those alterations that were performed upon the Bay of Vitória coastline establishing a comparison between images from the 19th. and the 21st. centuries.



Figure 1 - Vitória and surroundings: Bay of Vitória and its coast line in a map of 1888 and a bird eye view photograph of 2009

Source: respectively www.baiadevitoria.ufes.br and author's archive

This study approaches issues on the development of Vitória, as related to the several landfills executed along the county borders and presents a detailed description of those landfills in the Port of Vitória and *Esplanada da Capixaba* areas. It focuses particularly the time period between 1900 and 2000, when such land filling activities acquire a representative proportion when compared to the actual surface of the Island of Vitória, presenting therefore a crucial role in the promotion of accessibility and sanitary conditions for the state capital city and, in more recent times, for the expansion of its territory.ⁱⁱ

It is important to note that while the research on identifying the landfills in Vitória has made considerable progress, the study on government's purposes and achievements constitute work in process. Nevertheless, the outcomes of both analyses combined are worth publishing as an original piece of investigation and a means to further reflection on the subject. To offer contribution to the construction of Brazilian planning history, this paper adopts a rather descriptive approach for the gathering and the unraveling of data, mainly from government sources.

FROM THE FIRST LANDFILLS TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE WORKS IN THE PORT

One of the first land filling activities we know about in the Island of Vitória happened between 1812 and 1819 in a stretch of land dubbed *Campinho* at the time, where nowadays *Moscoso Park* is situated and was intended to make easier the walking between *Porto dos Padres* and the *Santa Casa de Misericórdia*.ⁱⁱⁱ These works gave raise to other landfills because they changed the *Campinho* mangroves into a filthy shallows for their creation of obstructions that stopped the natural cleaning of the area by tidal flow movements, a situation which remained until the period between 1882 and 1888 when a landfill for sanitation was crammed into its innermost section.^{iv} Figure 2, taken from the cadastral town plan kept in Vitória City Hall Archives, illustrates the series of landfills examined in this study.

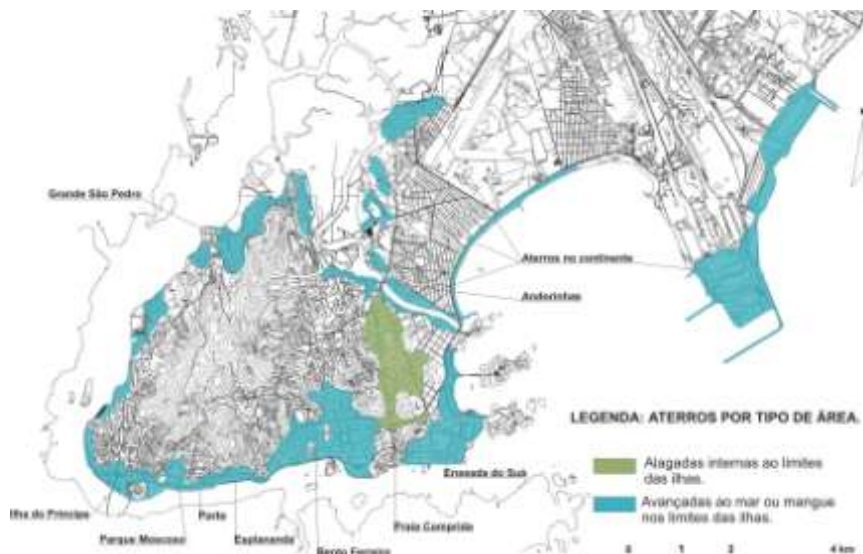


Figure 2 - Municipality of Vitória: Landfills within municipal boundaries
Source: based on the Cadastral Town Plan of Vitória dated 2000

Between 1889 and 1891, no data on land filling works in the area was to be found. Notwithstanding that, the Ordinance Code from the Appointed Government for the City of Vitória, planning for the betterment of sanitary conditions in the city, defines, among other goals, the draining of bogs and stagnant waters, landfills, the covering of open plots and ditches and water canalization.^v Even then, as far down as 1906, a large section of this area was still under shallow flood waters, until the achievement of the works in 1910 and the urban development activities performed in 1912, under Jerônimo Monteiro's term in office (1908-1912).^{vi} It is possible that such a long period taken to complete the *Campinho* earthworks might be justified for the government expenses with the placing of landfills in other sections of the city as well as with some different purposes.

Also in the end of that century can be cited the landfills destined to render possible the building of the lateral sections of the *Estrada de Rodagem* - today Vitória Avenue -, along the present day neighborhoods of *Jucutuquara*, *Santa Cecília*, and *Horto*, as well as those necessary to open a safe passage between the urban center and the *Praia Comprida* area. The landfills in the *Praia Comprida* area were determined under the authority of Muniz Freire (1892-1896), who decided that areas in the Island of Vitória should be employed for the city expansion toward the Bay of Vitória entryways. This expansionist intent was embodied by an invitation to the sanitation engineer Francisco Saturnino Rodrigues de Brito, who, in 1896, got involved in his first assignment with urban development through the creation of a project that intended the enlargement of the city of Vitória into an area five or six times larger than that occupied by the capital city nucleus by the end of the 19th. Century. Brito's proposal for Vitória was reported on his *Projecto de um Novo Arrabalde: dotado de serviços de abastecimento d'água e de drenagem* which, besides previewing the landfills necessary to make viable the *Estrada de Rodagem*, suggested the need of other landfill placements in the area to be included in the *novo arrabalde propriamente ditto*.^{vii}

That proposal for the *Arrabalde da Praia Comprida* does not consider the area made up by the *Bento Ferreira mangroves* as acceptable for human occupation and/or landfills. All the same, the *Estrada de Rodagem* ran along the border of this mangrove area and in the near future new fillings were crammed into there, resulting into the development of *Santa Maria Island*, *Monte Belo*, and *Bento Ferreira* neighborhoods, which will be commented upon further on in this study, beside the aforementioned works. The *novo arrabalde propriamente ditto* only came to receive restricted placements of landfills, often in isolated sections and with the particular purposes of promoting access to already developed areas, the building of squares, and the alignment of streets, during the municipal term in office of Henrique de Novaes (1916 to 1920). All the while said works were kept at during the following mayors' terms in office between the decades of 1920 and 1940.^{viii}

Within the scope of this goal of accessibility, during the last few decades of the 19th. century, the greatest longing of the *capixaba* [Espírito Santo State born] politicians was that of making Vitória independent of Rio de Janeiro, turning the assorted docking facilities for different kinds of ships in the Bay of Vitória into a single, large harbor. The first studies considering this port are dated 1881, but until 1906 the federal and state governments kept fighting upon technical, financial, and political arguments around the place where the aforementioned port should be built on, for which some indicated the mainland grounds all the while it was allocated by others on the Island of Vitória. Finally, the State Government Decree 5.951 from 1906 transferred the building works to Vitória,^{ix} after several assessments that clearly reveal their being based upon political platforms; all the same, the beginning of the works only happened between 1908 and 1912. They were interrupted in 1914 and only restarted in the Florentino Avidos Administration period (1924-1928). Landfills were placed in succession till, already in 1937, the first section of the wharfs was achieved; nonetheless, other landfills and ancillary works were still needed and the final conclusion was only reached in 1939, during Major João Punaro Bley's state administration (1930-1943),^x almost sixty years after the initial project was presented.

Even before the harbor installations were completed, the need of transport for the state produce through the port led to the building of Florentino Avidos Bridge, in 1928, another action claiming for a landfill in the coastline of *Ilha do Príncipe*.

From then on the contours of Island of Vitória grew increasingly changed. In the words of Aristeu Borges de Aguiar (1928-1930), quoting from page 169 of his Report,

Considering that Vitória is a magnificently favored city by its scenic beauty, the help of man's handiwork to Nature was imposed in order to adapt it to the requirements of hygiene and beauty required by modern cities [sic] and to make it a close reflection to the greatness of the State. In addition, there is an imperative necessity for adopting an overall plan to orient the growth of Vitória along the principles of urbanism. [Literal translation].

With these extra landfills and the bridge's being put into place, from thence all future urbanization planning included *Ilha do Príncipe* as an important business or residential area for Vitória.^{xi} None of the plans was ever implemented; for all that several small-size landfills were set into place until 1960.

It was during João Punaro Bley's term in office as federal interventor (1930-1943) that mangrove land filling in *Ilha do Príncipe* became significant, a process that was amplified by the Jones dos Santos Neves Administration (1951-1955) and its successors until that of the Cristiano Dias Lopes Filho Administration (1967-1971). Continuing the *Ilha do Príncipe* landfills, in the year 1960, during the term in power of Carlos Fernando Monteiro Lindenberg (1959-1962),^{xii} a large landfill was placed in the northeast of said island on the stated goals of embellishment of the region and the conquest of new areas for the capital's expansion and growth. All landfills performed until 1967 were not sufficient for the area's sanitization and, in 1968, the Espírito Santo State Governor, Cristiano Dias Lopes Filho (1967-1971) appointed a team for the planning of urbanization and this group proposed another landfill employing materials obtained from the dragging of the bay, as already had the previous one. The urban project considered also the need of a second way of access to the mainland and included the plans for the building of a second bridge,^{xiii} which required new landfills in 1977, this time in the northwest of *Ilha do Príncipe*. From the mid-Seventies to the beginning of the 1980s several landfills had to be placed so as to accommodate the accesses to this new bridge, as well as to allow a connection between *Santo Antônio* neighborhood, west of the port and Vitória's urban nucleus.

THE PORT, THE ESPLANADE, AND THE ROADWAYS TO THE BEACHES

Campos Jr. indicates a shortage of available real estate during the 1940s in the business area of Vitória, comprised between the areas of *Cais Schmidt* and *Curva do Saldanha*. He considers that this area was already overbuilt at the time, pointing to the detected demand for plots and buildings in the downtown blocks.^{xiv} A direct consequence of this hunger for new land were the landfills placed on *Esplanada da Capixaba* and the mangroves between *Forte São João* and the *Bento Ferreira* neighborhood which were performed from 1951 on. It is interesting to remember that several other landfills had been added to the *Esplanada da Capixaba* area during the Monteiro (1916-1920) and Avidos (1924-1928) administrations allegedly for health purposes.^{xv} For all the reasons presented on these lines, it was clear that these land filling activities already hid territorial expansion purposes, disguised under accessibility reasons, particularly on those promoted by Avidos's Upgrading Plan.^{xvi}

In 1951, Santos Neves states,

All of us feel the imperious need for supplying Vitória with the remodeling practices that are indispensable to the city's progress. This is mostly true in reference to the conquest of new areas for the city's growth through the reclaiming of the vast mangrove areas to be seen all along the coastline. [Literal translation].^{xvii}

In an address given in the same year, Santos Neves points out that the area dubbed *Esplanada da Capixaba* had been chosen for the placement of a landfill having in mind the correction of water flows within the port's evolution basin, for the betterment of traffic conditions to *Praia Comprida*, the site for the *Novo Arrabalde* which, according to Santos Neves, already has its first dwellers from 1920 on, and for the facilitation of the outflow from the "large road junctions" in the north.^{xviii}

Santos Neves's Economical Upgrading Plan, to be achieved by means of more landfill building, not only aimed at the accessibility furtherance as mentioned

above, but also targeted the conquering for the city of an area over which constructions could be built and therefore increment Vitória's downtown business area. It should be herein observed that this is the moment in which, beside the need for water flow correction in the port's evolution basis, another need surfaces, that of a commercial area to support the dockside activities provoked by its growth. Here the Port appears for the first time as the main protagonist for the justification of this new landfill section.

To Santos Neves's abovementioned goals, the capital city's modernization in consequence of the industrialization foreseen in his planning must be associated. This yearning for modernization is also explicit in his proposal for the occupation of the *Esplanada da Capixaba* district, in which the new streets are set on straightforward alignment, composed by broader blocks, with differentiated formats, but always more regular than those of the original occupation. These new blocks are instantiated in such a way as to partially adopt the already extant alignments in the old town, so as to promote a sense of continuity between the old and the new design. The 1954 Municipal Code establishes specific norms for said area, projecting it as a special business section, which comes to confirm the original intention of broadening the commercial zone through the setting up of this landfill as a supporting area for the Port of Vitória activities as well as the modernization intended for the capital.^{xix}

According to Santos Neves's address to the Legislative Body on January 30, 1955,

What with the dismantling of the nearby hills and the sands collected from dragging in the surrounding channel a vast area for the city's urban expansion was filled.

Facing the Capixaba grounds and leaving space for the unlikely continuation of the commercial wharfs, an approximate area of 96.000 square meters, in the very heart of the city, was conquered from the ocean. The terrain plotting, planned under all the requirements of modern urban technique, is already achieved. [...]. [Literal translation].^{xx}

With this *Esplanada da Capixaba* landfill, added to all the other land fillings performed in the Bento Ferreira region, which will be mentioned further on in this document, according to Santos Neves's 1953 report, in less than two years, almost twice as much all the area conquered to the sea in all previous periods of her history was incorporated to Island of Vitória. Santos Neves, in his 1952 document argues that Vitória had a great potential for development as offered by the *Rio Bonito* electrical potential and the Port's refitting.^{xxi} Figure 3 allows for the visualization of the *Esplanada da Capixaba* landfill proportions as concluded by the end of Santos Neves's term in comparison to present day landscape. In the 1960 picture middle distance the Port of Vitória can be seen and, in the background, loom *Ilha do Príncipe* and Florentino Avidos Bridge.



Figure 3 - Municipality of Vitória: Landfills in the Esplanada Capixaba region. Photograph of 1960 and of 2009.

Source: respectively www.baiadevitoria.ufes.br and author's archive.

For sure the *Capixaba* landfill reached its target of increasing commercial activities in downtown Vitória, notwithstanding the fact that they redoubled their volume and caused the present-day bottlenecks due both to commercial and residential factors. It is possible to argue that as a direct result, the government began to search for another area to accommodate the seats of its powers, beginning from the second half of the 1970s.^{xxii} To this trend can be added the need for the enlargement of dockside servicing areas prodded by the port development and that of its ancillary sectors as well, imposing the amplification of its dependencies with

the building of large yards for mechanical repairs, carpentry, and sawmills which were installed in the *Bento Ferreira* area during the first half of the 1950s.^{xxiii}

Adopting this perspective it becomes possible to argue that all landfills placed in the *Bento Ferreira* grounds during the 1950s, which will be analyzed further on in this paper, are only developments of the *Esplanada da Capixaba* landfill works and, in last instance, consequences of the Port of Vitória landfills. To the present day, all information gleaned has revealed that the city owes its development to these landfill interventions; environment problems surface and result into alterations of Vitória's territorial configuration on a general scenery in which the Port is the main protagonist.

As a corroboration to this statement, the *Bento Ferreira* grounds have been receiving the placement of landfills over its mangrove areas from the *Forte São João* to the vicinities of the *Colégio Salesiano* with the clear purpose of furthering territorial expansion,^{xxiv} employing materials obtained from the dismantling of Santa Maria Island and some hillocks close by. For all that, these works were never finished due to the high costs required by the task and the remaining mangrove areas increasing suffer from the impossibility of receiving the former tide cleaning, in the same fashion already noted in the Moscoso Park neighborhood. In this case, the problem was partially solved by later land filling performed by individual dwellers involved in the irregular occupation of that region.^{xxv}

In 1961, during the Carlos Fernando Monteiro Lindenberg Administration (1959-1962) the dragging materials from the port channels were employed for the placing of complementary landfills over those grounds as demonstrated by Figure 4. However, it is only in the 1980s that the *Forte São João*, *Ilha de Santa Maria*, and *Monte Belo* neighborhoods receive resources for the building of infrastructure from the *Projeto Cura*, created during the term of Mayor Carlos Alberto Lindenberg von Schilgen (1979-1981).^{xxvi}



Figure 4 - Municipality of Vitória: Landfills in the region of *Bento Ferreira*. Photographs of the 1920's and of 1961.

Source: www.baiadevitoria.ufes.br

With the achievement of land filling works in the area of the *Novo Arrabalde* and the incorporation to the city of the *Bento Ferreira* neighborhood and its vicinities as far as St. John's Fort, thought began to be given, starting from the 1970s, to the conquering of areas in the *Praia do Suá*, northeast of *Bento Ferreira*, right in the entrance of The Bay of Vitória. In 1971, Arthur Carlos Gerhardt Santos (1971-1974) announced a new urban project for the *Praia do Suá*, to be performed by the *Companhia de Melhoramentos e Desenvolvimento Urbano (Comdusa)* and the new landfill activities were begun on 1972.^{xxvii}

The official argumentation on the performing of said works, according to the architect who authored the region development plan, Jolindo Martins Filho, in an interview given on January 2003, was that of stopping the passage of ocean currents between *Ilha do Boi* and the Island of Vitória, which allegedly provoked silting into part of the entrance to the channel responsible for the conservation of the Bay of Vitória, as well as eventually result into restricting the access to the Port of Vitória. These earthworks were finished in 1977 and, in the following 1979, during the Carlos Alberto Lindenberg von Schilgen Administration, a plan for structuring a government sector on the Suá landfill was proposed, transposing to said place all state administrative services and integrating this zone with the institutional activities already extant in the nearby *Ilha de Santa Maria* and *Bento Ferreira* levees. Figure 5 shows the territorial extension previewed for the

incorporation of these areas to Island of Vitória as part of the seaside embankments already implemented and the landfills already concluded.

During the same interview given on January 2003, Martins Filho claims that his proposal for the reclaimed area - *Enseada do Suá* - was meant to be a favored residential site to be built over the total extension of the covered area. However, from the very beginning, the local entrepreneurs became highly interested in the newly available land and this led to several alterations being made in the original project even before its official acceptance, according to the conveniences of the aforementioned businessmen who acquired almost all of the area before the earthworks were even completed. The pressures then applied by the local entrepreneurs resulted into successive alterations until, in the year of 1979, during von Schilgen's term (1979-1981) surfaced the proposal of taking over the region for the government sector structuring plan. Therefore, it is important to mention that all those alterations were not restricted only to reasons of morphological nature, like those related to the road system or the proposed size for blocks and real estate, but also referred to the usage, consequently to the building typology intended for the area.



Figure 5 - Municipality of Vitória: Landfills in the Enseada do Suá region. Photographs of the 1970's and in 1993 with the landfill concluded.

Source: Nucleus for Studies on Architecture and Urbanism - NAU/UFES.

The above shows the evidence for the import of political or economical motivations upon the quality of negotiation and the modifications cut into Martins Filho's proposed design. Besides, it is evident the relationship between the Suá Cove levees and Port of Vitória, whose accessibility depended upon stopping the silting in the bay's entrance channel. Anyway, this landfill would give cause for a number of other future earthworks, associated to the building of another port as well, the *Porto de Tubarão*,^{xxviii} that was precisely created by the lack of capacity of the former port to absorb all activities consequential to the establishment of the great industrial projects in the Greater Vitória area, already commented upon in this study. All things considered and up to the present moment, it becomes very clear the association of all those landfills to the dockside activities as well as the prevalence of government and economic determinations in disregard of technical recommendations or environmental concerns.

THE CHOICES AND THE PROTAGONIST

It is interesting to highlight that almost every landfill mentioned above and performed around the Island of Vitória was implemented by means of hydraulic levees. In Vitória, the dismantling of hillocks or rocky outcrops for the reclaiming of flooded areas - the mangroves - was not a frequent practice, contrariwise to the prevailing practice in Rio de Janeiro. One of the few cases in which this occurred was in the vicinities of *Santa Maria* Island and *Monte Belo*, during the landfill of the area where present-day *Bento Ferreira* borough was built. Landfills in some sections in *Ilha do Príncipe* and *Curva do Saldanha* resulted also from sanitation landfills, where garbage was deposited before their covering with dirt and rocks and their crunching down together by bulldozers into hydraulic landfills. Other than these, the broader majority of earthworks was rendered possible through the employment of dragged materials from the Bay of Vitória, which had to be taken off from the access channel to the Port of Vitória to avoid its progressive silting. Therefore, it seems to be pertinent to retrieve some of the presented claims and to examine the relationship of said landfills with harbor activities in further detail.

As commented above, every time a new dragging in the Bay of Vitória is reported, the resulting materials seem to originate a new landfill. Along this study we have argued that, all things considered, harbor activities bore the major responsibility for the earthworks performed in the several Vitória districts. That important question that surfaces is what are the relationships entertained between harbor activities in Vitória and each of the landfills?

It can be argued that the relationship between the initial *Campinho* landfill and that in and around the Port of Vitória is associated with the early landfill placed upon *Porto dos Padres*. Without this, the *Lapa do Mangal* district would never have degraded and therefore, never would surface the “need” for the landfill that originated the *Campinho* area. As to the Portside Landfill, the building of a single wharf required the incorporation of *Porto dos Padres* landfill and that of those that followed along the Bay of Vitória so as to render the docks viable.

Therefore, ever since 1881, concurrent with the *Campinho* levees, the persistent conviction of the state government that the Island of Vitória would be the strategic point for the placement of the desired port, the need for new earthworks and embankments around the Island of Vitória is perceived. As the most immediate consequences, we might quote: firstly the expenses voted for the placement of landfills in the wharf area of *Ilha do Príncipe* for allegedly sanitary reasons, secondly the dragging of the Bay of Vitória with the stated purpose of deepening the access channel and thirdly the broadening of access roads to the city, all of them to enable the building of a bridge to connect the Island of Vitória to the mainland.^{xxix}

The chain of landfills provoked by the works performed in the Port’s construction was set mostly to the south of the city running toward *Vila Velha* County, as well as to the east, facing the beaches or to the west in the general direction of *Ilha do Príncipe* and *Bairro de Santo Antônio*. The placement of the Port on the Island of Vitória probably triggered the development of its present-day shape and possibly its growth orientation as well.^{xxx}

It also turns out to be interesting to mention that official argumentation for the performing of landfills until the 1940s, for all that these incorporated areas to the county limits, which were above all destined to the development of harbor activities, was always based upon matters of accessibility and sanitary reasons.^{xxxi} For all this intention was expressed in Aguiar’s aforementioned quoted excerpt (1929), this change of argumentation only was made explicit after the approval of the Economical Upgrading Plan in 1951 during the Jones Santos Neves Administration. Indeed, Santos Neves, in his address to the State Legislative Chamber on January 31, 1951, states about the need for the capital city’s modernization.^{xxxii}

This modernization intent is directly associated to the existence of the Port of Vitória, due to the readiness that thus allowed the city of Vitória to relate directly with the main European centers. Therefore the city needed to look modern,^{xxxiii} even if not being exactly so and technical arguments were not bound to set aside the political determination.

Studying the set of landfills we can again state that the district that spans the area between *Forte São João* and the present-day *Ilha de Santa Maria* and *Monte Belo* neighborhoods was also due to the demand for harbor activities’ expansion, particularly for the works performed in the Port of Vitória. At the time, the demand for a servicing area where repairing yards could be built was the justification found for the beginning of the land filling tasks. Concerning the *Praia Comprida* region, despite Brito’s project being presented as early as 1896, its occupation was only consolidated from the decades of 1950 and 1960 on, coinciding with the “need” perceived by Santos Neves of broadening the territorial extension in *Esplanada da Capixaba*. According to that authority, there was no longer space or areas available in the city’s downtown district to respond to the movement generated by the port. Thence, harbor activities began to spread toward the beaches and landfill interventions were multiplied during that period. As to the region now occupied by present-day *Bento Ferreira* borough, a similar situation to that of *Lapa do Mangal* or to that of *Campinho* was repeated. The annexing of *Santa Maria* and *Monte Belo* islands to the Island of Vitória also rendered “imperative” [sic] the incorporation of this mangrove sector.

Adopting this viewpoint, it is possible to claim that the earthworks proceeded in the *Bento Ferreira* area during the 1950s also constitute an unfolding of the *Esplanada da Capixaba* landfill and a final instance of those land filling activities performed in favor of the Port of Vitória. To date, all presented data have revealed that the city achieved her development under the light of said land filling interventions, furthered by the Port aligned with political determinations.

As to the Suá Cove landfill it was evidence how much prevailed in the negotiations the interests of economical and political elites on the making of alterations upon Martins Filho's initial proposal. Besides, it is quite noteworthy the bonding of the "necessity" of Suá Cove landfill to the Port of Vitória requirements, whose accessibility depended upon not allowing the level of silting on the bay's entryway channel to raise.

To sum up, despite all the adverse conditions explicitly stated in the technical recommendations, the project for a new borough was implanted and the port was located on the island. All these actions, resulting from political and administrative intents, be those of economical or social nature, have triggered, as demonstrated all along this document, a set of interventions whose stated objectives not always were faithful to the original goals for the landfill occupation when it was actually achieved and it can be claimed that all those earthworks and embankments have altered in overwhelming ways the contours of Island of Vitória, imposing to her inhabitants financial, social, and environmental burdens.

THE CHOICES AND THEIR OUTCOMES

It is worth pointing out that it emerges from the discussion that the objective of the government was not to transform landscape as such, although it has been done it in a quite forceful way. Initially the government's concern with the landfills was to provide accessibility all around the occupied areas as well as solving the sanitation problems that the previous accessibility landfills had created. In this respect, as it surfaces from official documents, the understanding was that government was "adjusting" the landscape.

Not even when government started to promote earthworks, aiming at territorial expansion, the altering of the landscape appeared as an issue. The government's concern was simply the occupation of areas for territorial expansion. It was not until the late 1980's that environmental questions started to be raised, when some restraint in the establishment of new landfills was accepted and, as a result, the effects of the transformations in the landscape were recognized.

Mayor Vitor Buaiz adopted in 1989 a new policy dubbed "*priority inversion*" which was meant to grant living facilities to the population all the while the mangroves preservation was warranted as well. Therefore a new step was taken in the process through which landfill urbanization would be only promoted in such mangrove areas that had no capacity for self-recovery [sic]. It was the first time that, within the political milieu some preoccupation with the land fillings surfaced. As a result, from then on the start of new earthworks must be submitted to prior natural impact technical studies for environmental degradation risk.

In this respect, the explanation presented above demonstrated the volume, intensity, and unceasing succession of landfills performed in the borders of Vitória County and those alterations therein resulted upon the island's geography (read also, its environment). For a final reflection on these landfills and their effects upon environmental issues, it is worth our while addressing to the discussion Brito promoted back in 1896.

Even when the sanitarian engineer Francisco Saturnino Rodrigues de Brito was not called upon to examine the harbor of Vitória's location affair - this was some years before the final decision as to its placement - he took up the opportunity granted him in 1896 by José de Mello Carvalho Moniz Freire, then President of the State of Espírito Santo to weave some considerations on the decisions related to it.

Brito, as commissioned by Freire, in his report presented to the governor at the time his *Projecto de um Novo Arrabalde: dotado de serviços de abastecimento d'água e de drenagem* for the area chosen for the state capital city expansion was delivered, presented the governor almost an advertence relating to the area for expansion he had been assigned to develop his proposal upon and related his warning to the intended harbor for Vitória. In his introduction to the project, Brito seems to be foreseeing the future,^{xxxiv}

[...] The Government has weighed the advantages and disadvantages resulting from the preference for the employment of real estate on the island itself over the mainland plains situated both to the south and the north. [...]

The Government has not hesitated before the difficulties resulting from taking advantage of these plains, in other words, their adequacy to the end on target [the New Borough].

Indeed, it is not only a matter of taking up dry land, but rather to definitely conquer to the sea a certain area which is, until the present day, under the sway of high tidal flows.

We shall try to provide a swift depiction of said grounds and then we shall show how large is the economic endeavor spanned by the Government's brave initiative. [...]

So that no doubt can remain about the inconveniences we are pointing at and which will interest so much the State's commercial economy, we shall transcribe below the following opinion expressed by Mr. Laroche: [...]. [Literal translation].

[...] "All those unavoidable consequences are detrimental to the building of harbors at river mouths or in the inner sections of estuaries.

The Italians say, in the form of a proverb, "Great lagoon, good harbor". This adage is absolutely right." (Seaside Diagrams, p. 206). [Bibliographic indication in the original] [Literal translation from French as in the Portuguese original].

Brito kept harping on his arguments and, so there would be no possible doubt on the inconveniences related to the Government's "brave" initiative, he pinpointed and highlighted such problems as would be introduced by the placement of landfills in the area. In the same document, he concludes, in an almost prophetic fashion:

This happens to be true for the excellent harbor of Vitória.

The works the Government already set into operation only conquer to the sea a relatively limited area, which could exert only little influence upon the whole.

These earthworks, all the same, appear to be only the beginning of more daring, future works and it is important to prevent such inconveniences as might then result to a harbor meant to become a first-class commercial trading center. [...]

Accepting, therefore, the filling of the mangrove districts with land as a solution for the City's future development problem, it is important to firstly solve that of the correction of those evils that are introduced from thereby opposing the aforementioned problems. [Literal translation].

The aforementioned principles dealt with the problem of silting, the need for further land filling activities and, above all, with the political determinations behind these interventions. As a final musing, some doubts can be presented. Had Brito a chance to choose the area or to present his opinion, would that area be the most suitable for the implantation of the New Borough? What would Brito think about the final choice of location for the port of Vitória? Were Brito's considerations the forerunners of an environmental conscience?

We are not still prepared to reply to these queries, but the answers can be unveiled by further studies. What stays with us for certain is that those choices/decisions made by exclusively political reasons ended up by creating a territorial configuration rather different than that Vitória presented in the beginning and that all the environmental problems the city has been subjected to and that still has to bear and deal with are the results of those choices.

REFERENCES

ⁱ According to such information as can be accessed at Vitória City Hall official page in the site, <www.vitoria.es.gov.br/negocios/guia_investidor/geoeconomicos.htm>, consulted on June 22, 2009, the county is made up by an archipelago of 34 islets and a mainland section located to the north of the main island, that is, the Island of Vitória. It is interesting to mention that said main island is very close to the mainland proper and is completely surrounded by a natural channel, making up what is referred to as the Bay of Vitória.

ⁱⁱ For lack of data, the landfills performed on the county's mainland section, particularly those achieved in the UFES Campus, along the *Camburi Canal* and in the *Tubarão Port* area will be excluded from the following approach.

ⁱⁱⁱ DERENZI, Luiz Serafim, *Biografia de uma Ilha*, 2nd. Print, Vitória: PMV, *Secretaria Municipal de Cultura e Turismo*. 1996, p. 103. Another reference to a landfill prior to this date can be found in a license granted by the Bishop of Bahia, in January of 1755, for the building of the church of *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* in the area of *Praíha*. See DAEMON, Basílio Carvalho, *Descobrimento, História e Estatística da Província do Espírito Santo*, Vitória: Tipografia do Espírito Santense, 1849, p. 163.

^{iv} MUNIZ, Maria Isabel Perini, *Parque Moscoso: Documento de Vida*, 2nd. Print, Vitória, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Espírito Santo, 2001. See also NOVAES, Maria S. de, *História do Espírito Santo*, Vitória, Fundo Editorial do Espírito Santo, undated. However, Elton pinpoints the beginning of such works in 1888, ordered by the then Province President, Henrique Ataíde Lobo Moscoso. See more details in ELTON, Elmo, *Logradouros Antigos de Vitória*, Vitória: IJSN, 1986.

^v PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE VITÓRIA, *Código de Posturas da Intendência Municipal da Cidade de Victoria Capital do Estado do Espírito Santo*, Vitória: Typ. da "A Província", 1890.

^{vi} ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1908-1912: Monteiro), *Exposição Sobre os Negócios do Estado no Quatriênio de 1908 a 1912 pelo Exmo. Snr. Dr. Jerônimo Monteiro Presidente do Estado no mesmo Período*, Vitória (no printer identification), 1912.

^{vii} BRITO, Francisco S. R. de, *Projecto de um Novo Arrabalde: dotado de serviços de abastecimento d'água e de drenagem*, Victoria: Comissão de Melhoramentos da Capital: Estado do Espírito Santo, 1896.

^{viii} PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE VITÓRIA. Prefeito (1916-1920: Novaes), *Mensagem apresentada à Câmara Municipal pelo Doutor Henrique de Novaes na Sessão de 1919*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1919; ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador [State governor] (1916-1920: Monteiro), *Relatório Apresentado pelo Dr. Bernardino de Souza Monteiro, Presidente do Estado, de sua Gestão no Quadriênio de 23 de Maio de 1916 a 23 de Maio de 1920, ao passar o Governo do Estado ao seu Sucessor, Exmo. Sr. Coronel Nestor Gomes*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1920; PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE VITÓRIA. Prefeito (1924-1928: Peixoto), *Mensagem Apresentada à Câmara Municipal de Vitória pelo Exmo. Sr. Octávio Índio do Brasil Peixoto, Prefeito Municipal, na Sessão de 31 de dezembro de 1927*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1927; ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1924-1928: Avidos), *Mensagem lida ao Congresso na 3ª Sessão da 12ª Legislatura pelo Exmo. Snr. Presidente do Estado do Espírito Santo, Dr. Florentino Avidos, referente às realizações dos anos de 1925 e 1926*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1926; ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1924-1928: Avidos), *Mensagem Final apresentada pelo Exmo. Snr. Presidente do Estado do Espírito Santo, Dr. Florentino Avidos, ao Congresso Legislativo, a 15 de Junho de 1928, Contendo Dados Completos de todos os Serviços Prestados no Quadriênio de 1924-1928*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1928; ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1928-1930: Aguiar), *Mensagem Apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo na 2ª. Sessão da 13ª. Legislatura em 07 de Setembro de 1929 pelo Doutor Aristeu Borges de Aguiar, Presidente do Estado do Espírito Santo*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1929; ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1928-1930: Aguiar), *Mensagem Apresentada à Assembléia Legislativa do Estado do Espírito Santo, 3ª. Sessão da 13ª. Legislatura em 22 de Setembro de 1930 pelo Doutor Aristeu Borges de Aguiar*,

Presidente do Estado do Espírito Santo, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1929; PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE VITÓRIA. Prefeito (1928-1930: Avidos), *Mensagem Apresentada à Câmara Municipal de Vitória pelo Prefeito Doutor Moacyr Avidos, dando conta dos Negócios do Município no ano de 1929*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1929; and, PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE VITÓRIA. Prefeito (1937-1944: Monjardim), *Síntese Geral das obras realizadas no quadriênio 1937-1942*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1942.

^{ix} More details in FREITAS, José Francisco B., *Técnica versus Política na localização dos portos do Rio de Janeiro e de Vitória*, In *Anais do XXIII ENANPUR Encontro Nacional da ANPUR: Planejamento e Gestão de Território: escalas, conflitos e incertezas*, CD-ROM, Florianópolis, 2009, 18pp.

^x ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1930-1943: Bley), *Major João Punaro Bley (1930-1943) - Relatório apresentado ao Excelentíssimo Senhor Presidente da República, pelo Major João Punaro Bley, interventor federal no Estado do Espírito Santo - 1943*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1943.

^{xi} NOVAES, Henrique de, *Plano de Urbanização de Vitória*. In BRÍGIDO, Laerte Rangel, *O Município de Vitória sob Regime Revolucionário - Triênio 1930-1933*, Rio de Janeiro: Oficinas Alba Gráfica, undated; and ETUC (Empresa de Topografia, Urbanismo e Construções Ltda., *Levantamento Cadastral e Plano de Urbanização da cidade de Vitória. Relatório dos Trabalhos*, Supervisionado por Hubert Alfred Agache, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1945.

^{xii} ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1951-1955: Santos Neves), *Mensagem Apresentada à Assembléia Legislativa Estadual por Ocasão da Abertura da Sessão Legislativa de 1952 pelo Doutor Jones dos Santos Neves, Governador do Estado*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1952; ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1951-1955: Santos Neves), *Mensagem Apresentada à Assembléia Legislativa Estadual por Ocasão da Abertura da Sessão Legislativa de 1953 pelo Doutor Jones dos Santos Neves, Governador do Estado*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1953; ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1951-1955: Santos Neves), *Mensagem Apresentada à Assembléia Legislativa Estadual por Ocasão da Abertura da Sessão Legislativa de 1954 pelo Doutor Jones dos Santos Neves, Governador do Estado*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1954; ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1951-1955: Santos Neves), *O Espírito Santo Trabalha e Confia 1951-1955*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1955; ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1959-1962: Lindenberg), *Mensagem Apresentada à Assembléia Legislativa do Estado em sua Sessão Ordinária de 1959 pelo Governador Dr. Carlos Fernando M. Lindenberg*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1959 (no page number); ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1959-1962: Lindenberg), *Mensagem Apresentada à Assembléia Legislativa do Estado na Abertura da Sessão Legislativa de 1961 pelo Dr. Carlos Fernando Monteiro Lindenberg, Governador do Estado*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1961; ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1967-1971: Lopes Filho), *Um Estado em Marcha para o Desenvolvimento Governo Christiano Dias Lopes Filho, Mensagem Apresentada pelo Governador Christiano Dias Lopes Filho à Assembléia Legislativa, em 15-6-1968, encaminhando sua prestação de contas referente ao exercício de 1967*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1968. Also see ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1967-1971: Lopes Filho), *Desafio & Proposta: Desenvolvimento do Estado do Espírito Santo - 1967-1970: Christiano Dias Lopes Filho*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1970.

^{xiii} BONINO, P. *Revolução Urbanística em Vitória*. In *Revista Capixaba* nº 17, Vitória: julho 1968.

^{xiv} CAMPOS JR., Carlos Teixeira de, *O Novo Arrabalde*, Vitória: PMV, Secretaria Municipal de Cultura e Turismo, 1996.

^{xv} In Monteiro's (1916-1920) and Avidos's (1924-1928) government reports the landfills are clearly justified for sanitation reasons.

^{xvi} The landfills promoted all along the Florentino Avidos Administration included the opening of *Capixaba Avenue*, the extension of *Rua da Alfândega* and *Ladeira Pernambuco*, which are today, respectively, Jerônimo Monteiro Avenue and Wilson de Freitas Street; besides the *Mercado da Capixaba* was also built on ground taken from the ocean. More details can be found in ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1924-1928: Avidos), *Op. Cit.*, 1928. Also see ELTON, Elmo, *Op. Cit.*, 1986.

^{xvii} NEVES, Reinado and ACHIAMÉ, Fernando, *Jones dos Santos Neves - Com vistas ao futuro - Discursos: 1943-1954*, Vitória, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Espírito Santo, 2002, p. 212.

^{xviii} ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1951-1955: Santos Neves), *Op. Cit.*, 1952. It is important to mention that nowadays the old *Esplanada da Capixaba* includes all the land between Jerônimo Monteiro Avenue and *Avenida Beira-Mar* that spans the area from the sidewalk in front of the Government Palace until the terrains around Saldanha da Gama Fort. It is also worth to mention that the study performed by the Nucleus of Studies on Architecture and Urbanism for the centennial of Saturnino de Brito's project pinpoints the decade of the 1930s as that in which the project was finally implanted. More details can be seen in MENDONÇA, Eneida Maria Souza; FREITAS, José Francisco Bernardino; CAMPOS, Martha Machado; PRADO, Michele Monteiro; ALMEIDA, Renata Hermann de; and their team, *Cidade Prospectiva: o projeto de Saturnino de Brito para Vitória.*, Vitória: EDUFES/ANNABLUME, 2009.

^{xix} For further details, see PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE VITÓRIA [Vitória City Hall], *Código Municipal de Vitória: Lei nº. 351 de 24 de abril de 1954*, Vitória: *Departamento de Imprensa Oficial*, 1955. Also see LEME, Maria Cristina da S. (Coord.), *Op. Cit.*, 1999 See further MENDONÇA, Eneida Maria Souza, *Transferência de interesse no percurso da verticalização das construções em Vitória*, 2001, tese (Doutorado em Planejamento Urbano e Regional), Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2001.

^{xx} ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1951-1955: Santos Neves), *Op. Cit.*, 1955. (no page number).

^{xxi} ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1951-1955: Santos Neves), *Op. Cit.*, 1952. Also consult ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1951-1955: Santos Neves), *Op. Cit.*, 1953.

^{xxii} First, several state administration departments were dislocated, than those of the municipal executive and legislative, and, finally, the state legislation seat. More recently, José Inácio Ferreira (1999-2002), from the beginning of his State government administration, proposed the moving of the state executive seat to the *Enseada do Suá* landfill area, where is located, since the second half of the 1990s, the state Legislative Chamber seat. His argumentation was that the Anchieta Palace already presented severe building degradation problems and that the acquisition of a newer building to shelter the executive activities would be less costly than the old Palace's refitting. Public opinion, however, surged against the proposal, especially when the Town Hall administration was making efforts in the opposite direction to bring investments into the downtown area to fend off the potential emptying of Vitória's central area.

^{xxiii} ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1951-1955: Santos Neves), *Op. Cit.*, 1954.

^{xxiv} As early as 1945, the Bento Ferreira region was the target of authorities' attention, being included into an urbanization plan designed under Alfred Agache's supervision. See details in ETUC (*Empresa de Topografia, Urbanismo e Construções Ltda.*, *Op. Cit.*, 1945).

^{xxv} VENTURIN, Luciano, and PROTTI, David, *Ilha de Santa Maria e Monte Belo*, Vitória: PMV, 1993 (*Coleção Nossos Bairros I*). These authors point out that the beginning of landfills with materials taken from Santa Maria Island and Monte Belo has begun as early as the mid-1920s.

^{xxvi} PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE VITÓRIA. Mayor (1979-1981: von Schilgen), *Relatório Apresentado à Câmara Municipal de Vitória no ano de 1979 pelo prefeito Carlos Alberto Lindenberg von Schilgen*, Vitória (no printer's name), 1979.

^{xxvii} COMDUSA, *Companhia de Melhoramentos e Desenvolvimento Urbano, Plano de Urbanização da Praia do Suá*, Comdusa (mimeographed), Vitória, July 1972. Also see ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1971-1974: Santos), *Mensagem à Assembléia Legislativa no governo Dr. Arthur Carlos Gerhardt Santos em 1972*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1972.

^{xxviii} The Camburi bankside received hydraulic landfills in three different occasions, the first during von Schilgen's term in office, the second in 1992, and the last in 1999. Both the former were justified by claims or erosion problems in sections of the beach, caused by marine currents flow, which resulted from the expansion of another harbor, the Tubarão docks, also built upon earlier landfills. According to technical statements, the bankside erosion was due to stronger than usual tides, but also, "mostly, to the hydraulic levees crammed upon a large area from Suá

Beach to *Praia do Canto*, as well as to the building of a rather long jetty (embankment) and the piers in Tubarão Harbor.” All those earthworks have contributed to the tampering with ocean currents flows and consequentially affected the beach strip. For more details, see the feature in the newspaper, A GAZETA, *Técnicos criticam aterro em Cambuti*, Vitória, October 27, 1980; also see A GAZETA, *Aterros alteram correntes e ameaçam toda a orla marítima*, Vitória, August 7, 1992; and the feature in the newspaper, A TRIBUNA, *Aterro ameaça destruir praia de Camburi*, Vitória, November 12, 1992. These last landfills, as mentioned above, for lack of sufficient data, were not included within the scope of the present study.

^{xxix} ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governor (1924-1928: Ávidos), *Op. Cit.*, 1928. As a matter of fact that bridge was already contemplated in a plan approved in 1910 by the Decree 7.994, according to the Avidos message of 1926. For more details, see ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governor (1924-1928: Ávidos), *Op. Cit.*, 1926.

^{xxx} Former studies, FREITAS (2002, 2003) substantiate a certain degree of indecision as to the city's development orientation, as such were based upon the analysis of authorities' speeches as expressed into reports and messages from the government along the period spanning from 1900 to 1950. Indeed, the proposal for the New Borough by Brito as early as 1896 after his invitation by Muniz Freire already suggested explicitly the intended orientation for the city expansion, despite the occupation of said area was only achieved during the 1930s and 1940s and their consolidation only undertaken during the 1950s and the 1960s. See more details in FREITAS, José Francisco B., *Intervenções Urbanísticas em Vitória, 1900-1950: Modernização e expansão territorial*, In *Anais do XXII Simpósio Nacional de História: História, acontecimento e narrativa*, CD-ROM, João Pessoa, PB, 2003, 12p. Also see FREITAS, José Francisco B., *Os relatórios e mensagens de governo e as intervenções urbanísticas em Vitória - 1930-1955*, In *Anais do IV Encontro da ANPHU-ES: História, representações e narrativa*, available at <http://anphues.cjb.net>, Vitória, 2002, 14p.

^{xxxi} FREITAS, José Francisco B., *Op. Cit.* 2003. and FREITAS, José Francisco B., *Op. Cit.*, 2002.

^{xxxii} See footnote n. 18 and NEVES, Reinado and ACHIAMÉ, Fernando, *Op. Cit.*, 2002, p. 212.

^{xxxiii} A discussion about those features inherent to the modernization intended for Vitória between 1890 and 1940 can be found in: PRADO, Michele M., *A modernidade e seu retrato: Imagens e representações das transformações da paisagem urbana em Vitória (1890-1940)*, 2002, *Programa de Pós-Graduação em Arquitetura e Urbanismo*, Universidade da Bahia, Salvador, 2002.

^{xxxiv} See BRITO, Francisco S. R. de, *Op. Cit.*, 1896. pp. 10-12., for the following quotes.